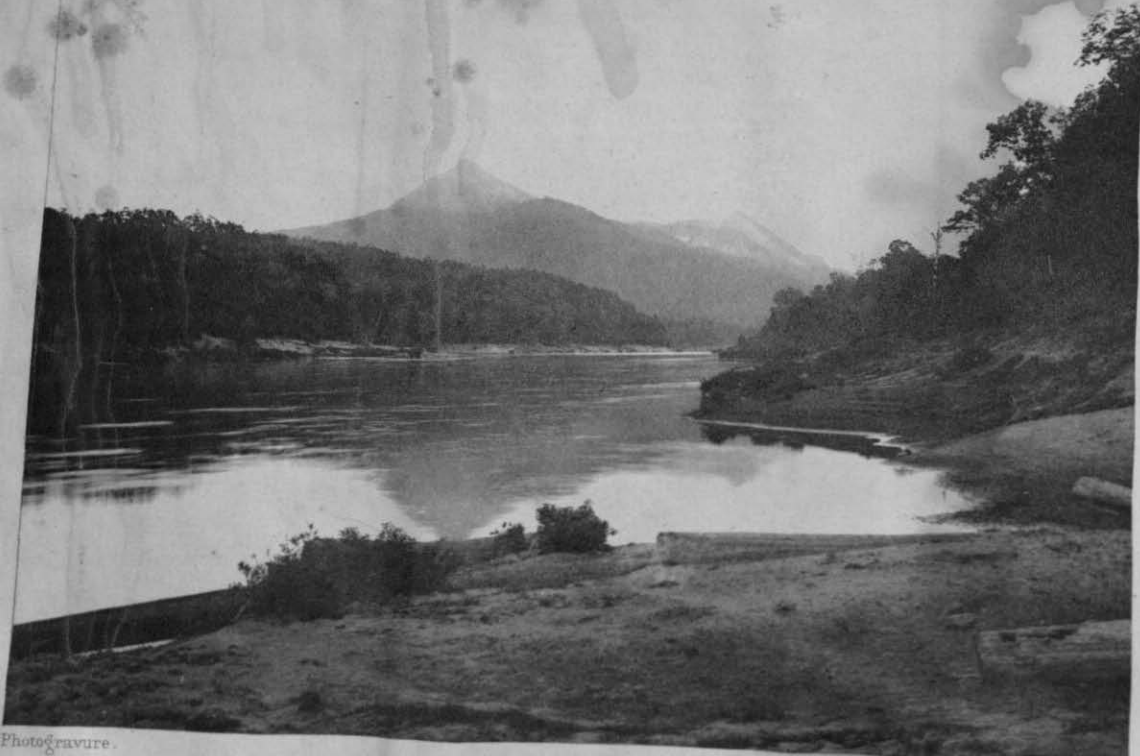
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PLATE I.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1899

THE SALWEEN AT TA HSANG LE.

GAZETTEER

OF

UPPER BURMA

AND THE

SHAN STATES.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL PAPERS BY

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PART I.—VOL. I.

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ERRATA.

VOLUME I.

Page 3, line 17, *for* 'west' *read* 'east.'
" 17, " 20, " 'about' " 'above.'
" 43, " 9, *dele* 'by.'
" 66, " 34, *for* 'choragos' *read* 'choragus.'
" 79, " 6, " 'Bayingyan' " 'Bayingan.'
" 81, " 2, " 'lead' " 'led.'
" 82, " 28, " 'Governor' " 'Convenor.'
" 85, " 28, *dele* 'again.'
" 86, " 33, *for* 'Nammada' *read* 'Nammadaw.'
" 87, " 2, " 'Nammada' " 'Nammadaw.'
" 96, " 5 from bottom, *for* 'were' *read* 'was.'
" 107, " 14, *for* 'Bomby' *read* 'Bombay.'
" 109, " 11 and 13 from bottom, *insert* 'to.'
" 111, " 1, *for* 'enquires' *read* 'enquiries.'
" 111, " 5, " '1895' " '1885.'
" 126, " 10, *et. seq. for* 'Myinthè' *read* 'Myinthi.'
" 132, " 2, *for* 'Yetagyo' *read* 'Yesagyo.'
" 132, " 14, " 'Sameikkyon' " 'Sameikkôn.'
" 159, " 1, " 'was' " 'were'
" 185, " 3, *read* 'Chinese' Shan States.
" 188, " 9 from bottom, *for* '1895' *read* '1835.'
" 194, " 9 " " 'is' " 'were.'
" 203, " 15, *for* 'Bein-kawngi' *read* 'Bein Kawng.'
" 207, " 11 from bottom, *for* 'as' *read* 'as is.'
" 209, in the Mandarin dialect the names are more properly—

Shu, the rat; *Niu*, the ox; *Hu*, the tiger; *T'u*, the hare; *Lung*, the dragon; *Shé*, the snake; *Ma*, the horse; *Yang*, the goat; *Hou*, the monkey; *Chi*, the cock; *Ch'üan*, the dog; *Chu*, the pig.

" 225, line 13 from bottom, *for* 'Hke' *read* 'Hkè.'
" 229, " 9, *dele* first 'him.'
" 229, " 4 from bottom, *for* 'get' *read* 'got.'
" 242, " 3, " " 'Emperer' " 'Emperor.'
" 255, " 18, *for* 'Lõng' *read* 'Lông.'
" 270, " 21, " 'found' " 'formed.'
" 284, " 15 and 18, *for* 'flank' *read* 'plank.'
" 308, " 5, " 'rules' " 'rulers.'
" 314, " 13, " 'Mõng Si' " 'Mõng Sit.'
" 329, " 9 and 23, " 'Htamõng' " 'Htamông.'
" 340, " 33, " '1888' " '1889.'
" 367, " 9, " 'stamped' " 'stampeded.'
" 395, last line, " 'peope' " 'people.'

Page 408, line 25, *dele* 'a.'
„ 430, „ 32, *for* 'calamitites' *read* 'calamities.'
„ 475, „ 18, „ 'professer' „ 'professor.'
„ 489, „ 2 from bottom, *for* 'sides' *read* 'side.'
„ 499, „ 8, *for* 'billard' *read* 'billiard.'
„ 500, „ 16, „ 'warder' „ 'wander.'
„ 505, „ 22, „ 'trough-like „ 'trough, like.'
„ 544, „ 2 from bottom, *for* 'Yawng-tüng' *read* 'Sawng-tüng.'
„ 570, „ 14, *for* 'pelusive, *read* 'delusive.'
„ 586, „ 10 from bottom, *for* 'occassion' *read* 'occasion.'
„ 596, „ 9, *for* 'at Lotè' *read* 'a Lotè.'
„ 597, „ 3 from bottom, *for* 'the' *read* 'that.'
„ 620, „ 2 „ „ 'whatveer' *read* 'whatever.

THE
UPPER BURMA GAZETTEER.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE northern and north-eastern boundaries of Upper Burma have not yet been finally demarcated. In general terms it may be said that Upper Burma lies between the 20th and 27th parallels of north latitude and between the 92nd and 100th parallels of east longitude. The greatest distance from east to west is about 500 miles; from north to south about 450 miles. The area of the Upper Province is estimated at 83,473 square miles and that of the Shan States, Northern and Southern, at a little over 40,000 square miles. On the north the boundaries are: the dependent State of Manipur, the Naga and Chingpaw hills, and the Chinese province of Yünnan; on the east the Chinese province of Yünnan, the Chinese Shan States, the French province of Indo-China, and the Siamese Tai (or Lao) States; on the south Lower Burma; and on the west Arakan and Chittagong.

Within these boundaries, but administered as semi-dependent States, are the Northern and Southern Shan States, described separately; the State of Möng Mit (Momeik) with its dependency, Möng Lang (Mohlaing), under the supervision of the Commissioner, Mandalay Division; the State of Hkamti Lông, which with the Kachin Hills north of the confluence of the upper branches of the Irrawaddy is only indirectly under administration; the States of Hsawng Hsup (Thaungthut) and Singkaling Hkamti (Zinglein Kanti) in the Upper Chindwin district; and the Chin Hills under a Political Officer.

Upper Burma is portioned out into natural divisions by its more important rivers. The Irrawaddy rises beyond its confines in the unexplored regions where India, Tibet, and China meet and runs due southwards, dividing Upper Burma roughly into two equal parts, east and west. After completing about two-thirds of its course

through the upper province, it is joined from the west by the Chindwin, the largest and most important of its tributaries, which flows into it a few miles above the town of Pakôkku. The Chindwin may be said to divide the northern portion of Upper Burma west of the Irrawaddy into two halves. South of the fork the country, which is for the most part dry and sandy, stretches away from the western bank of the Irrawaddy to the eastern slopes of the Arakan Yomas and the Southern Chin Hills. This tract comprises the districts of Minbu and Pakôkku. From the junction of the Irrawaddy and Chindwin northwards the nature of the country to the west of the latter river changes completely. From the right bank of the Chindwin the Chin Hills rise abruptly to merge themselves with the Lushai and Naga Hills in the wide tract of mountainous country which forms the whole of the north-western frontier of the Province. On the left bank of the Chindwin the land is comparatively level and stretches for the most part over low ranges of hills to the Irrawaddy valley, but farther north these ranges increase in height, until the whole tract between the two rivers becomes a mass of hill country intersected by mountain streams and inhabited by semi-barbarous communities, whose country extends across the main stream of the Irrawaddy to the eastern border of the Bhamo district and as far down on the eastern side of the river as the State of Möng Mit (Momeik), where it joins the northern extremity of the Shan Hills. The country to the east of the Irrawaddy immediately above the frontier of the lower province corresponds very closely with that on the west of the river in the same latitude. It comprises the districts of the Meiktila division and the Magwe district of the Minbu division. It is comparatively dry and arid, is intersected by forest-clad ridges, and is bounded on the east by the rampart of the Shan plateau, which runs almost parallel to the Irrawaddy till about the level of the town of Mandalay. Here the bend of the river brings it close to the Shan Hills, and from this point northwards the space between the stream and the hills becomes gradually narrower and more confined.

Mountains.

Upper Burma is encircled on three sides by a wall of mountain ranges. The Shan and Karen Hills which run in parallel ridges for the most part almost due north and south form the eastern boundary. In the Mandalay district the Shan Hills approach the Irrawaddy. The hilly parts of this district, which form the greater portion of its area, may be divided into two tracts, the northern and the eastern. The northern consists of parallel ridges descending from the Ruby Mines district, with peaks of from 2,000 to 3,600 feet; the eastern consists of the Pyinulwin subdivision and forms a plateau of 3,500 feet above mean sea-level. Both of these tracts geographically form part of

the high-lands known as the great Shan plateau, as does the Ruby Mines district, which, with the exception of the riverain portion, is intersected by high ranges of hills with points here and there of over 7,000 feet in height. In the west of this district the hill ranges run north and south, but in the interior their course is approximately east and west. In the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts there are four main ranges of hills, the Eastern Kachin Hills running northward from the State of Möng Mit (Momeik) to join the plateau which divides the basins of the Irrawaddy and the Salween; the Kumôn range extending from the Hkamti Lông country east of Assam to a point north of Mogaung; the Kaukkwe hills, which start from Mogaung and run in a southerly direction to the plains in the west of the Irrawaddy valley; and the Jade Mines tract lying to the west of the Upper Mogaung stream and extending across the watershed of the Uyu river as far as the Hukawng valley. The Chin Hills form the western boundary of the Upper Province, as do the Kachin, Shan, and Karen Hills on the west. These Chin Hills form a continuation of the Naga Hills which constitute the eastern boundary of Assam, and southwards they are known as the Arakan Yoma. The Pegu Yoma rises in the uplands of Kyauksè and Meiktila districts and, running parallel to the Shan Hills, divides the basin of the Irrawaddy from that of the Sittang. The Paunglaung range rises in the highlands of the Shan plateau and divides the basin of the Sittang from that of the Salween. This range, unlike the Pegu Yoma, which is insignificant, ranging between 800 and 1,200 feet, has peaks of considerable height, one at least reaching nearly 8,000 feet. This range sinks down into the plain of Thatôn. The easternmost range, which divides the basin of the Salween from the Mèkhong, also runs north and south and in its southerly portion divides British territory from the neighbouring kingdom of Siam and farther south still forms the ridge of the Malay Peninsula. In the extreme north all these ranges take their origin, or lose themselves, in the Tibetan plateau.

Burma may therefore be divided conveniently, but with no great precision, into, *first*, Northern Burma, including the Chin and Kachin Hills with a thin and miscellaneous alien population; *second*, Burma Proper, which is practically the valley of the Irrawaddy after it ceases to be a gorge; and, *third*, the Shan tributary States. Burma Proper is practically one great plain; the hills are comparatively mere undulations, and the one considerable peak, Pôppa, is volcanic. Still it is very different from the vast levels that stretch from the base of the Himalayas. It is rather a rolling upland interspersed with alluvial basins and sudden ridges of hills. The other two divisions are described separately below.

Rivers.

Irrawaddy.—Of the rivers by far the most important is the Irrawaddy, for long the only great highway of the country. It is described at some length in the *British Burma Gazetteer* of 1880, as far as it was then known, that is to say, to the third or upper defile. Since then much has been learnt, but there is still considerable uncertainty as to the true source of the Irrawaddy, and the adventurous journey of Prince Henri d'Orleans is merely tantalizing in so far that it proves practically nothing, except that the conjectures of British officers were right in a particular spot and may therefore be correct throughout. But the actual sources are as uncertain as ever. The Irrawaddy is formed by the confluence of two rivers, the Mali and the 'Nmai (the *kha* which is usually added to these is simply the Kachin word for river and is better omitted, because it leads to such tautologies as the Mali *kha river*). They join about latitude 25° 45′ at a distance by land from Bhamo of about 150 miles. Up to this point the river is navigable in the rains for steamers, though the Mansi rapid just below Lapè, the Tangpè rapid immediately below the confluence, and the third defile, offer constant difficulties. For over 900 miles, however, as far as Bhamo, the river is navigable throughout the year.

In Kachin Mali *kha* means big river, and the Burmese call it Myit-gyi. The eastern branch, the 'Nmai *kha*, means bad river, and the Burmese call it Myit-ngè, the small river. But, from the data given below, it would appear that the Mali or western branch has really the smaller volume of water, and that the 'Nmai river is the true Upper Irrawaddy. The native opinion is merely the familiar oriental theory that a navigable river is a big river, and that along which boats cannot ply a small one. The Mali can be navigated by country boats all the year round as far as Sawan, whereas in consequence of the rapids, impracticable even for dug-outs, the 'Nmai cannot be navigated at any time. The Mali river is now approximately all known—its tributaries, the villages and marches along its banks—and it is indisputably the same as the Nam Kiu (the Shan name for the Irrawaddy) surveyed by the late General Woodthorpe in his trip to the Hkamti country in 1884-85.

There is an absence of all accurate information about the 'Nmai river. It has been mapped as far as 'Nsentaru, where the channel makes a sudden turn to the west after flowing from the north. Above 'Nsentaru the general direction of the 'Nmai as it comes down from the north is known, but the river itself is shortly lost behind high mountains, and as to the course north of this no trustworthy information is to be had. "Nobody goes there" is the extent of native information, and the mountains seem to be as wild and unengaging as the inhabitants. Captain L. E. Eliott says:

"There does not appear to be any trade at all, and the 'Nmai *kha* "north of 'Nsentaru probably degenerates into a furions mountain "torrent, dashing through profound gorges and quite impracticable "even for rafts of the lightest kind." There appears not even to be a track along its banks.

The old idea was that the river bifurcated some way farther up and that one of its branches flowed from the Naungsa lake lying to the east. This was the version given by the native explorer Alaga, who was sent up in the year 1880 to endeavour to determine the sources of the Irrawaddy. He, however, only got a very few days inland in the country between the two rivers and was then turned back by the Kachins. It is significant that no Chinaman or Kachin seems ever to have seen or even heard of this lake, and the march of Prince Henri d'Orleans, corroborated by the researches lower down of Lieutenant Pottinger, finally disprove the existence of any lake, or, at any rate, of any considerable lake. Considerable doubt seems now also to be thrown on the assumption that the 'Nmai had its source farther north than the Mali and drained a country with a heavier snowfall. In support of this theory Lieutenant A. Blewitt of the King's Royal Rifles instanced the fact that at the confluence the water of the 'Nmai is 6 degrees colder than that of the Mali. This, however, may well be due, as it is in the Salween, to the narrowness of the valley through which the 'Nmai flows, which prevents the sun from shining on the river for more than a few hours daily. Lieutenant Blewitt took the following measurements of depths and velocities at the confluence in January 1891:—

The Irrawaddy main river in a straight reach of water about 3 miles below Mawkan rapid. Breadth of actual water, 420 yards. Eight soundings taken in as straight a line as the boatmen can manage—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Soundings in feet ...	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$23\frac{1}{2}$	$29\frac{1}{2}$	$26\frac{1}{2}$	$31\frac{1}{2}$	$27\frac{1}{2}$	$21\frac{1}{2}$	11
Angles to position ...	$14\frac{1}{2}°$	42°	64°	$74\frac{1}{2}°$	79°	79°	77°	76°

From the above it was evident that either the boat had not kept a straight course, or that the angles were incorrectly taken, since the last three are an impossibility. The angles were unfortunately taken by a native surveyor with a prismatic compass instead of a plane-table. The current at the right bank was practically *nil* and became gradually swifter towards the left bank. The rate of the whole was little under 2 miles an hour. The sectional area of the river-bed was roughly 20,160 square feet.

Measurements of the 'Nmai kha *or Myit-ngè, the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, taken about 1 mile above the confluence.*

Breadth of water	165 yards.
Temperature	56°
Pace of current	$3\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour.
Sectional area of river-bed ...	6,600 square feet.
Estimated volume	32,257 cubic feet per second.

Six soundings in a straight line were in feet—

First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth.	Fifth.	Sixth.
$6\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{1}{2}$	15	$18\frac{1}{2}$	19	$14\frac{1}{2}$

True data were very difficult to get owing to the swiftness of the current under the left bank. The last sounding of 14 feet was taken close under the bank.

Measurements of the Mali kha, *or Myit-gyi, the western branch of the Irrawaddy, taken about 1 mile above the confluence.*

Breadth of water	150 yards.
Temperature	61°
Pace of current	$3\frac{3}{4}$ miles an hour.
Sectional area of river-bed ...	4,000 square feet.
Estimated volume	23,108 cubic feet per second.

Five soundings in a straight line were in feet—

First.	Second.	Third.	Fourth	Fifth.
3	$5\frac{2}{3}$	10	17	$11\frac{1}{2}$

Lieutenant Blewitt thinks the rate of the current may have been a little over-estimated in both cases, and the difficulty in keeping the rope taut naturally was against accuracy. Nevertheless, the figures seem to prove that the 'Nmai river is the larger of the two.

The two volumes taken together give a total of 55,000 cubic feet per second at the confluence, and the late Sir Henry Yule, in his introduction to Captain Gill's *River of Golden Sand*, gives the estimated volume of the Irrawaddy at Amarapura as 35,000 cubic feet per second. From what measurements this was deduced is not stated, nor is the time of year given, so that a comparison of the two sets of figures is impossible. The natives of Hkamti Lông refer to two rivers east of their country called the Nam Tisan and the Phungmai. The Nam Tisan is described as three days' journey from the Hkamti country, from which it is separated by the Tchet Pum, and five days' more marching to the east brings the traveller

to the Noikôn range, from which silver is extracted, and to the east of it flows the Nam Dumai or Phungmai. The Hkamti Shans are said to call this expressly the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, and the general similarity of the names Dumai, Phungmai, and 'Nmai, as used by Shans, Khunnongs, and Kachins, tend to show the identity. The depth given by the Hkamti Shans would also correspond with the probable depth of the 'Nmai river in that latitude. They describe it as not deep, but not fordable, or somewhat deeper than the Mali *kha* about the same latitude, which was ascertained by Woodthorpe to be 5 feet. Besides this, as Captain Eliott continues, the distance from the Hkamti country east to the Phungmai, about 45 miles in a straight line, would approximately correspond with where the 'Nmai *kha* valley must be, for the river cannot come farther from the east, since the position of the Lu *kiang*, or Salween, is known in the latitude of Bônga, and also lower down between Bhamo and Tali-fu. The Hkamti Shans said there were two more big rivers to be crossed before reaching China, and these would be the Lu *kiang*, or Salween, and the Lan Ts'an *kiang*, or Mèkhong. No doubt can remain now that the Lu *kiang* is identical with the Salween. Yule states that the chief ground for discrediting the length of course ascribed to the Salween and its Tibetan origin is its comparatively small body of water, and adds that this may be due to its restricted basin, which is certainly no longer a disputable fact. As far as is known, all the water up to within a few miles of the actual Salween falls into the Irrâwaddy drainage. It is the vast drainage of the latter river, combining the Mali *kha*, 'Nmai *kha*, and Chindwin areas, that makes it develope so rapidly into a noble river, and the same reasoning will tend to make us look not very far for the sources of the river. It is now nearly certain that the 'Nmai river, or main stream of the Irrawaddy has its source not higher than 28° 30′. Yule calls the east branch of the Irrawaddy in the introductory essay above referred to the Tchitom, Schete, Ku-ts'kiang, and Khiu-shi Ho. These will probably prove to be the local Tibetan and Chinese names for the 'Nmai of the Kachins, or for the streams which unite to form it. It is at any rate definitely settled that the Irrawaddy has no connection with the Sanpu, either by anastomosis, or in any more obvious way. Prince Henri d'Orleans' account of his journey *From Tonkin to India* may be quoted here, since he says it is "by the sources of the Irrawaddy." His journey commands admiration for his courage, his endurance, and the high spirits which he maintained throughout, but his account of it, both in his lecture before the Royal Geographical Society and in *From Tonkin to India*, is most irritating in its inconclusiveness. It is characteristic of the Prince to be irritat-

ing in the most varied way. It is impossible to determine from his narrative what can be considered as the main stream of the Irrawaddy, and it may be permitted to doubt whether the Prince formed any idea of the kind himself. What is certain is that he confirms the information and the conjectures of British explorers, that a number of considerable streams early join together and form two great rivers, destined to become the Irrawaddy lower down. But which of these streams is the main branch cannot be ascertained from the Prince's book. All that is certain is that the 'Nmai and all its affluents are savage torrents, while the Mali early becomes what may more justly be called a river.

The following items are pieced together from the Prince's book,— "A range with a pass of 3,600 *mètres* (11,812 feet) rose between the "Salween and an affluent to the right of it," which seems to be the Pula Haw, though it is not expressly so stated. This was a little south of latitude 28°. "The two following days were employed in "surmounting a crest of 10,725 feet * * * When we exchanged "this vegetation (thick bamboo brake) it was for barer heights, "among which often gleamed little grey, blue lochs (any one of which "may have been the Naung Sa), a scenery not unlike some parts of "the Pyrenees. * * * In the bottom of the valley we sighted "the Kiu-kiang, running over a shingle-bed, blue as the Aar......... "The inhabitants were of a gentle timid race, Kiu-tses, so named "from the Kiu *kiang*, though they styled themselves Turong or Tu-"long and the river Tulong-Remai." The Prince crossed the river [whose name the Kiu *kiang* may be compared with the Ku-ts *kiang* and the Khiu-shi *ho* (*kiang* and *ho* both meaning river) as well as with the Nam Kiu, the Shan name for the Irrawaddy] over a bamboo bridge made for him by the Turongs. "The "river at this point was about 50 yards broad, with traces of a "rise of 40 feet in flood. This valley of the Kiu *kiang*, which "we had now been threading for several days, with many more to "follow (from 10th to 30th October), gave an impression of greater "size than that of the Mèkhong, since, though narrow at the bottom, "it was bounded by mountains of receding gradients, each with its "own forest species, from palms below to ilex and rhododendrons "above." The march seems to have been much what it is along the Salween in the Shan States; stretches along the bank with more shingle and bare rock than sand; climbs up steep banks to avoid gorges; descents to torrent affluents—the Tatei, Madu-madon, Geling, and Tukiu-mu are mentioned, mostly spanned by liana bridges, which do not exist on the Salween affluents—with camps alternately on small beaches and steep hillsides. The Prince marched 45 miles in the 20 days between leaving and returning to

the Kiu *kiang*, which when he finally marched west "was a broad "sheet of water, swift but noiseless and wonderfully clear. On the "30th October we reached at nightfall another confluence of two "torrents. One was the Lublu, the other was the Neydu, or Telo "—the great river of which we had heard so much, its silent tide "and tranquil depth. * * * It was a wretched disap-"pointment. Instead of level fields, hills and impenetrable forest as "before; instead of houses, crags as savage as any in the valley of "the Kiu *kiang*. * * * We had attained one of the "principal feeders of the Irrawaddy. Like the Kiu *kiang*, it did not "come from far, but it brought a considerable body of water, and it "is the great number of these large tributaries that accounts for a "river of the size of the Irrawaddy in Burma. * * * The "Dublu crossed (it was 32 yards wide), we proceeded up the "left bank of the big river * * * transferred ourselves to the "other (right) side of the river on rudely improvised bamboo rafts; "the water was quiet, deep, and of a grey-blue colour. For the "two succeeding days we climbed a steep and rugged track, "catching sight through openings in the woods of an amphitheatre "of snow-covered mountains. In the west a high white range run-"ning north-east and south-west was identified by us as the Alps "of Dzayul (Zayul, the land of the earthen pots), on the other "side of which lies the basin of the Upper Brahmaputra in Tibet." Much of the travelling was in actual torrent-beds, a form of high-way familiar to most travellers who have crossed the Salween in the Shan States and most destructive to boot-leather. Thus they climbed over into the basin of the Mali *kha*. Various *cols* are mentioned with no heights given. The highest pass between the Salween and the Hkamti Lông valley was 3,600 *mètres* (11,812 feet). The first tributary of the Mali *kha*, or Nam Kiu, reached was the Reunnam. "We forded a broad and shallow river, the "Reunnam; and it was hard to believe ourselves at the base of "the lofty mountain chains of Tibet." After this "a diversified "woodland march ended for the day in a real village. Five houses, "each 90 feet long, placed parallel to one another, testified, with the "barking of dogs and grunting of pigs, to an approach of compara-"tive civilization. On the 10th November we debouched upon a "fine sandy beach, ideal camping-ground, by the shores of a con-"siderable river, the Nam Tsam. The stream was 40 yards in width "and expanded into a small lake at the foot of a sounding cataract." The Reunnam seems to join the Nam Tsam about 27° 15′ and the united streams apparently enter the Nam Kiu or Mali in about lati-tude 27°. The Nam Tsam was crossed by a fish-dam, erected by Kiu-tses (Turongs). "Mountain rice culture began to be visible

"in clearings of the woods, and felled trees laid horizontally here and "there assisted the path * * *. As we drew near to habitations, "averting emblems reappeared, and we noticed a fenced elliptical tomb." This seems to indicate that the Turongs are Chingpaw, or at least closely allied to the Kachins, and indeed the photograph which the Prince gives of a Kiu-tse might be taken for a Kachin both with regard to features, method of wearing the hair, dress, and, above all, the *linkin dha*. After crossing a number of streams, the Pandam, the Nam Lian, the Nam Chow, all apparently easily fordable, and staying for a night at Melekeu, "composed of pile-houses sometimes 130 feet long, not unlike the Moï dwellings in Annam," the Prince at last entered the level plain of Hkamti Lông, which the Lissus or Lesus call Apon (apparently their name for the Shans generally, which recalls the Manipuri name of the kingdom of Pong) and the Kiu-tses and Lutses and other Turongs call Moam. "A wide expanse of apparent inundation, "enveloping lagoons of land, but what to our eyes seemed swamps, "were no doubt paddy-fields. The Nam Kiu, or Meli-remai of the "Kiu-tses, the western branch of the Irrawaddy * * was about "160 yards in width and 12 feet deep; water clear and sluggish. "We crossed without delay in five or six pirogues."

Here the Prince had reached country known through the journeys of the late General Woodthorpe and Mr. Errol Grey. His journey shows that the sources of the Irrawaddy certainly do not lie farther north than latitude 28° 30′; that the Mali *kha* or Nam Kiu is more of a river and that the 'Nmai *kha* is more of a torrent and in its upper courses is frayed out into a mass of streams very much like a *chowrie* or a cow's tail. Unhappily, however, we still do not know which is the greater stream. Probably the Mali river will come to be looked upon as the main river, because it is both navigable and accessible. There is an analogy for the smaller stream usurping the name in the Red River, the Songkoi of Tongking, which at Hung Hwa, where the Black River joins it, is the lesser of the two.

Tributaries of the Irrawaddy.—Below the confluence the most important tributaries of the Irrawaddy are the Nam Kawng or Mogaung river, the Molè, and the Taping. The first flows in on the right bank and, with its affluent, the Indaw river, is navigable for small steamers, during the rains, for some distance from its mouth. The other two are left bank affluents and are unnavigable to any distance. Farther south the Shweli, or Nam Mao, flows in from the Shan States and China and the Mèza comes in on the right bank. At Amarapura the Myit-ngè or Nam Tu comes in from the Northern Shan States, but is not navigable for any great distance.

Below this at Myinmu the Mu river comes in on the right bank. The main tributary, the Chindwin, with its affluents, the Uyu, the Yu, and the Myittha, joins the Irrawaddy some little distance above the town of Pakôkku. It is navigable as far as Homalin near the mouth of the Uyu at all times of the year. The only other tributary of any note is the Môn, which joins on the right bank about 12 miles above the station of Minbu.

Sittang.—The Sittang river rises in the hills on the fringe of the Shan plateau, runs into the Meiktila division, and does not attain any size until it reaches the Lower Province. In its upper course it is known as the Paunglaung.

Salween.—The Salween is probably unequalled for wild and magnificent scenery by any river in the world, but it is, for the present, unnavigated except in broken reaches above the Thaung Yin rapids in the Lower Province. It is probably an actually longer river than the Irrawaddy, but it is characteristic, not only for the narrowness of its valley, which is little more than a ditch with banks varying in British territory from 3,000 to 6,000 feet high, but also for the limited width of the area which it drains. Until it reaches Lower Burma the basin does not anywhere reach two parallels of longitude in breadth. So far as is known, it receives no affluent north of Kokang, which is longer than a mountain torrent, rising in the ranges on either side which form its water-shed, cramped between the Irrawaddy and the Mèkhong.

Yet, or rather because of this restriction of its basin, it is represented on old maps as rising far up in the Tibetan steppes to the north-west of Lhassa; and since it is now certain that the Salween, the Nam Kōng of the Shans, is the Lu *kiang* of China and Tibet, there is no reason to believe that these maps are wrong. In his introduction to Gill's *River of Golden Sand*, Yule says: "Every one who "has looked at a map of Asia with his eyes open must have been "struck by the remarkable aspect of the country between Assam "and China, as represented, where a number of great rivers rush "southward in parallel courses, within a very narrow span of longi- "tude, their delineation on the map recalling the *fascis* of thunder- "bolts in the clutch of Jove, or (let us say, less poetically) the "aggregation of parallel railway lines at Clapham junction." Of these rivers—the Brahmaputra, the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Mèkhong, the Yang-tze, the Hwang Ho, besides their numerous considerable early feeders—the Salween yields to none in the extreme northerly position of its source; and its size, in latitudes where it is so crushed in that it can have no tributaries larger than hill streams a mile or two in length, seems to prove that these old maps are correct.

These Jesuit maps call it Nou Kian (Lu *kiang*) and it is the Lu-ts' *kiang* of Bishop desMazures. "The French Missionaries who "were for some years stationed near the Lu *kiang*, about latitude "28° 20′, speak of it as a great river. Abbé Durand, June 1863, "describing a society of heretical Lamas, who had invited his in-"structions, and who were willing to consign the paraphernalia of "their worship to the waters, writes: 'What will become of it all? "'The *great river*, whose waves roll to Martaban, is not more than "'two hundred or three hundred paces distant.' . . . A river so "spoken of in latituide 28° 20′ or thereabouts may easily have come "from a remote Tibetan source. It is hard to say more as yet, amid "the uncertainties of the geography of Tibetan steppes, and the "difficulty of discerning between the tributaries of this river and "that of the next; but the Lu *kiang*, or a main branch of it, under "the name of Suk-chu, appears to be crossed by a bridge on the "high road between Ssŭ-Ch'wan and Lhassa, four stations west of "Tsiamdo on the Lan Ts'ang (the Mèkhong.)" The iron suspension bridge in about latitude 25° N. on the road from Bhamo to Tali has been often described by travellers. It is in two spans of altogether 600 feet in length. One span over the main channel is 270 feet wide; the other over a portion of the bed exposed in the dry season is 330 feet wide. Colborne Baber thus described it: "The floor of this valley lies at the surprisingly low level of 2,670 feet "above the sea. The river is some 240 feet lower, running between "steep banks of a regular slope much resembling a huge railway "cutting. It sweeps down a short rapid under the bridge; but farther "down it was evidently of considerable depth, by no means swift, "with a breadth of 90 yards or more, and navigable for boats of large "size; but not a punt or shallop was to be seen." This character it preserves till it reaches Lower Burma. Here and there the hills are lower, in a few places there are even some acres of flat land, but almost the whole way it preserves this appearance of a mammoth railway cutting. Prince Henri d'Orleans visited and marched along the Salween for a short distance about latitude 26° and again about latitude 28°. At the former spot, west of Fey-long-kiao, and almost due west of Tali "we dropped down into the Salween basin between "wooded hills that sheltered rare hamlets * * * the gradients "of the sides being less steep than those of the Mèkhong. The "Cheloung *kiang* [this "nine dragons' stream" is the name given "near Ta-ya-keo in Möng Lem to the Mèkhong], the Lu *kiang*, or "Salween, as it is variously called, flows at its base in an average "breadth of 120 yards. Its waters are easily distinguished from "those of the Lan-tsang *kiang*, for, while the latter are reddish brown, "the Salween's are a dirty grey. At the point where we struck it

"the current seemed less rapid than the Mèkhong; the temperature "of the water was 66° Fahr. The level of the Salween is only "3,087 feet, or 1,625 lower than the Mèkhong. Without admitting "a shallower depth than is the case, it is difficult to believe that so "great a body of water can issue from so short a course as that "indicated by the latest English map of Tibet, published in 1894. "The impression we derived was of a large river coming from far." When a short distance farther north the Prince marched back to the Mèkhong, "coming so recently from the Salween, it seemed small, "and its valley more confined and less green than the latter."

From Tsekou in latitude 28° Prince Henri again crossed the Mèkhong-Salween watershed. The pass was high, 3,800 *mètres* (12,467 feet). The descent was through bamboo and high grass jungle. "We ferried over in skiffs about 16 feet long, hollowed out "of trunks of trees. From two to four men manœuvred them "with small oars; the crossing was an easy matter compared with "that of the Mèkhong at Halo; there were no real rapids here, and "counter-currents could be taken advantage of; the temperature of "the water was much the same as that of the Mèkhong at the same "height, being 60° Fahr.; but a neighbouring tributary from the "mountains registered nearly 6° higher.

"On the right bank we received a messenger from the Lamaserai "of Tchamou-tong, distant now only a few miles, who announced "that the superior had under him 76 *Lamas* (Red-hats). On the "23rd and 24th September we continued down the Salween by a good "road. As is the case lower, the valley is greener than that of the "Mèkhong, with flora almost approaching that of warm countries. "The trees were literally decked with tufts of orchids, whose yellow "and brown-spotted blooms hung in odoriferous clusters."

From the Salween over to the Irrawaddy the road proved to be impracticable for mules. "We did not mount, we did not descend, "we simply gave ourselves over to gymnastics." The Salween has evidently as troublesome banks there as in parts of the Northern and Southern Shan States, where picturesque descriptive language is also employed.

The Salween enters British territory in the Shan State of North Hsenwi, runs through the Shan States north and south, and emerges from Karenni into Lower Burma. It varies very greatly in breadth. Where it enters Kokang it is about 80 yards wide; at the Kun Lông ferry it is about 200 feet, but its lowest width is below the mouth of the Thaungyin, where it measures no more than 30 yards. The main tributaries on the left bank are the Nam Hka and the Nam Hsîm, both considerable streams, navigable locally for

country boats, and both rising in British territory. The Nam Ting rising in Chinese territory and joining the Salween some miles below the Kun Lông ferry, where it forms the island which gives the ferry its name, is considerably smaller, as is the Nam Ma of the Wa country. On the right bank the chief affluents are the Nam Pang (Bin *chaung*) and the Nam Tēng (Tein *chaung*), both rising in the Northern Shan States, flowing parallel to and at no great distance from one another and the Salween, and entering it in the Southern Shan States; the Nam Pang in Kēng Hkam; and the Nam Tēng in Mawk Mai. Both are navigable locally in reaches for native boats. Farther south the Nam Pawn with its tributaries, the anastomosing Nam Pilu and the Nam Tu (or Tu *chaung*), joins the Salween where Karenni and Lower Burma meet.

The Mèkhong, called the Lan Ts'an *kiang* in its upper reaches by the Chinese, forms the boundary between the Shan States and the French province of Indo-China for a distance of between 50 and 100 miles. It hardly therefore calls for detailed description in an *Upper Burma Gazetteer*. It may, however, be said that, like the Salween, it rises far north in Tibet and rivals even the Yang-tze in length. The town of Tsiamdo, capital of the province of Kham, which stands between the two main branches that form the Mèkhong, in about latitude 30° 45′, was visited by Huc and Gabet on their return under arrest from Lhassa; but, as Yule says, "whatever *quasi*-geographical particulars Huc gives seem to have "been taken, after the manner of travellers of his sort, from the "Chinese itineraries published in Klaproth's *Description du Tubet*." Kiepert in his map of 1864 calmly implied that he did not believe Huc. Bishop desMazures and Abbé Desgodins, who followed the course of the Lan-ts'ang at no great distance, visited Tsiamdo in 1866 (they call it Tcha-Mouto), and thus the Mèkhong may be said to be known to this point. In the same latitudes it is about the same size as the Salween, but soon after leaving China its basin opens out and there are fairly extensive plains on its banks in many parts both of Kēng Hūng (Chêli) and Kēng Tūng, and it is far from being so picturesque a river as the Salween. As a navigable stream it is neither better nor worse than the Salween, but French pluck and enterprise have done much more for it than has been attempted on the British river. It cannot, however, be called a water-way for commerce. Its chief tributaries in British territory are the Nam Lwi, which rises in the Chinese prefecture of Chênpien and forms for a great portion of its course the boundary between Chinese and British territory and the Nam Hkôk which rises in Kēng Tūng State and enters the Mèkhong not far below Chieng Hsen in Siamese territory. The Nam Hôk (Mè Huak in Siamese), which is con-

siderably smaller than either of these, forms the boundary between Siamese and British territory and joins the Mèkhong some miles above Chienghsen.

Lakes.

The largest lake in Upper Burma is the Indawgyi in the Myitkyina district. It measures 16 miles by 6 and is bordered on the south-east and west by two low ranges of hills, and has one outlet in the north-east, which forms the Indaw river discharging into the Nam Kawng or Mogaung river. Tradition says that this lake was formed by an earthquake and submerged a Shan town. The Indaw in the Katha district is also a natural lake, and covers 60 square miles. The Meiktila lake and the Aungpinle lake near Mandalay are artificial reservoirs. The Indein lake, near Yawng Hwe in the Southern Shan States, is the last of the lakes which no doubt in prehistoric times filled all the Shan valleys. It is nearly as large as the Indawgyi, but has greatly diminished in size within comparatively recent times. The lake or lakes at Möng Nai have shrunk to comparatively insignificant proportions, though the southern lake is much deeper than that at Yawng Hwe. Such other lakes as exist in various parts are chiefly marshes formed after the fall of the floods and they are usually wholly or partially dried up in the hot season. The only other lake worthy of special notice is Nawng Hkeo, which is situated on the top of a hill, some miles north of Möng Hka in the heart of the Wa States. It is surrounded by heavy jungles, is said to be very deep, and to have no fish in it. It forms the subject of a number of traditions and wild beliefs among the Wa and the Shans, and, as is pointed out elsewhere, may be the Chiamay lake of seventeenth century writers.

Immediately above the frontier between Upper and Lower Burma begins the dry zone which extends from the 20th to the 22nd degrees of latitude and includes roughly speaking the whole of the Minbu and Meiktila divisions. Here the country rises from the Irrawaddy in long slopes and rolling ridges. The vegetation rapidly loses its rich tropical character and the uplands are merely dotted with sparse and stunted trees and bushes, which led to the old idea that the country was a mere "*despoblado* (uninhabited waste) of dry rolling hills dotted with thin bushes and euphorbias." But the uplands sink at pretty regular intervals into decided valleys, running at right angles to the Irrawaddy and the Sittang, into which they discharge the drainage of the interior by broad, shallow, sandy channels, always dry, except immediately after heavy rain. North of Pagan this upland still exists, but it is less elevated and less bare and barren and is separated from the river by a greater or less

extent of fruitful soil. The idea formed of the country varies greatly according to the time of year at which it is seen, before or after the rainy season. The same general character is reproduced on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, but extending over a much more restricted area. In the dry zone the annual rainfall averages as low as 20 or 30 inches only. North of this dry belt there is a much more marked rainy season and the annual rainfall seems to average about 70 or 80 inches. The temperature varies as much as the rainfall. Except in the dense forest tracts and the remoter portions of some of the outlying districts, where malarial fever is prevalent, the Upper Province is by no means unhealthy either for the natives of the country or for Europeans.

The districts which have the smallest rainfall are Kyauksè, 22·7 inches; Pakôkku, 23·18 inches; Myingyan 23·9 inches; and Minbu 24·134 inches, which is the average over a period of five years. Those with the highest are Ruby Mines, 83·88 inches; Upper Chindwin, 73·587 inches; Bhamo, 70·106 inches; and Katha 46·97 inches over the same period. These are all mountainous or sub-Alpine districts.

The Chin Hills.

The Chin Hills were not declared an integral part of Burma until 1895, but they now form a scheduled district. The following account of their general features is condensed from the Gazetteer of Messrs. Carey and Tuck and from the reports of Intelligence Officers,—The Chin Hills lie between latitude 24° and 21° 45′ and longitude 93° 20′ and 94° 5′. They thus form a parallelogram about 250 miles long and from 100 to 150 and miles broad. There are no plains or table-lands, nothing but a series of ridges separated by deep valleys. The approach from the Myittha valley is by rugged steep spurs covered with dense jungle and divided by deep narrow ravines. These hills are sparsely if at all inhabited and lead up to the first ridge, which runs parallel to the Myittha river and about 50 miles west of it, with an average height of about 7,000 feet above sea-level. Beyond this lie range upon range of almost bare hills, their sides dotted with villages and scored with terraced fields, which have taken the place of the thin virgin forest. The main ranges run generally north and south and vary in height from 5,000 to 9,000 feet. The most important is the Letha or Tang, which is the watershed between the Chindwin and the Manipur rivers; the Imbukklang, which forms the divide for the waters of Upper Burma and Arakan; and the Rongklang, which occupies the same position for the southern hills, discharging on one side into the Myittha and on the other into the Boinu. The highest peak appears to be the Liklang some 70 miles south of Haka,

which rises to nearly 10,000 feet. Others are Lunglen, the western point of the Chin Manipur boundary, 6,531 feet; Katong, 7,837 feet, on the same frontier; Noakuvum, 8,500 feet; and Kul, 8,860 feet, which is known as Kennedy Peak. In the southern hills the chief are Rumklao, 8,231; Rongklang, 8,000 feet; Boipa, 8,800; and many others ranging about 8,000 feet.

There are several rivers of fair size. The Manipur river issues from the Lontak lake, flows almost due south from Shuganu to Molbem, where it curves to the east, passes below Falam, and enters the Myittha a mile below Sihaung. The Boinu rises in the Yahow country, flows south and then west, and eventually south again into Arakan, where it enters the sea under the name of the Kuladan. Its affluent, the Tyao, issues from a lake north of Tattun. The Tuivai is the largest tributary of the Barak river in Assam. All these rivers are fordable, except the Manipur river, which can seldom be crossed below Kwanglui, and never before the month of February even as far north as Tunzan.

The climate of the Chin Hills judged at an altitude of between 2,500 and 6,500 feet is temperate. In the shade and off the ground the thermometer rarely rises about 80° or falls below 25° Fahr. In the hot season and in the sun as much as 150° Fahr. is registered and on the grass in the cold weather 10 degrees of frost are not uncommon. During the first five years of their occupation snow has only been seen once in the Chin Hills, on the Tang or Letha range, in 1893, and it only lay for two days. The Chins speak of it as happening only occasionally. In June the rains commence definitely and last till about the middle of November. During the rest of the year there are occasional showers, but no prolonged rain. Registration shows that the rainfall varies considerably in different parts of the hills, and at Kennedy Peak, Fort White, the Imbukklang, and Haka, where there is heavy forest, the rainfall is greater than at Tiddim, Dimlo, and Falam, where pine trees are found and the undergrowth is neither thick nor rank. At Haka and Fort White the rainfall is very similar and is heavier than at any of our other posts. The rainfall registered at Haka was 111·03 inches in 1893 and 92·26 inches in 1894 and at Fort White it was estimated at the same. Approximately one-third less fell at Falam and one-half at Tiddim.

The Kachin Hills.

Owing to the great number of tribes, sub-tribes, and clans of the Kachins, the part of the Kachin Hills which has been taken under administration in the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts has been divided into 40 tracts. Beyond these tracts there are many Kachins in Katha, Möng Mit, and the Northern Shan States, but though they are often the preponderating, they are not the exclusive population, and they are

comparatively recent settlers. The country within these 40 tracts may be considered the Kachin Hills proper and it lies between 23° 30′ and 26° 30′ north latitude and 96° and 98° east longitude.

The area of the country thus enclosed may be roughly estimated at 19177 square miles, and it consists of a series of ranges, for the most part running north and south, and intersected here and there by valleys, all leading towards the Irrawaddy, which drains the country. The Irrawaddy is navigable for steamers as far as Myitkyina, 73 miles above Senbo ; beyond this, as has been noted above, two difficult rapids prevent their passage, except in the height of the floods. Myitkyina was the most northerly point to which Burmese jurisdiction extended, and beyond this the whole country remains Kachin.

From Senbo to Myitkyina the country may be briefly described as a well-watered plain, with an occasional isolated low hill rising out of jungle more or less dense. The Shans and Burmese-Shans who used to cultivate it were driven away by Kachin raids and are only now beginning to return. The land is very fertile and is capable of supporting a very large population. From Myitkyina to the confluence the country becomes gradually wilder and the jungle more dense. Above the confluence of the Mali and 'Nmai *kha* the appearance of the country changes entirely. No more flat ground is met with, and as far as Hkamti Lông there stretches a mass of low hills, formed into valleys by high parallel ranges of mountains bearing generally north-north-east and south-south-west. Lieut. Blewitt, who accompanied Captain L. E. Eliott on an expedition to the reaches of the Irrawaddy, says :—

"Our march was practically along one of these ranges, not more than 3,000 to 4,000 feet high, and varying from 3 to 4 miles west of the Mali *kha*. It was not a continuous range, being intersected by deep gorges, through which flow the different tributaries of the Mali *kha*. This range apparently terminated at Pumlum Pum, and, standing on this peak at a height of 3,500 feet above sea level, the general appearance of the country, turning to the different points of the compass, is as follows :—

"Due north as far as one could see, the hills were all of lower elevation, looking west was a large valley 30 or 40 miles across, backed by a high range of hills, the continuation of the Shwedaung-gyi and called the Kamôn *taung*. The average height of this range throughout, judging from a distance, appeared to be from 5,000 to 6,000 feet, and in it, almost due west of Pumlum Pum, was a noticeable break or gap, through which is perhaps the road to the Hukawng valley, but unfortunately we could not get this confirmed.

"Turning to the east, looking across the Mali *kha*, the space between it and the 'Nmai *kha* was filled with high hills, and beyond these again rose high parallel ranges, eventually ending in snow-peaks in the far north-north-east. The valley to the west, the low hills to the north, and the space

between the two branches of the Irrawaddy were, for Kachin-land, densely populated, and it may be said to be the heart of the Kachin country."

Still further to the north, between latitudes 27° and 28° or 28° 30′ lies the Hkamti Lông country, which has as its eastern neighbour the land of the Khunnongs, which extends to the watershed between the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy and the Salween. Farther east than longitude 98° and farther north than latitude 28° the country is unexplored, except for the passage of Prince Henri d'Orleans, which was very dashing, but none the less disappointing as far as information is concerned. The Hkamti Lông country is practically the valley of the Nam Kiu (the Shan name for the Irrawaddy generally, but here meaning the Mali river). To the east and north of this rise hills, increasing in height as Mr. Errol Grey says:—

"Successive ranges of forest-clad hills, spreading out like the fingers of the open hand to the south and converging to the north until massed in the high snows of the Tibetan ranges, which arm, stretching southwards and covered deep with snow, limited the vision to the east."

This snow-clad range would appear to be the watershed between the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, the 'Nmai, locally called Tamai, and the Salween. The whole of the country west of this is drained by the Nam Kiu, or Mali, the western branch of the Irrawaddy, and its chief tributary, the Nam Tisan, or Nam Tesang, which joins it on the left bank. Both the Nam Kiu and the Nam Tisan run from north-west to south-east, and the latter takes its rise in a range rising to about 11,000 feet above sea-level. This range connects the ridge which separates the 'Nmai (or Tamai) from the Tisan with that which divides the Nam Tisan from the Nam Kiu, or Mali *kha*, and is situated in latitude 27° 50′. The average height of these ranges is from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. The snow water which swells the Irrawaddy in the early months of the year must therefore come down the 'Nmai *kha*. East of 97° 45′ the hills abound in iron, which is worked by the Khunnongs. They used also to mine silver, but are said latterly to have given it up.

The country to the immediate north and north-east of Bhamo, that is to say, between the 'Nmai river on the north and the Taping on the south, is a rugged mass of hills, except for the tract of low-lying country immediately to the east of the upper defile and the flat lands along the Irrawaddy above this on its left bank. These hills range from 1,000 to 12,000 feet above sea-level and reach their highest point to the east and north-east of Sadôn, falling away towards the Irrawaddy. The main ranges run from north to south and, except where they have been cleared for cultivation, are covered with dense forest with a tangled undergrowth of cane and small

bush. They are very steep and the soil is poor. Deep valleys separate the spurs, and at the bottom of these are rocky streams with excellent water. Towards the hill-tops water is very scarce, though many of the villages are situated there. No metals seem to be found.

West of the Irrawaddy traversed by one of the high roads from Assam to the Irrawaddy lies the Hukawng valley, lying between latitude 26° 15′ and 26° 45′ and longitude 96° 15′ and 97°. It is about 54 miles in length by 35 in breadth and in shape somewhat resembles an egg-cup. Low hills converge to form its southern boundary. These run as sub-features from the Möng Hkawn (Maing Hkwan) hills bounding the west of the valley, and from the 6,000 feet range of Shwedaunggyi which bounds it on the east, and meet at a point about 18 miles south-south-west of Möng Hkawn. The northern boundary is a lofty range of about 8,000 feet, a prolongation of the Khallak hills. The valley itself is absolutely flat throughout, clothed with dense forest, mostly impenetrable, intersected by numerous beautiful streams and with a considerable population. Like most of the similar valleys in the Shan States, the Hukawng valley formed at no very remote era the bed of an Alpine lake, which, like that of the Manipur valley, has been gradually raised to its present level by long continued alluvial deposits and detritus from the hills which encircle it on every side. These deposits raised the level of the water and facilitated its drainage, until it became so shallow that evaporation completed the process and rendered the soil fit for habitation. This process is by slow degrees being carried out in the Yawng Hwe lake.

The Hukawng valley drains into the Tanai river, which when it leaves the valley takes the name of the Chindwin. The Tanai *kha*, called in its upper reaches the Tanai Ku (the head or source), rises in the hills south-west of Thama, in latitude 25° 30′ and longitude 97°, and flows almost due north until it enters the south-east corner of the Hukawng valley, when it turns north-west and continues in that direction, cutting the valley into two almost equal parts, until it reaches the north-west verge, when it turns almost due south. It is a swift clear river ranging from 50 to 300 yards in width and is fed on both sides by numerous streams, the largest of which, the Tarong, comes from the north. Except the Tawan, also coming from the north, the other tributaries are small, ranging from 5 to 40 yards in breadth. They run swift and clear, over gravel or pebble bottoms with high dry banks. In the valley they are very tortuous and form deep pools here and there.

Of other rivers the chief on the left bank is the Taping, which the Kachins call Myun *kha*. It rises in China about latitude 27°.

At the point where the Nampaung joins it it is a raging torrent, with huge boulders and foaming rapids, and is perfectly impassable for men, mules, or boats. In the cold weather it is about 75 yards broad, but is double this in the rains. Boats of a large size can go up the Taping as far as Myothit. Small dug-outs can go another 2 miles up to the mouth of the Nantabet, which rises in the south and is itself navigable as far as Kazu. Here the river is in places only 15 to 20 yards wide, with a current of 6 miles an hour and a bed full of rocks both concealed and above water. Myothit is at the mouth of the defile and the Taping is 180 yards wide here with a depth of 9 feet in the centre in the cold weather and a current of 2 miles an hour. After this point it winds about through the plains and joins the Irrawaddy a mile and a half above Bhamo.

The Nampaung is a rocky torrent rising near Alaw Pum. It is about 30 yards wide at its mouth and easily fordable all through its course, the latter part of which is between impassable hills. Its chief importance is that it forms the boundary line with China.

North of the Taping on the left bank is the Molè, which the Kachins call Manli *kha*. It joins the Irrawaddy about 5 miles above Bhamo close to Kyungyi after a very tortuous course through the plains and is navigable for large country-boats as far as Hngetpyadaw. Above this it is a rocky torrent, though it is fordable in many places coming out of the Kadôn, Wachôn, and Khwikhaw hills. Below Khwikhaw it is only a foot deep with a breadth of 15 yards. The Nam Sang *kha* rises to the west of Bumra Shikong and enters the Irrawaddy opposite Hotha about 5 miles south of Ayeindama. It appears to be navigable as far as Pantong for small boats. At Ka-u in January the stream is 40 yards broad and 2 feet deep, with sandy gravelly bottom, free from stones, and a very sluggish current.

The Namien *kha* rises in Namien Ku Pum. In the hills it is a rocky torrent full of boulders and deep holes. It is fordable, but not without difficulty. At Loisaw in the plains west of Hopông it begins to be navigable and enters the Irrawaddy near Waingmaw, not far below Myitkyina. Other streams on the left bank are all torrents and unnavigable.

On the right bank the Mogaung river is the chief tributary of the Irrawaddy, which it enters in 24° 53′. It rises in the northwest of the Hukawng valley above latitude 26° and flows south-east. As far as Kamaing it retains its old Shan name of Nam Kawng. It is navigable for steam-launches as far as Laban, up to which point it is never less than 50 yards wide and usually averages 70. Between Kamaing and Laban the channel is apt to shift, and sandbanks studded with snags impede free navigation. The Mogaung river

in its lower reaches is tortuous and the country on either side is mostly jungle-covered, while low hills shut the river in.

The only other tributary of any importance on the right bank of the Irrawaddy is the Nam Kwi This rises to the north in the latitude of the confluence and runs southward parallel to the Irrawaddy until it enters that river 5 miles south of Hèchein. It is 60 yards wide and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep with a good sound bottom.

Little is known of the streams in the Kachin Hills north of the confluence, but none appear to be navigable and they are all very much alike with deep rocky gorges and precipitous banks covered with deep jungle. Bridges are unknown, but, except in the rains, the rivers seem to be all fordable. Most of the drainage of the country between the Mali and the 'Nmai flows eastwards into the latter river.

In the mass of hills there are three main ranges. The westernmost of these is the water-parting between the Chindwin and the Irrawaddy. Under the name of the Patkoi or Pikoi range it runs east and west across the north of the Hukawng valley and then, under the name of Jaumong Pum, turns south and forms the eastern limit of the same valley. Farther south still it is known as the Kamôn range and a little north of Mogaung a large spur goes off dividing the Tanai from the Mogaung river. So far as is known, its highest peak lies to the north-east of the Hukawng valley and rises to a height of over 10,000 feet. East of this range lies the watershed between the Mali and the 'Nmai *kha*, the heart of the Kachin country. This is but little known beyond its southern extremity.

East of this again is the water-parting between the Irrawaddy and the Salween. This splits into two before arriving at the known part of the Kachin country, one branch dividing the Irrawaddy from the Taping, and the other separating the Taping from the Nam Mao or Shweli. The highest peak in the more northerly branch is Bumra Shikong, 8,523 feet. The southern branch rises to a height of about 7,000 feet west of Loisao to the south-west of Nam Hkam. In the early morning in December the lowlying hills and plains are covered with a dense raw fog and there are very heavy dews later. In the higher country from the end of November until the end of March there is a cool breeze during the day and frosts at night. In January the sun in the middle of the day is hot and a haze begins which gradually thickens till it is laid by the rains. The rainfall during the wet season is heavy, but has not been registered.

The Shan Hills.

Only a very small portion of the northern and eastern frontiers of the Shan States have been as yet defined. The area, however, may be estimated at between 40,000 and 50,000 square miles, and broadly speaking they may

be said to lie between the 19th and 24th parallels of latitude and the 96th and 102nd of longitude. It must, however, be understood that their shape is roughly that of a triangle, with its base on the plains of Burma and its apex on the Mèkhong river, so that to the eastward the superficial area rapidly diminishes.

The ranges which run fan-wise from the high steppes of Tibet are at first almost as sharply defined as the deep gorges in which the rivers run. But as the ribs of a leaf fade away into the texture, so, as space is gained, the ridges spread out and fall away. The Irrawaddy and the Mèkhong gain space for their basins at the expense of the Salween, so that not only is this river crushed up in its bed, but its watershed on either side is so compressed that, though it falls away, there is not room to form a plain. This is what causes what is called the Shan plateau. The original Salween-Irrawaddy watershed is disturbed in its continuity by the Taping and the Shweli, which split it into two and then comes a geological fault, where the Namtu or Myit-ngè takes its rise at no great distance from the Salween and runs east and west across the map into the Irrawaddy. This completely breaks up the first well marked water-parting and leaves the table-land of the Shan States, which is roughened by ridges of its own, all of them still in favour of the Irrawaddy. On the eastern side the water-parting between the Salween and the Mèkhong keeps up its continuity much further south, and if the Salween has the advantage in the Namting, the Mèkhong "comes me cranking in" with the Namlwi and cuts a monstrous cantle out. Before, however, there is room for a table-land to form, the Mèkhong makes its huge sweep from Chieng Hsen to the east and leaves space for the various streams which form the Mènam to continue the constriction of the last stages of the Salween basin.

The Shan plateau is therefore properly only the country between the Salween and the Irrawaddy. On the west it is abruptly marked by the long line of hills, which begin about Bhamo and run southwards till they sink into the plains of Lower Burma. On the east it is no less sharply marked by the deep narrow rift of the Salween, the most uncompromising natural boundary in the world.

The average height of the plateau is between 2,000 and 3,000 feet, but it is seamed and ribbed by mountain ranges which split up and run into one another, though they still preserve the original north and south direction, and leave here and there space for broad rolling downs and sometimes only for flat-bottomed valleys. On the north the Shan States are barred across by the east and west ranges which follow the line of the Namtu. The huge mass of Loi Ling, 8,842 feet, projects southward from this and from either

side of it and to the southward extends the wide billowy plain which forms the most important part of the Shan States and extends down to Möng Nai. The ascent from the plains of Burma leads to a similar series of downs, a sort of shelf which overlooks the valley of the Irrawaddy until it breaks into a confused mass of peaks and ridges in the Karen hills. Elsewhere the spaces between the hills are either long riband-lines of cultivation in a river valley, or circular plains bounded by entering and re-entering spurs. In the Northern Shan States, south of the Namtu, the watershed between the Irrawaddy and the Salween is a mere undulation of the ground, and then through broken country it trends westward, until in the Myelat it reaches the edge of the plateau which overlooks the plains of Burma.

The highest peaks are in the north and the south. Loi Ling mentioned above is the highest point west of the Salween, and in Kokang and other parts of North Hsenwi there are many peaks above 7,000 feet, and the same heights are nearly reached in the hills of the Karen country. The majority of the intermediate parallel ranges have an average of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet with peaks rising to over 6,000.

The country beyond the Salween is much less open and more hilly, that is to say, instead of a rolling plateau there is a mass of broken hills. It presents no clearly defined range of mountains, but rather a confused and intricate mass of hills, where the several drainage systems may be said to overlap each other, and, beyond a few narrow valleys and some insignificant plains, no open space is seen until Kēng Tūng (which is in the basin of the Mèkhong) is reached. Except in the north, as is the case west of the Salween, the hills are clad with dense forest. In the south towards the Mènam they range from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, while in the north towards the Wa States they average from 5,000 to 7,000. Several peaks rise to 8,000 feet, such as Loi Maw, 8,102, and the abruptness of the slopes, especially in the north, is very marked.

The Salween and the Mèkhong have been generally described above. The main tributaries of the Irrawaddy are the Nam Tu (Myit-ngè) and the Zaw-gyi. The Nam Tu rises in a hill swamp some distance east of Hsen Wi town, runs west into Tawng Peng, Loi Lông, south through mountain gorges into the Hsi Paw valley, and then through the narrow Pyaung Shu gorge down to Amarapura. It is navigable only to the foot of the hills, but dug-outs ply on many reaches of the upper river and it is unfordable after it enters Tawng Peng. The Zaw-gyi rises in Lawk Sawk State and has a most extraordinarily tortuous course until it descends to the plains

through Maw. Its waters and those of the Myittha are utilized for the Kyauksè irrigation canals.

The main tributaries of the Salween on the right bank are the Nam Pang, the Nam Tēng, and the Nam Pawn. The Nam Pang rises in the hills north of Loi Lông at no great distance from the Salween and runs parallel to that river until it enters it some distance south of the Kaw ferry. It flows partly through plain country and partly between low jungle-covered hills, but everywhere it is noted for its rocky bottom, which appears in reefs and ruptures producing cataracts throughout its entire course, and it finally enters the Salween in a foaming descent several hundred yards long. At Kēng Hkam, 15 miles above this, it is quarter of a mile wide with numerous islands. It is unfordable south of Möng Hkao in West Mang Lön and boats ply upon it locally, but as a stream it is unnavigable. The Nam Tēng rises in the hills to the west of Möng Küng on the watershed range and flows through Kehsi Man Hsam, Lai Hka, and Möng Nawng into Kēng Tawng and enters the Salween at Ta Hsūp Tēng on the border of Mawk Mai and Karenni. Like the Nam Pang it is full of rocks and boulders in its upper course, but in the plains of Lai Hka and Kēng Tawng it becomes comparatively sluggish and clay-bottomed. In its lower course it enters among the hills, and the last few miles are little better than a lasher. It is therefore unnavigable, but far up into Lai Hka there are boats on it which serve ferries and move about locally.

Unlike these two the Nam Pawn is shut in between hills throughout its entire course, with only occasional breaks of narrow plain land. It rises on the borders of Lai Hka and Möng Pawn and southward of the capital of the latter State is fordable only in a few places and indeed runs for miles through narrow gorges. It enters the Salween in Karenni at Pazaung. The Nam Pawn receives the waters of the Nam Pilu, which issues as a considerable stream from the Yawng Hwe lake and is navigable for 70 miles to Loi Kaw in Karenni. A few miles below that place it sinks into the ground and so joins the Nam Pawn at the foot of the hills some miles away. A little lower the Nam Tu, rising in the hills of the Brè Karens, enters the Nam Pawn not far from its mouth. Its course is of the same hilly character as that of the Nam Pawn and like it it is unnavigable.

On the left bank of the Salween the chief tributaries are the Nam Ting, the Nam Hka, and the Nam Hsîm. The Nam Ting rises in the Chinese Shan States to the north-west of Shunning-fu and, flowing nearly due west, enters the Salween some miles below Kun Lông ferry, where it forms the boundary between North Hsen

Wi and Sôn Mu States. In its upper course it is shut in by hills, but near its mouth it has a fairly wide flat valley, which affords abundance of room for the terminus of the Mandalay-Kun Lông Railway. The Nam Hka appears to have its chief source in the mountain lake of Nawng Hkeo. It receives a number of affluents from the well-watered Wa country and is increased in volume by the Nam Ping flowing northwards out of Kēng Tūng State. As far as is known, it is unnavigable at its mouth as it is for most parts of its course, though it is unfordable in most parts far up in the Wa States. It is shut in by hills, except in a very few places, the chief of which is Pang Hseng opposite Möng Ngaw in Möng Lem territory. The Nam Hsîm is also a river of considerable size and rises in the range to the north-west of Kēng Tūng. Throughout it has a very rapid current and in its lower reaches it seems to be little better than a torrent. It is only fordable in dry weather on the southern of the two routes to Kēng Tūng. In addition to these there are great numbers of shorter affluents, sometimes with a considerable volume of water, but with only a short course and useful only as means of floating out timber, or as roads down to the Salween.

The climate of the Shan States varies very considerably. From December to February or March it is cool everywhere and on the open downs sometimes as much as 10 degrees of frost are experienced. In most parts during the hot weather the shade temperature does not exceed from 80° to 90° Fahr., but in the narrow valleys and especially in the Salween valley the shade maximum reaches over 100° regularly for several weeks about April. Even on the highest peaks of the north snow seems to fall but very rarely. White frosts are, however, nearly universal in the paddy valleys, where condensation greatly reduces the temperature and greater cold is experienced than on the ridges several thousand feet above. The rains begin about the end of April or the beginning of May, but they are not continuous until August, which appears always to be the wettest month. The rainfall varies greatly, but seems to range from about 60 inches in the broader valleys to about 100 on the higher mountains.

Fauna.

The fauna of Upper Burma does not greatly differ from that of the Lower Province, particulars of which will be found in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, or in the more elaborate works edited by Dr. Blanford. The hilly country naturally contains other species, but the subject is not one that can be condensed, and as yet no one has had the leisure to carry on systematic scientific research, or to record the results he may have

obtained which would be new to specialists. In general terms it may be said that the birds and beasts of the Chin, Kachin, and Shan hills seem to be much the same. The elephant is to be found near any of the plains where water is plentiful and the herds are occasionally large in the Shan States. Bison (*Gavæus gaurus*) are to be found in the same localities. Rhinosceros, both the *Sumatrensis* and the *Sondaicus*, are found both on the Irrawaddy and the Salween, and near them are usually *saing* (*Gavæus Sondaicus*). All kinds of deer (sambhur, hog-deer, barking-deer, and brow-antlered deer) are met with almost in all parts, and the *ghural* and the serow (*Nemorhædus Bubalina*) are found on the more secluded and jungly slopes, as are some of the *Capridæ*. The tiger and the panther are almost too common in many parts of the hills, and man-eaters of both species were for a time numerous in the Shan States. All of the *Felidæ*, indeed, are abundant, as well as the *Viverridæ* and paradoxures or tree-cats. The common and the small-clawed otter haunt most streams and both the Malayan sun-bear and the Himalayan black bear do much harm to hill cultivation and frequently maul the cultivators. The wild dog hunts in packs, and it is confidently asserted that the jackal also has been seen, though the belief was that he does not exist in Burma. Badgers and porcupines are widely distributed, and monkeys and apes (*Macacus* and *Semnopithecus*) exist in great variety, as do squirrels, some with very handsome furs. Hares are common wherever there is pasture for them. Wild boar are very abundant, but never in country where they can be coursed, and the pangolin, or armadillo as he is usually called, finds abundance of ants to eat, though he is not often seen himself. Bats and the various kinds of *Muridæ*, as well as voles, are particularly numerous in their species.

The birds of Burma have been specially dealt with by Mr. Eugene Oates. Several rare varieties of pheasant have been found in the Shan States and the argus and silver pheasants are to be got with reasonable certainty by those who seek for them. The number of tree partridges is considerable and the painted quail has been shot. Woodcock are extensively found, but not in such numbers as to deprive the successful shot of complacency. The *Anatidæ* are found in very great variety. Nearly 20 varieties have been shot on the Aungpinle water near Mandalay, and the number of species obtained on the Yawng Hwe and smaller remote lakes greatly exceeds this.

The *Columbidæ* are very numerous from the great imperial pigeon to the smallest variety of the green pigeon. Birds of prey are abundant, but seem to be of the usual species. They cover very wide tracts of country. The English cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus*) occurs, but the black cuckoo of India is far more common. It begins to

call in the Shan States towards the end of March. The lark appears to be the same as the European species and sings as sweetly. Both the sarus (*Grus antigone*) and the demoiselle crane are found in the Shan States, but the former is the commoner. The *Bucerotidæ*, or hornbills, are found in great variety wherever there is much forest, and the *Picidæ*, or woodpeckers, are still more numerous in species and in brilliance of plumage. Singing birds are more common in the hills than in the plains, and many of the *Turdidæ* are as mellow in their note as those of home gardens. Of the smaller birds at high altitudes many are no doubt new to science.

So far as is known, the reptilian fauna of Upper Burma differs in no way from that of the Lower Province. The Chapter by Mr. Theobald in the *British Burma Gazetteer* may be consulted, as well as that on ichthyology in the same work.

Cobras are rare in the hills. In some places the necklace snake, the *Tic polonga* or Russel's viper, is particularly common, as for example at Minbu. The *Bungarus*, or *Krait*, on the contrary is rare.

In all the hill streams the *mahseer* and the carp in several varieties are very common. The former have been caught with the rod in the Nam Tēng and other rivers up to 28 pounds.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

THE REIGNS OF KING MINDON AND KING THIBAW FROM BURMESE SOURCES.

IN the *British Burma Gazetteer*, published in 1880, the history of Burma is brought down to the end of the second Burmese war, that is to say, to the year 1852. The end of the war was practically coincident with the fall of Pagan Min and the ascent of the throne by Mindôn Min. In the papers of the *Hlutdaw* was found a sort of Annual Register, a chronicle in Burmese, of the events of the King's reign, and from this the following disjointed narrative of events is translated, with notes by foreign servants of the King added here and there. The history is singularly parochial. Little notice is taken of what passed outside of Burma, very little indeed of events outside of the capital. But since it furnishes an example of the way in which the Burmese thought history should be recorded, it seems a document worth preserving, and it is given exactly as the annalist wrote it down with the marginal notes added by a later scribe. It gives a remarkably good picture of the King, one of the best Kings Burma ever had. He was for ever engaged in pious and meritorious works, and these are sedulously chronicled. He was genial and amiable and passionately anxious for peace; he was imperious in his manner; he was very easily led, and yet he had a high sense of his responsibilities; he was vain and proud of his Buddhistic learning, yet he was eager for knowledge and anxious to keep himself informed of the progress of events in foreign countries. All this is naively brought out by the Burman historian.

This history of King Mindôn is followed by details from native sources of the accession of King Thibaw and of the chief events in his short reign.

In the month of November 1852 there was a dacoity in the Danun quarter of Amarapura, at the house of Ma Thè, the sister of Ma Ywe, the Pagan King's nurse. The dacoity took place at one in the morning and the same day Pagan Min ordered the *Myowun*, who was Governor of the city, to arrest the dacoits. The *Myowun* immediately sent for Shwe Hnya and Nga Lat, two notoriously bad characters, and told them they must find the dacoits. Upon this

these two men said that a few days before the dacoity they saw the Kanaung Min's men, Nga Yan Gale, Nga Thôn Byin, and Nga Shwe Waing, come out of Ma Thè's house. These men were arrested and examined, but nothing was found against them. They were, however, detained because they were the Kanaung Min's men, and shortly afterwards they were again examined before the *Taungdwe Bo*, Maung Tôk, and the *Pônna Wun*, Maung Kala, inside the Palace, but still nothing came out about the dacoits. The *Myintat Bo*, Maung Po, then represented to Pagan Min that, besides these three men, there were others from Shwebo living in the houses of Mindôn Min and Kanaung Min. He gave the names of the following men,—Maung Khè, Maung Net Pya, Maung Shwe Eik, Maung Shwe Thaik, Maung Shwe Tha, and Maung Thu Yin. Upon this Mindôn Min's *Akyisaye*, Maung Pa, the Kanaung *Mintha's Akyisaye*, Maung Yè, Maung Hnin, and the *Kunyagaung*, Maung Shwe Aung, were thrown into prison and ordered to deliver up these men. The Kanaung *Mintha* and Mindôn Min's chief *Akyidaw*, Maung Yan We, then went together to Mindôn Min's house and set the matter before him. They pointed out how these men had been falsely imprisoned and that there was a regular plot to misrepresent the matter to Pagan Min and to secure the punishment of these men contrary to justice. They therefore advised Mindôn Min for his own sake to leave the place. At first Mindôn Min objected and said that after the death of his father he looked upon Pagan Min, his elder brother, as having taken the place of his father, and respected him accordingly. Pagan Min, moreover, had given both him and the Kanaung Min a greater number of cities for their portion and therefore it was right that he should expect submission. This he repeated three or four times. The Kanaung *Mintha* pointed out again that it was the Ministers who were falsely representing the matter to the King, and that even if he and Mindôn Min did not leave the city, they ought to allow their servants to do so, in order that they at least might escape punishment. Then at last Mindôn Min sent for his chief followers and pointed out that the enquiry into the dacoity case was being carried on in a very unusual way. The investigation was not held in the *Hlutdaw* as it ought to have been, or at least in the *Byètaik*, or the police courts, but was being conducted in the south garden of the palace by the *Taungdwe Bo*, Maung Tôk, and the *Pônna Wun*, Maung Kala, who were thus able to do what they pleased. Mindôn Min also added that he had heard from some of the queens that the object was to prove that he and the Kanaung *Mintha* had instigated the dacoity and so to get them into trouble; he therefore wished to know what his people thought of the matter. The Kan-

aung *Mintha* said that it was clear to him that there was an organized plot to bring them into disgrace with the King and ultimately to secure their downfall. He then went on to remind them what his and Mindôn Min's mother had often related: how a few days before Mindôn Min was born in 1814 a vast multitude of people had come to worship at the Ratanamyazu pagoda at Myedi to the north of Amarapura. This she always maintained foretold a high destiny for Mindôn, who was to become head of the religion and protector of the people. Another omen also there was: a banyan tree in front of their residence in Amarapura, opposite the Shwe Linbin Pagoda, burst into flower, which is against the law of nature. Many people from all parts of the country came to see and worship before this tree, and from that time all the people loved and respected Mindôn Min. The Kanaung *Mintha* was therefore of opinion that they should all immediately leave the city and make for a safe place, where they could consider what was to be done, and put themselves in communication with their friends, the *ex*-Madaya *wun*, Maung Ôn Sa, the *ex*-Kyaukhmo *myowun*, Maung Nun Bôn, the *ex-Yabat Myintat Bo*, Maung Kyi, the Kyaukmyaung Myoôk, Maung Yi, the *ex*-Myedu *Myowun*, Maung Hlaing, Maung Nyat Pya, Maung Pa, Maung Thaing, Maung Shwe Ut, Maung Shwe Ba, Maung Shwe Thet, Maung Gyi, Maung Waing, Maung Kyi, Maung Thet Pyin, Maung Shwe Tha, Maung Tu Yin, Maung Taung Ni, Maung Tha Dun, Maung A Ka, and their relations and followers in Madaya, Singu, Kyaukmyaung, Shwebo, Myedu, Tabayin, Pyinsalè, Thôntabin, and other places in the north of the kingdom. When they had consulted with these people some plan might be formed for the future. Mindôn Min then said that while he was keeping fast at the time when his father was living in the temporary palace at Myedi, a pickle of radishes was made in a jar and the next day the radishes sprouted. Also while he was living in his former house, a gardener of Myingun brought a branch of a flowering tree which was planted in the garden and burst into blossom only a day or two afterwards, both of which events were looked upon as fortunate omens and treasured up in the memory of his mother. Again, one day when Mindôn Min was getting into his carriage to go to the palace, a small bird called *Shwe-pyi-zo* settled on his shoulder, and this was generally interpreted to mean that one day he would be King of the Golden City.

Upon this the Prince's following declared that there was evidently a conspiracy against them. The dacoity had been really committed by Ma Ywe's men, Nga Hlaing, Maung Shwe Thu, Maung Tôk Tu, and others, but it was now sought to throw the blame of it on the Prince's men. They were therefore unanimously of

opinion that they should leave Amarapura, and all promised to serve Mindôn Min faithfully and devote their lives to his service.

Mindôn Min upon this yielded and he, with all his family and following, to the number of 300, left his house in Amarapura on the 8th *lasan* of *Pyatho* (18th December) 1852 at about seven o'clock at night. When they reached the north-eastern gate called *Lagyun* they found the door closed. The gatekeeper Nga Po Gaung refused to open it and was killed by one of the Kanaung *Mintha's* men. They then went on to the Arakan pagoda, where they overpowered the guard and seized their arms and ammunition. Beyond this at the Yahaing bazaar an unknown man presented Mindôn Min with a large white pony, which the Prince mounted and rode always after this. The party camped for the night at Madaya.

The *Pônna Wun*, Maung Kala, was the first to report the flight of the Princes to King Pagan, who immediately sent a *Thandawzin* to see whether it was true. He then ordered the *Taungdwe Bo*, Maha-minhla-kyawdin, and the *Pônna Wun Mingyi*, Maha-minkyaw-tazaung, with 500 men to follow and seize them. They with the Madaya *Wun's* forces attacked the two Princes on the 19th December, but were defeated. The *Taung Winhmu*, Thado-minkyaw-maha-mingaung-yazathu, with 1,000 men then came and took over command from the *Taungdwe Bo* and the *Pônna Wun*. The *Wundauk Mingyi*, Maha-minkyaw-mindin, the *Myauk Tayangaze Bo*, Maha-minhla-tazaung, the *Yabat Myintat Bo*, Maha-mindin-mingaung, also sent up 500 men by river.

When they arrived at Sagyintaung the Kanaung *Mintha* made his brother Mindôn, with the women and children and servants, go on to Singu, while he remained behind to attack the pursuers. When the *Taungdwe Bo*, the *Pônna Wun*, and the Madaya *Wun* reached Sagyin with 1,000 troops the Kanaung *Mintha* met them with 60 men stationed in the centre of the valley, 60 men under Maung Shwe Thet on the eastern side, and 60 men under Maung Mo on the western side of the valley. The King's forces attacked, but were beaten off and then the Kanaung *Mintha* followed his brother over to Singu. At Shwegôndaing a number of Shans with arms and ammunition joined them and at Sègyet and other villages along the line of march people flocked in to support them or give them weapons. At Singu Mindôn Min with the women and children crossed the river first and then the Kanaung *Mintha* made the Myoôk a prisoner, crossed over, and destroyed all the boats. The party then made for Kyaukmyaung, where 130 men were picked out and hidden on the bank of the river near Makaukmala. When the *Taung Winhmu* with the *Taungdwe Bo* and the *Pônna Wun* with

their men came up this party suddenly attacked them from their ambush and killed a great number and so checked the pursuit. Meanwhile Mindôn Min held a conference as to what point he should make for and suggested Shwebo. The Ngamyo *Ywaôk*, Maung Tôk Gyi, was against this. Shwebo he said was well defended and beyond their strength, and he therefore advised a march to Manipur. The Yindaw *Wungyi's* son, Maung Po Hlaing, however, pointed out that hitherto in all their skirmishes they had been victorious against the King's troops and reminded them that the Shwebo *Wun* was so hated by the people that they would not fight for him. A retreat on Manipur he said would alienate all the people who had declared for them, while the capture of Shwebo would gain over a still larger number. Maung So, who afterwards became Yenangyaung *Mingyi* and other officials united in supporting this advice and a party of about 1,000 men was sent to attack Shwebo. A few men went on in front to set fire to some houses, and during the confusion the rest rushed into the town. The Shwebo *Wun*, who had 3,000 men with him, was routed and fled for his life. Mindôn Min immediately afterwards marched into the town and took up his quarters in the *Wun's* house preparatory to building himself a palace. This was on the 12th *lasan* of *Pyatho* (the 22nd December) of the same year. Immediate preparations were made for the defence of the place. Maung Shwe Byin, the *Myintat Bo* of Hladawgyi, with all his family, relations, and following, to the number of 100 with 100 ponies, came in and was appointed a chief *Bo* with a force of 500 men stationed at Halin to the south of Shwebo. Maung Shwe Thet also with a command of 500 men was stationed at Kauk and Ta-ôn to the east of the city, and Maung Hlaing had the defence of the north with headquarters at Pyinzala, Thôntabin, and Myedu. After this a number of *Sawbwas* came in and gave their allegiance to Mindôn Min and were confirmed in their titles and appointments.

When Pagan Min heard of the defeat of his troops and the loss of Shwebo he appointed his younger brother, Hlaing Min Thiridhammayaza, to the command of 1,000 men and gave him as assistants the *Daing Wundauk, Myauk Taya-ngazè Bo*, and the *Amyauk Wun* and despatched them to operate by way of Sagaing. He also gave the Mohnyin Prince, Thiridhammayaza, and his son, the Hlaingdet Prince, Thadominyè Kyawdin, 500 men and sent them up by way of Alôn.

Meanwhile the force commanded by the Taung *Winhmu*, the *Taungdwe Bo*, and the *Pônna Wun* again advanced to the attack at Ta-ôn and were met by Mindon Min's leaders *Bo* Thet, *Bo* Maung Gyi, *Bo* Be, *Bo* Waing, and *Bo* Kyè. The King's troops were again defeated and fled with the enemy in hot pursuit across the river to

Singu, and at a village, Khulaing, in that circle the Taung *Winhmu* and the *Taungdwe Bo* were captured together with their elephants, gold cups, swords, and umbrellas and other insignia by *Bo* Waing and a Shan trader and handed over to Mindôn Min's people at Ta-ôn. The *Pônna Wun*, however, escaped. At Halin also, to the south of Shwebo, Mindôn's troops were equally successful. The royal forces commanded by the Paung *Wundauk*, Maung Kun, and the *Yabat Myintat Bo*, Maung Po, were completely routed by *Bo* Byin and *Bo* Hpa, and the *Myauk-taya-ngazè Bo* committed suicide in a *zayat*. *Bo* Byin then marched south to Sagaing with 1,000 men and on his way, at Samun, came upon Hlaing Min, who fought most determinedly, but in the end was beaten back with great loss of arms and ammunition, which were sent to Shwebo. Mindôn Min now appointed the *She Winhmu*, Tharawun Mingyi Mahamingaung, to the command of the forces on the east of the river with the Yaukmyaung *Bo*, Mahamingyaw, the Thetchobin *Bo*, Minhlatazaung, the Singu *Myowun*, Mingyaw, and the Madaya *Bo* as his lieutenants. The *Taung Winhmu Mingyi*, Mahatayabyaw, was at about the same time despatched to Alôn to fight the Mohnyin Prince, whom he defeated. Upon this the Thatôn *Wungyi*, Mahayazathugyaw, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the forces and marched for Amarapura by way of Sagaing.

Pagan Min now called an assembly of all the chief *pôngyis* and ecclesiastics and officials in Amarapura and explained the situation to them. The troops which he had sent against the revolted princes had all been beaten, and on account of the constant drain of men to the lower country to fight the British there were no more fighting men left. He did not wish the people to be oppressed, or burdened on his account and he was therefore willing to abdicate in favour of Mindôn Min and wished the assemblage to authorize representatives to go and inform Mindôn Min of this decision. Accordingly the Magwe *Wundauk Mingyi*, Maha-minhla-sithu-amahayanemyo-sithu, *Thandawgan* Tat Pau, *Ameindawya* Maung Po, with the Chief *Gaingôks*, were sent off to Mindôn Min. At Saya village in Sagaing, however, they met the Talôk *Wungyi*, who refused to allow them to go on to Shwebo, so they had to return to Amarapura again, whither also all the troops sent out by Pagan Min returned. The Zalôn *Wungyi*, Maha-yaza-thukyaw, thereupon took possession of Sagaing and Mindôn Min sent some representatives to the British troops, asking them, in consideration of former friendship, to delay their advance for the present.

Pagan Min meanwhile held another conference in the palace and said that, since his peaceable overtures had not only not been received, but the messengers of peace had actually been turned back, there

remained nothing but to fortify the city, shut the gates, and mount all the guns on the walls, so as to make the best possible defence. The Kyiwun *Mingyi*, Thadomingyi Mahathetdawshe, was appointed to command the north wall, Mèyinzaya *Athônwun*, Thadomingyi Mahamingaungmindin, to command on the east, Myanaung *Athônwun*, Thadomingyi-maha-minhla-minkyaw, on the south. The Hlaing Prince, with the title of *Eingshemin*, Thiri-mahadhammayaza, commanded on the western side of the city. The Pagan Min came out of the palace in a State carriage and made an inspection of the troops all round the walls and returned to the palace again.

When the Zalôn *Wungyi* heard of these arrangements for the defence he put *Bo* Hai in command of all the forces on the east side of the city, sent the Taungbo *Myingaung*, Maha-mingaung-thuya, forward with 4,000 men on the south, and gave the Papai *Athônwun* and Hladawgyi *Bo* Byin 2,000 men each to attack on the west and north sides of the city. The troops, however, when they reached the suburbs surrounded the city, but instead of fighting they plundered the country, dug up treasure, and burned and sacked in a way which had never been known in Burma before. Meanwhile Mindôn Min, seeing that the city was very strong and well supplied with provisions, and that it was necessary to have a man in command who was well acquainted with the country, appointed his brother Commander-in-Chief of all the forces with the title of *Eingshemin* (heir-apparent) and sent him with 5,000 men from Shwebo. The *Eingshemin* left Shwebo on the 11th January 1853 and arrived at Sagaing on the 18th. He dug up two cannon which were buried in Ava and commenced to bombard the town with them. These cannon were 5 cubits 4 inches long, 2½ cubits in circumference, with a bore of 1 span. The followers of the Mohnyin Prince and his son, the Hlaingdet Prince, who had been defeated at Alôn, gradually deserted and dwindled away and the two leaders with a few followers were seized by the Governor of Myingyan at Pun-ngo and handed over as prisoners to the *Eingshemin* at Sagaing. Shortly after this a number of the Pagan Min's troops, who had been sent to fight the British in Lower Burma, returned and joined the *Eingshemin*. Notwithstanding these successes, Mindôn Min lost patience with the slow progress of the siege and sent orders to push matters on. Delay, he said, would be punished with the execution of the Zalôn *Mingyi* and all the other officials. The fighting then became very severe and many fell on both sides. Of the Pagan Min's supporters the *Myaukdawèbo* Maha-myinaung-yaza and the *Amyaukwun Mingyi* Maha-mindin-mingaung were killed, but still no definite advantage was gained. The main body of the troops sent by Pagan Min to fight the British under the Kyaukpadaung *Wungyi* Thado-thudhamma-maha-mingaung and the Sittaung *Wun-*

gyi Thado-minyè-mingaung now returned and, when they met Mindôn Min's troops, they all deserted and handed over their leaders to the *Eingshemin* at Sagaing. The two generals were placed in palanquins and carried round the city walls of Amarapura to dishearten the garrison and were made to call out, "Give up all hope for we have been captured." Upon this a large body of the King's troops deserted with their arms. These were taken and sent to Sagaing and the men were allowed to go to their villages. The Hlaing Prince, however, made a sally and overthrew Mindôn's troops and drove them back to the river. He then camped with a thousand men at Parani, opposite the Nandamu gate, to the south-west of the city. This was on the 18th February, but on the same day the Kyaukhmu *Wungyi*, who had been keeping up a correspondence with the Crown Prince at Sagaing and had secretly won over the troops, suddenly arrested the *Kyiwun Mingyi* Maung Pyaw, *Athôn wun* Maung Po, *Sin-athônwun* Maung Pauk Si, *Wundauk* Maung Than Ni, *Wundauk* Maung Shwe Yi, and other influential officials immediately after a meeting of the *Hlut*. Mindôn Min's troops were then admitted into the city and overran it all. When the Hlaing Prince heard the uproar he returned with a few troops, but was almost immediately overpowered and killed.

The same night the *Eingshemin* came over from Sagaing and stayed at the *Yenandaw*, or water palace, and moved next day into the *Hlut* after having put guards over the 12 gates of the city and the four gates of the palace. All the arms in the city were collected and stored in the *Hlutdaw* and the Pagan Min's officials were all arrested, while the crown and the royal robes and insignia were sent to Shwebo. Mindôn Min sent strict orders that Pagan Min was to be treated with every consideration and to be allowed to live in the *Alènandaw* (the central palace) with all his queens. He was born on the second *lasan* of *Waso* 1811, ascended the throne at the age of 35, and reigned for six years and three months until the 18th of February 1853, at 9 o'clock in the morning (as the Burman chronicles remark with great exactitude). He was then 41 years and eight months of age and died of small-pox in Mandalay in 1881.

Mindôn Min had already at Shwebo received the allegiance of many of the Shan *Sawbwas*. He now sent to summon in the rest to make their submission and ordered all *ex*-officials to come in also. The Tawngpeng *Sawbwa* Thiha-pappa-yaza was the first to appear and brought presents of gold, silver, ponies, gongs, and *letpet* (pickled tea), and received in return a gold *salwè* studded with emeralds, a diamond and a ruby ring, *pasos*, and other gifts. He returned to his State almost immediately. In accordance with the advice

of the astrologers and wise men the beating of the palace bells and drums was stopped on the 27th February and nothing was beaten but the gong until the time of the coronation.

Pagan Min's mother, sister, aunt, and Bagyidaw's daughter and three daughters of Tharrawaddi Min were sent to Shwebo and were established there in a temporary palace, specially built for them. On the 4th waning of *Tagu* at "one in the morning," King Tharrawaddi's eldest daughter, the sister of the Pagan Min, was brought from the palace with great pomp and ceremony to the place where Mindôn Min was. He received her with equal ceremony and state at the *Myenan*, the main building of the palace, and the marriage service according to Burmese royal custom was carried out with great rejoicings and feastings. She was appointed chief Queen, Bagyidaw's daughter was nominated *Alè-nammadaw*, or middle Queen, Mindôn Min's former wife became *Myauk-nammadaw*, or northern Queen, while a younger daughter of Tharrawaddi was named Queen of the west, *Anauk-nammadaw*. Other former wives were appointed queens according to their rank, or the favour they met with from the King.

Shortly afterwards Mindôn Min sent the *Kyaukmyoza Mingyi* to Prome to confer with the English about the Pegu provinces, but nothing came of the mission and the *Mingyi* soon returned. The Saga *Myoza*, Thaungbansa Mahazaya Wunthuyaza, presented his sister, a girl of seventeen years of age, to the King and she was placed in the palace apartments. Shortly afterwards the Nyaungywe (Yawng Hwe) *Sawbwa* also sent his sister. Pagan Min was sent in a State barge, called the *Udaung Paungdaw*, with all his queens to Shwebo, and in another barge, the *Karawaik Paungdaw*, the *Eingshemin* accompanied him They were hospitably received and well treated by Mindôn Min. Before the end of the year an Embassy arrived from the Emperor of China with presents and a congratulatory letter. The Ambassador was detained at Bhamo and the letter and presents were taken on to Shwebo. King Mindôn in his turn sent a friendly letter and presents with an Embassy to Peking and the party went back with the Chinese emissaries. The Burmese Embassy, however, got no further than Minsin. It was stopped there by the Mahomedan rebellion in Yünnan. The presents and letter were sent on to Peking and the *Hwangti* sent an answer and further presents in acknowledgment, which were taken to Amarapura by the Burmese mission on its return. King Mindôn also went in State to the Mahananda lake, where a temporary palace had been erected. The *Eingshemin* and all the Ministers accompanied him and the whole party ploughed the fields for paddy cultivation. The King then assigned to the Crown Prince the

revenues of Tabayin, Taungdwingyi, Pyinzala, and Salè, together with various gardens and paddy-fields and the title of Mahathudhammayaza, with a complete retinue of officials, *Eingshe Wun*, *Eingshe Athunwun*, *Wunhmu*, *Anaukwun*, *Nakhan*, *Sayegyi*, *Thunzaing*, *Thungu*, and so forth. The *Eingshemin* then married his step-sister, the Hlaing *Minthami*, a daughter of Tharawaddi Min by the *Anauk-nammadaw*. Mindôn Min also ordered the Thado *Mingyi*, Mahaminhla Kyawthu, to repair the irrigation works on the lakes of Mahananda, Yinhu, Gyogya, Singut, Kadu, and Palaing. He also sent orders to have the palace at Amarapura repaired and to build new quarters for the *Eingshemin* and the Pagan Min, and, when these were finished, he left Shwebo with all his queens, officials, and retainers on the 5th *labyigyaw* of *Tasaungmôn* (November) 1853 and came down by boat to the capital. He slept two nights on the way, at Kyaukmyaung and Myingun, and entered the palace without any particular ceremony. Very soon afterwards the King, with his queens, Ministers and a great following, went to see his old house near the Shwe Kungye-ôk pagoda, north east of Amarapura, and spent some time looking it all over. In February 1854 the *Alè-nammadaw* was delivered of a daughter.

About this time a large ruby, 12 inches in circumference, 4 inches in height, and 22 *ticals* in weight (equal to the weight of Rs. 31) was presented to the King by the *Sawbwa* of Kēng Hūng (Kyaingyôngyi), Zodinagara Mahathiha-pawaya Thudhammayaza, and was brought into the palace with great pomp and ceremony. The colour of this ruby was that of the ripe *thabye-thi*, the fruit of the *Eugenia*. It was brought down by the Nga Thinwibwa *Sikkè* and the *Dawbaya* or Kēng Hūng Council of State.

The Siamese at that time were encroaching on the borders of Kēng Tūng and Kēng Hūng and the King despatched the *Kyundaung Mintha* Thiri-yathu-maha-dhammayaza, with a force of 3,000 men, to expel them. In the meantime, however, the Kēng Hūng *Sawbwa*, together with the *Sawbwas* of Kēng Tūng and Möng Pu, combined with the Möng Nai (Monè) *Sawbwa* and others and defeated the Siamese. The chief Siamese generals were captured, together with a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, elephants, and ornaments. Over a thousand men were killed and wounded and the rest fled to their own country. This was in the month of May, and two months later the King received the thanks of the *Sawbwas*, according to custom, for the magnificence and power which had enabled them to defeat their enemies. The messengers were received with great ceremony in the Hall of Audience and the King afterwards made a great distribution of alms to *pôngyis*, Brahmins, and poor people. During the month of *Tawthalin* Nga Kyè, the

brother of one of the queens, named Kawngtôn, presented a large pearl within the shell, weighing 25½ *ticals*.

In the same year the Burmese Embassy headed by the Nammadaw *Wun*, Mingyi Maha-mingaung-yaza (named U Pathi and formerly Governor of Dalla, opposite Rangoon), with numerous other high officials, among them Mr. Mackertich, the *Kalawun*, was despatched to Lord Dalhousie at Calcutta with a royal letter and presents. On their arrival they met with a brilliant reception on the 11th of December at Government House, and were shown all the sights of the city. At the final interview on the 23rd December the question of the restitution of Pegu was brought up, but the Viceroy was inexorable and the mission returned unsuccessful to Amarapura, much to the King's chagrin. About this time Mingan Ngathulôn-yaza, *ex*-Myoza of Lawk Sawk (Yatsauk), came in and presented a magic spear to the King.

In 1855 a return complimentary mission was sent to Amarapura by Lord Dalhousie, with Major Arthur Phayre and a staff of 15 gentlemen. They left Rangoon on the 1st August and reached the capital on the 1st of the following month. The *Wungyis* and *Atwinwuns* gave them a hearty reception at the Residency on the 13th of September and they were most cordially received by the King and Queen at the Hall of Audience. The Governor-General's letter was read with a loud voice by the *Thandawgan* and the list of presents to the King and Queen was also read. After some gracious enquiries by the King as to the health of the party and remarks on the weather, the Envoy was presented by the King with a *salwè* of nine strings, a silver cup embossed with the signs of the zodiac, two fine rings, one set with rubies and the other with sapphires and topazes, and some waist-cloths. After a final interview with the King the party left Amarapura on the 21st October with a letter from the King to the Governor-General.

[Such is the way in which the Burmese chronicle recounts the attempt to conclude a commercial treaty.]

During this month of October there were 554 people who kept rigorous fast. Four of these were headmen, and to them the King gave Rs. 10 each The others were presented with Rs. 5. Mindôn Min also gave alms and robes to 6,457 *pôngyis* belonging to 66 different monasteries, and gave charity to Rs. 6,270 necessitous old men and women.

In this year a shipowner, named Owen, bought a steamer for Rs. 1,22,900 and presented it to the King. It measured 60 cubits along the keel and 10 cubits beam and 5 cubits down to the bottom of the hold.

On the 28th February 1856 an Embassy was sent to Paris, with a royal letter and presents to the Emperor of the French. The Embassy was delayed in Cairo by the illness of the *Nakhandaw*, one of the party, and did not reach Paris until the 27th September. They were received by Count Walewski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in October and shortly afterwards were presented to the Emperor and Empress in the Palace of St. Cloud. They were honourably received in the presence of a number of high officials and ladies and the King's letter to the following purport was read: "In former times great friendship existed between these two great countries, but these relations have been long interrupted and therefore to renew now this ancient friendship, and to add to the advantage and prosperity of both countries, as well as for the welfare and happiness of the subjects of each, I have sent *Nakhan*, Mindinyazathiriyathu, *Ahmuyè*, Mindin-minhla-sithu, and J. S. Manook, Esq., with a letter and presents, to your great Court with a view to cement the former friendship. I beg that your Imperial Majesty will accept the letter and presents which they bring you, and that you will vouchsafe them an audience."

The presents for the Emperor and Empress were one fine gold sword studded with valuable rubies, one large ruby ring, one sapphire ring, one large gold cup, weighing about a viss, studded with precious stones, and a number of fine silk *pasos*. His Majesty received the Ambassadors well, thanked them for their presents, and expressed his desire to keep on friendly terms with the King of Burma. A few days afterwards the party was invited to lunch by Prince Napoleon and by the Princess Mathilde in their palaces. They saw all the sights of Paris during their long stay and had a final interview with the Emperor on the 3rd January 1857 at the Tuileries, when he presented a fine gun to the *Nakhandaw*, a fine sword to the *Ahmuyè*, and a pair of revolvers to Mr. J. S. Manook. Three days afterwards the Ambassadors left for Amarapura. In this year His Majesty's purveyor, Kaswa, brought from India for presentation a very fine conch shell, with colours like mother-o'-pearl. The volutes were all turned to the right and it was presented with great formalities.

King Mindôn wished to change the site of the capital from Amarapura, which had always been unhealthy, so he called together the chief *Sayadaws*, the Crown Prince, the Ministers, and astrologers and consulted them. The King suggested the neighbourhood of Mandalay hill and this was unanimously approved. The hill had long been noted as a pleasant and well-omened place, and the wise men now declared that, if the King built a new city there, he would meet with all kinds of success; his power would be

increased; he would live long himself; and the throne would be secured to his descendants for many generations, while the people would be happy and prosperous; his dominions would be extended; and peace and tranquillity would be insured.

The following tradition was produced from old chronicles. The Great Buddha, when he overcame the five Mara and was able to see into futurity, prophesied regarding Mandalay hill as follows: "This hill, which was known in the time of the Buddha Kakusan-"dho (Kawkathan) as Khinasavopuram; in the time of the Buddha "Konā Gomano (Gawnagôn) as Wilawa Pura; in the time of the "Buddha Kassapo (Kathapa) as Padatha-Puram; and in subse-"quent times as Mandalay was my abode in many former existences "as an elephant, as a lion, as a stag, a quail, an iguano, and as a "hunter, this spot, so fair in its formation, possesses every quality "that is good and is fit only for the abode of Kings." Thus spake the Lord Buddha when he visited the place with his disciple Ananda. A female *bilu* heard him as he spake and worshipped his countenace, which shone like the moon at the full. In her ardour she cut off one of her breasts and laid it as an offering at the foot of the Lord Buddha, who then prophesied as follows: "In the two "thousand four hundredth year after the establishment of my religion, "this place known as Mandalay will become a vast city under the "name of Ratnapuram (Yatanabôn) and thou," addressing the ogress, "as a descendent of the great Mahasammato (Mahathama-"da), shalt be the king of that city and shalt have the means of great-"ly promoting my religion." Thus the Great Buddha, who had overcome the five Mara and possessed intuitive knowledge, like unto Sakko [Indra or Thi(n)gya] foresaw the royal city with its moat, palace, pagodas, temples, and monasteries. Thus did Mindôn, the possessor of numerous white elephants and celestial weapons, endowed with all the virtues and accomplishments of a king, and moreover the subject of five distinct prophecies, became the founder of the city of Mandalay.

While he was still a Prince, Mindôn Min had many dreams, all of which pointed to Mandalay hill. He dreamt that he was on a high, many-tiered tower, almost reaching to the clouds and there took to his bosom a holy monk, who was a diligent propagator of religion. Also that he took two women by the hand, named Baw and Ma, one on each side, and mounted a white elephant of the colour of molten silver. Also on Friday, the second waning of the moon of *Tasaungmôn* 1218, at 2 o'clock in the morning, he dreamed that he went to Mandalay hill and saw there the house of a woman, named Mi Htun Aung, far advanced with child. He entered her house

and from it saw how fair were the Yankintaung hill and the Kulla-pyogòn, and he saw that Mandalay hill was all overgrown with sweet-scented grass. Some of this scented grass a man named Nga Tin plucked and gave to him and said that, if the royal elephants and horses were fed on this grass, they would be free from disease and all other evils.

When the Ministers heard these dreams, which were told to them in formal audience, they said that in consequence of the great power and might of His Majesty the *nats* had sent him these dreams to show that Mandalay was a fit site for building a new capital, and that the time for doing so had arrived.

The Prime Minister, the Pakhangyi Myoza, held numerous conferences with *Sadaws*, *Pônnas*, the heir-apparent, and the chief Queen, and it was eventually decided that ancient records, the Buddha's prophecy, the *Nga Hmangan-gavompadi*, the sayings of *rishis*, *sakkos* (*nats*), and the Ceylon *purams*, all pointed to this spot as one whereon a king born on a day of the week represented by a lion (Tuesday, Maung Lwin's birthday) should reign, and to the year, the two thousand four hundredth of the *sāsanam* (the religious era), as the fitting time.

Just about this time certain doggerel verses were put about, which all indicated that the choice of site and time for a new city were favourable and the *sanis* taken were interpreted by the *Sayadaws* as full of good omen. [To seek signs by *sanis* a few persons are selected who have to sanctify themselves by incantation and prayer. They are then sent out by night in different directions to certain parts of the town, usually to the south. When they arrive at fixed places, under a house, at a street corner, or in the middle of the road, they wait until they hear some one speak. Whatever is said is carefully written down and taken to the person who sent them out. All the utterances thus recorded are considered together and experts decide whether their import is favourable or not.]

The King therefore finally decided on this site and gave orders for the calculation of the measurements and the determination of a lucky day for the foundation of the city. The Council, after long consultation, fixed all the dimensions and selected Friday, the 5th *labyigyaw* of *Tabodwè* 1218 B. E. (13th February 1857) as the auspicious day to commence the building of the city and palace. The following officials were told off to superintend the works and were sent to Mandalay,—the Myedaung Myoza *Thanat Wungyi* Thado mingyi-maha-minhla-kyawthu, the Pakhan *Wungyi* Thado-mingyi-maha-minhla-sithu, the *Daing Wundauk* Maha-minhla-thirithu (now *ex*-Khampat *Wungyi*), the Thittaw *Wun* Minkyaw-minhla-sithu,

the Namkè *Wun* Minhla-mindin Kyawthu, the *Sayegyi* Minhla-mindin-yaza, the *Atwinsaye* Minhla-mindin-kyaw, the *Atwinsaye* Minhla-thiri-yaza (now *ex*-Kinwun *Mingyi*) and the *Ahmya* Minhla-thinkhaya. Mandalay hill was fixed upon as the point from which to start the site of the city and town which were mapped out as follows: the boundaries were, on the south the Zaunggalaw bank, measuring on that side 500 *tas*; on the west the river Irrawaddy within a space of 1,600 *tas* so much land as was level was to be taken up; on the east by the Aungbinlè tank; and on the north the Mahananda tank. In the month of April the King advanced money, bullocks, seed-grain, and all other requisites to the owners of land between Ava and Mandalay and Mandalay and Madaya, whether Government servants, officials, soldiers, or ancestral possessors, to enable them to cultivate the soil, and in the same month, on the auspicious day, the King and Queen received a formal blessing from the *sayadaws*, as had been done when his great-grandfather Bodaw founded Amarapura in 1145 B.E. (1783 A.D.) and when his uncle Bagyidaw founded Ava for the fourth time in 1185 B. E. (1824), and Tharrawaddi, his father, re-founded Amarapura in 1202 B.E. (1841). The King took the title of Thiripawaya-wizeya-nandaya-thapandita Mahadhammayazadiyaza and the chief Queen took the title of Thiripawaya-mahayazeinda-dipati-yatana Dewi.

The following month the white elephant called Hnitpa-pyitsaya Nagayaza died. The body was kept three days and was then placed in a large white open cart covered with white umbrellas. All its harness, adornments, and utensils were solemnly carried in front of it and proceeded from the west gate of the palace to the Alawi gate of the city and thence to the burial-ground and was there burnt with great ceremony, according to custom. The bones were collected and placed in large jars, which were buried between the walls of the Mahawezayanthi Pagoda, and over them a tomb was erected. The image of the elephant also was carved and placed in a building with a spire and the title was written up over the doorway, in order to preserve the memory of the royal animal. This noted white elephant was brought to the capital in the reign of Bodawpaya, the King's great-grandfather, and was highly esteemed and respected and worshipped by the Burmese.

In June 1857 the King, the chief Queen, and the whole Court moved in great procession from Amarapura to Mandalay. On the way, at a halt, a fire broke out in the camp of the *Eingshemin* and 10 shelter huts were burnt before it was put out. The fire began in the hut of Ma Paw, one of the minor wives, and the astrologers declared that it was a good omen in order to please the King. The people, however, thought otherwise, for the removal had caused great

distress and discontent. They were forced to leave their houses, gardens, and lands in order to settle in the city and no one dared utter a word of complaint for fear of punishment.

At Mandalay the King established himself in a temporary palace until the large building now existing should be built and went out frequently on the female elephant called Tein-u Layaung to inspect the works round the city and to assign to the various officials sites for their houses. When the temporary *kyaungs* were built, the *Thathanabaing*, *sayadaws* and *pôngyis*, to the number of about 500, also marched in great procession, with the images of Gautama and the *pitakas* from Amarapura to Mandalay, and settled in their new establishments. The images and *pitakas* (the Buddhist scriptures) were placed on platforms and carried on the shoulders of men, the images under the shade of eight golden umbrellas, the *pitakas* under the shadow of six. The chief *sadaw* had four white umbrellas and each of the 500 *rahans* two. The King and Queen, the Royal mother, the heir-apparent, and all the Princes and Ministers received them at the Ywe-daw-yu gate. The *bahoyin* or campanile was soon finished and Mindôn Min then asked the monks whether it would be fitting before the completion of the palace to hang up the large drum and bell according to custom, so as to give the time to the city. The Archbishop agreed and a bell and drum were therefore immediately hung up.

In April 1858 a mission arrived from America with a letter from the President of the United States to the King, expressing a desire to cultivate friendly relations with Burma, and some of the officials of the *Hlutdaw* were sent to receive them and to conduct them to the Residency set apart for such visitors. The party was well received by the King.

In May the walls of the palace and the palace itself were completed and on Friday, *Kason Labyigyaw* 5th (May 1st) at 11 in the morning, there was a violent thunderstorm and the palace spire was struck by lightning. The *pyathat* had been built under the personal superintendence of the Myadaung *Wungyi* and the King addressed him and other Ministers assembled in the Hall of Audience and stated that this was a good omen and that he would be victorious over all his enemies. Among the poorer classes, however, it was looked on as a portent of evil and increased the discontent.

When the palace and the walls were completed the King and the chief Queen, according to ancient custom, proceeded from the temporary palace in a *Yatana Thanzin*, or State palanquin, in formal procession to the new golden palace and ascended to the *Myenan*, or Hall of Audience by the great eastern stairs. When he had

thus formally taken possession, he made a number of presents to old men and women who had been in the royal service and gave them permission to take as much money as they could lift with their two hands from a heap of rupees poured out for the purpose. He also made considerable offerings to *pôngyis* and to poor people.

A fine white elephant was caught by the Thaungthwut *Sawbwa*, Maha-mawreri Wuntha-thiha-dhammayaza, at a place called Thayagon-Paukbin Aing-u, near Thè-ôn, on the eastern bank of the Tholawadi (the Chindwin river) in the Kyiwun district. The King sent the Myothit *Wundauk* to bring the elephant with befitting ceremony to Mandalay. It was shipped on a large barge and on its arrival at Amarapura the Crown Prince and the chief Ministers and officials were sent to escort it to Mandalay. On its arrival at the city, it was received with great *pwès* and rejoicings and the whole population turned out to receive the elephant as they did in the time of Bodawpaya. When it arrived at the north side of the palace the King himself came out to meet it and conferred on the elephant the title of Moyeya-pyitsaya Nagayaza, and cities, villages, gold, and silver utensils, attendants, and officials were assigned to the beast's service according to ancient custom. The Thaungthwut Chief was promoted to the first rank of *Sawbwa* and received many presents and privileges, and great rewards were conferred on all the men who had helped to capture the elephant.

In January 1859 the Malôn Prince Thiri-mahadhammayaza, the eldest son of the King by the Myauk-saungdaw Queen, married the Salingyi Princess, the eldest daughter of the *Eingshemin*. The ceremony was conducted with great splendour and the couple were assigned apartments in the north-west quarter of the palace.

The King sent a number of offerings to the *pôngyis* in Ceylon and in return they presented to him a *swèdaw* or tooth of Gautama, *dattaw*, *mwedaw*, relics and hairs of the Buddha, images, models of banyan trees, monasteries, pagodas, caves, and religious buildings. The Yenangyaung *Atwinwun* was sent to receive these on their arrival at Malun and they were brought up in royal boats. On their arrival at Sagaing they were kept there for about a month and four days at Amarapura to enable the people to worship them. They were then brought on with great pomp and ceremony to Mandalay. The King himself waited at the eastern gate of the palace and carried the *swèdaw* and the *dattaw* with his own hands to a highly decorated building which had been erected specially for their reception to the west of the *bahoyin*, or campanile; the remaining sacred things were carried in by the Princes and were deposited in the palace. The King personally superintended and only retired when everything had been properly set up.

On the 13th December of that year (1859) *Nattaw labyigyaw*, 4th, the Alènammadaw Queen gave birth to a daughter *Supayalat*, afterwards the wife of King Thibaw.

In January 1860 the King and the chief Queen paid a State visit to Kungaung to the east of Mandalay, where a temporary palace had been erected. At the same time the Queen Dowager went to worship at the Arakan pagoda.

In the same month the Zalôn *Wungyi*, who was Mindôn Min's Commander-in-Chief in 1853, died and was buried with great pomp.

In April the King and the chief Queen paid a visit to the Manaw Yamun garden. [These movements are chronicled because the King so seldom left the palace.] On his return he ordered the Myadaung *Wungyi* to build a large *tectum* with a spire on Mandalay Hill. Under this *tasaung* was set up a huge image called Shwe Yat-taw, in the shape and stature of Gautama Buddha, fashioned of wood and gilt all over. The Buddha stands erect, pointing with his finger towards the city of Mandalay and at his feet kneels his disciple, Ananda, as one who should ask "Where is the most convenient and pleasant place to build a city?" The Buddha in reply points to the palace and signifies that it shall last for ever, from generation to generation. [This figure was burnt down in 1892.] A covered way or *saungdan* was built from the foot of the hill up to these figures and was carried on to the pagoda called Myat-saw Nyinaung on the summit. The construction was superintended by the Magwe *Wungyi*, the Myadaung *Wungyi*, and the Pakhan *Wungyi*. A *saungdan* was also built on the western side of the hill.

In June, at the beginning of Lent, 60 candidates for ordination were examined in the *Myenan*, or Hall of Audience, by the *Thathanabaing* and the *sadaws* in the presence of the King, the chief Queen, and the whole body of Ministers. Immediately afterwards the King's sons, the Sagu Prince, the Makôn Prince, the Nyaungyan, Mohnyin, Myingôndaing, and Ngayanè Princes, with 60 attendants, were admitted as neophytes in the sacred order of the yellow robe, in a large building which had been erected for the purpose in front of the *Myenan*. The investiture was marked with great ceremony and rejoicings and the King presented a multitude of offerings to the monks. Again, at the end of Lent, in October, 350 postulants from Mandalay, Amarapura, and Sagaing were assembled and examined in the same place by the Archbishop in the presence of the King and Queen as before.

In May 1861, after a short stay with all his queens at the temporary palace to the north-east of the city, the King specially appointed four officers—The Maha-minhla-mingaung-thihathu for the

east, the Maha-mindin-kyaw for the south, the Maha-thiyè-thinkaya for the west, and the Thittaw *Wun* for the north to be Collectors or Revenue Officers for the receipt of the *thathameda*-tax. This was a new institution. Previous to King Mindôn all the rulers of Burma had assigned districts, towns, or villages to the Queens, Princes, Princesses, and officials for their support and according to their rank and services. They drew the whole revenue for themselves. Under the new regulation, with the exception of the Shan States and the tracts assigned to the *Eingshemin*, the *thathameda*, or 10 per cent. capitation-tax, was the only cess authorized, and the revenue collectors were especially enjoined not to oppress the people, or to collect any sums beyond this *thathameda*. The money was paid into the treasury and disbursed in the shape of monthly salaries to the Queens, Princes, Princesses, officials, body-servants, and troops. The chief Queen was excepted from this system of monthly pay, like the *Eingshemin*, but otherwise the system of general taxation and regular monthly salaries was regularly established.

In July a *thein*, a sacred kiosk or pavilion, and a row of *zayats*, or rest-houses, were built under Mandalay hill and were consecrated by the King in person. At the same time he gave presents to 850 Brahmins.

About this time disturbances broke out on the borders of the Shan States, created by the Tawng Peng (Taungbaing) *Sawbwa*, who had been the first of the *Sawbwas* to make his submission to the King in 1853 at Shwebo. The *Ywalatywebo* was sent to repress them with 50 men. The Tawng Peng *Sawbwa* was shot and the troubles then came to an end. At the same time the Kachins, who had been causing much mischief in the Möng Mit (Momeik) State, were suppressed by the *Myaukwinhmu*, who was despatched with 600 men for the purpose.

In July also there was a great ear-boring feast in honour of the piercing of the ears of the *Eingshemin*'s daughter, the Sampenago Princess Thirikinsana-dewi, the Taunghnyo Princess Thiripada-dewi and other children, the daughters of minor wives. This was held with great pomp at the residence of the Crown Prince, and the King dedicated a pagoda at the foot of Mandalay Hill. This was called Mahalawkamazin and the foundation had been laid when the city of Mandalay was begun. In this pagoda were desposited 14 small gold pagodas, studded with precious stones, one *mo-gyo* pagoda (*mo-gyo* is an alloy of gold and brass), six small plain gold pagodas, four silver pagodas, 32 relics of Gautama, two teeth of the Buddha in a shell box, and a silver box filled with banyan leaves. On its dedication, according to custom, the King placed a golden *hti*, or

umbrella, on the summit and there were great popular festivities after the ceremony.

In May 1862 the Thônzè Prince, Mahathu-thiridhammayaza was married to the Yanaungmyin Princess Thiriseiktawadi, a daughter of the *Eingshemin*, and there was much popular rejoicing on the occasion.

In the latter part of the year Major Arthur Phayre came to Mandalay to conclude a treaty. He was honourably received and on the conclusion of the treaty the King presented him with a gold *salwè* of 12 strings, and also gave a *salwè* of nine strings to Mr. Edwards, the Collector of Customs, besides presents to the other officers of the mission.

In March 1863 the *sadaw* Sandima-bhi-thiri-tazu-pawara-maha-dama-yazadiyaza-guru, who had been the King's teacher, died in the celebrated San *kyaung*, at the foot of Mandalay hill. The King undertook his obsequies, which were conducted on a very splendid scale. The *sadaw* was burnt on a funeral pyre erected in the enclosure of the San *kyaung* in the presence of the King, the chief Queen, and the whole of the Royal Family, together with the Officers of State. The San *kyaung* was then handed over to the Pyi *sadaw*, the Myauknandaw Queen's *sadaw*.

The King's canal, the Yatana-nadi, was finished about this time. It lies to the north-east of Mandalay and receives its waters from the Nèda lake, which is fed from Singu through Madaya. The moat and the canals within the palace walls were supplied from this Yatana-nadi canal, and on its banks the King had a temporary palace built, whither he often made pleasure trips in the royal boats with his queens, the royal children, and the State officials. The King also ordered many of the Ministers and town officers to enclose gardens and make plantations on the waste land to the east of this canal. This was accordingly done and the fruit and other produce was regularly given to the monks of Mandalay. [A list of these gardens is given elsewhere.]

In March 1863 the King's son, the Thônzè Prince, without any previous notice, rode off from Mandalay to Taung-ngu with only 10 attendants. On his arrival at Taung-ngu he was sent on by the Deputy Commissioner to Rangoon. The Prince's escapade was not heard of for four days, but even then it was not known whither he had gone from Mandalay. When the King heard that he was in Rangoon, he sent a special steamer for him with officials to persuade him to return. The Thônzè Prince after some time agreed to come back and, on his return, was placed under the surveillance of the *Eingshemin*. This Prince was the eldest of those put to death by

King Thibaw in 1879. [It does not appear what the Burman chronicle means by the "handing over" of the Prince to the *Eingshemin*, but apparently he was only watched, not imprisoned.]

In April at the time of the water festival, the Burmese New Year, the King and chief Queen had their heads washed according to ancient custom, but with more than ordinary ceremonial. They went out in solemn procession to the southern garden and there gave alms to 216 aged poor, Rs. 20 to each person. On their return the King and the chief Queen breakfasted in state on the throne, *Bamayathana*, the white umbrella called *Mananhaya* being throughout the meal held over their heads. After this ceremonial repast the whole of the Royal Family, the Ministers of State, and subordinate officials were feasted in the *Hmannandaw* (the crystal reception-room). [This new year's breakfast was, however, an annual feast.]

In May, an exceedingly fine ruby, weighing 1 tical, was presented to the King by the Myoôk of Möng Mit and Mönglāng (Mömeik and Mohlaing) and was carried in state to the palace. At the same time the Myelat *Wun* presented from the Shan States three fine elephants named Seingale, Naungthaing, and Mènangu. Other elephants were also presented by Ngwedaung, Kayingale, Nemyothilôn-yanaung. These elephants were named Maunggale, Sitepan, Ngwepông, Shwe Chein, Seiktingale, Hpumaung, and Mènanywe.

About this time there was a disturbance at Yawng Hwe (Nyaungywe) in the Shan States, which was suppressed by the Myôthit *Wundauk*, the Monè *Tatbohmu*, Mingyi Mahamindin-Sethu, to whom the King despatched 1,200 men for the purpose.

In November the Mekkhara Prince, Thiri-mahathudhammayaza, married the Pin Princess, Thiri-thukatha-dewi, with great ceremonial. Both the Prince and the Princess were children of the King, but they were half-brother and sister. The Mekkhara Prince was one of those killed in 1879 by King Thibaw.

In February of the following year (1864) the King's daughter, the Kanni Princess, Thiri-thusanda-dewi, was married to the eldest son of the *Eingshemin*, the Padein Prince Maha-thiridhammayaza.

In March 1864 the King inaugurated ten hospitals built at his expense for old and sick people. To each of these hospitals, or alms-houses, three Burmese doctors were attached; another hospital was also built by the King to the south-east of the palace, which was put under the charge of Doctor Marfels, a German Physician in the employment of His Majesty.

In July Mr. William Wallace came to Mandalay and presented the King with a golden telescope studded with 542 small diamonds. The King gave him 1,100 teak logs as a return present.

In August the Magwe and Myadaung *Wungyis* were re-called from Sagyintaung, whither they had been sent to excavate a large block of marble for an image of Gautama. They had extracted the block, but were unable to convey it to Mandalay. The King therefore sent the Laungshe *Wungyi*, the Hkamhpat *Wundauk*, the Pabè *Wun*, the Padeing *Wun*, and the *Taungdwe Bo* to arrange for its removal. Two flats with the steamer *Mènan Sekkya* were taken to the spot. The loading was effected and the block was towed up at the height of the rains. When the marble had reached Mônywa, the King sent a number of *sadaws*, *pôngyis*, and officials on board of the flats to receive it. The flats were towed by steamers, on board of which were numerous bands of music. When the marble block reached Engôn, a gun was fired and the flat was towed along the recently constructed channel of the Shweta *chaung*. It was finally loaded on a huge car, which was dragged by 10,000 men in 13 days to the foot of Mandalay hill, under the supervision of the *Eingshemin*, the *Wungyis*, and all the chief officials. There it was hewn by the sculptors working night and day under a specially built *tectum*, and *pwès* and festival dances were carried on without intermission until it was set up in the building constructed for its reception. The King and the Royal household paid several visits during the progress of the work and, at the final ceremony, stayed in the temporary palace called Nammèpôntha at the foot of Mandalay hill. The sculptors were royally rewarded and fed throughout at the King's cost. Near the gigantic image were built 33 *zayats*, or rest-houses, for the accommodation of the pious, the work being superintended by the Royal officials. The King also paid a visit to the Maha Lawkamazin pagoda, decked it with lights, and fed 600 necessitous persons, men and women. During his stay at the temporary palace the King sent every morning to the Maha Lawkamazin pagoda and to the marble image quantities of the food called *Thinbuktaw* (the food of Shin Gautama). This was carried regularly in procession with bands of music and Royal officials accompanying it. The rejoicings over the setting up of the great image lasted many days.

In November of the same year the Shwepyi *Bo* was sent with a force of 1,000 men, under the command of the Möng Nai (Monè) *Sikke*, Mingyi Mahanawrata, to suppress disturbances on the Hsen Wi (Theinni) borders. About the same time the Mawk Mai (Maukmè) *Sawbwa* (the so-called *Kolan* or nine-fathom *Sawbwa*) and the Mingôn *Paleiksa* escaped from Mandalay and made their way to the Mawk Mai State, where they raised a rebellion and marched as far as Möng Nai with a large body of men. They did a great deal of mischief and the King sent the Myothit *Wundauk*

to take charge of Möng Nai as *Tatbohmu* and march thence with a force of 2,100 men. The Pôndawpyit *Bo*, the Kindat *Bo*, and the Letwè Kyaung *Bo*, with 2,300 men and 20 elephants, were also sent to the Shan States to carry the artillery and ammunition. This force was under the command of the Ashe *Winhmu*, Thiriyawun, and started from Mandalay. The Mawk Mai *Sawbwa* and Mingôn *Paleiksa*, however, could make no stand against such a force and fled with all their relatives and following beyond the Salween to Möng Maü.

In February 1865 the King, the chief Queen, and the whole Court again went to the Nammepôntha temporary palace at the foot of Mandalay hill to watch the chiselling of the face of the great marble image, which had only been commenced after the setting up of the block. The work took some time and, while it was being carried on, the King had fresh copies made of the Bitagat-thônbôn (the Three Baskets of the Law), the old books having somewhat fallen into decay. There were upwards of 200 *fasciculi* of palm-leaves, and each of these was placed separately in a box and conveyed with great ceremony from the Royal Palace to the *Bitagattaik*, or theological library, a building which had been specially prepared for them near the King's temporary residence at the foot of Mandalay hill. At the same time the King ordered the repair of the Mu river canal from Myinkwa *taung* in Myedu district to the Mahananda lake at Shwebo. This had been first dug by the orders of the King's great grandfather Alaungpaya, and that monarch had gone by boat along it on his return from the conquest of Manipur. King Mindôn, besides repairing this work, ordered the people of Shwebo Myedu, Hkanthani, Ngayanè, Thôntabin, Pyinsala, and Tabayin to dig a canal from the Mahananda lake as far as the Sagaing district. This labour was placed under the supervision of the Magwe *Wungyi*, the Myauk *Wunhmu*, the Pôppa *Wundauk*, the Shwebo *Wun*, and the local officials. The *Eingshemin* built two large brick rest-houses on the banks of this canal, near Sithu, and 3 miles apart the one from the other.

Meanwhile the King with his own hands planted a number of *Bawdibin*, or banian trees, within the enclosure of the large marble image. These trees had been specially brought from Ceylon and many other countries. The planting of trees was carried on amidst the clash of bands and the firing of artillery. At last in May the King went in solemn procession to the place where the image was and showed the sculptors himself what alterations were to be made in the expression of the face. Ten guns were fired on this occasion and there was a great feast and many offerings were made to the monks of all grades and the sculptors and masons were richly re-

warded. After the ceremony the King returned again to the royal palace.

The following month His Majesty went out to the temporary palace in the Mingala garden and, according to ancient custom, there ploughed the fields under a salute of three guns. After the King had ploughed, the Crown Prince, the Ministry, and all the other officials also ploughed a few furrows. The ceremony terminated with an elaborate feast.

In this same month of June 1865, a number of the Princes took a formal oath of allegiance to the King in the *Byètaik*. The *Eingshemin* was present with the King and the words of the oath were spoken before the image of Gautama, the Princes repeating them after a *thandawzin*. They were to the effect that they would neither do nor support anything against the welfare of the King, that they would drink no intoxicating liquor, or palm-toddy, and that they would eat no beef. The Princes who took the oath were the Malôn, the Myingôn, the Sagu, the Mekkhara, the Padein, the Myingôndaing, the Wuntho, the Chabin, the Pinlè, the Katha, the Thèlin, Shwegu, and Maingtôn *Minthas*. After this ceremony the King and the chief Queen, in the Hall of Audience, admitted 53 young men into the Sacred Order, presenting them with the prescribed yellow robes. This was done in the presence of 12 *sadaws*. At the same time 216 *pônnas* (Brahmins) received presents of money and clothing (216 is twice the sacred number of beads on the rosary, no doubt one for each bead on the rosaries of the King and Queen). The King had been keeping fast up to this time in preparation for Lent and his fast had been shared by 1,245 officials and palace servants. These were now presented with articles of dress. On the conclusion of the ceremonial the King once more returned within the city walls.

In October 1865, a salute of three guns was fired in honour of the striking of the first Burmese coin in the royal mint, and a proclamation was issued directing the use of these coins throughout the King's dominions. The mint stood within the palace stockade, immediately to the north of the *bahosin*, the central campanile.

In November the Sinlin Princess had her ears bored. She was the King's daughter by the Linbin Queen and had been adopted as her daughter by the Myauknandaw Queen. She was looked upon as the King's mother, re-born upon earth again. For this reason she was called *Tabindaing*, a title given by Buddhist Kings to those whom they loved most, and implying that the bearer is the first favourite. Her title was Thuthiya-myatswa-yatana. The ear-boring was conducted with the utmost magnificence in the *Hmannandaw*, the crystal palace, amidst general feasting and rejoicing.

At the same time the following Royal Princesses had their ears bored,—the Taungtha, Kyundaung, Hkutywa, Kyannyat, Htihlaing, Sawhla, Momeik, and Hinganaw *Minthamis*, as well as the *Eingshemin's* daughter, the Ailazayathein Princess, each according to their rank and dignity. The King and the chief Queen were present, dressed in their royal robes and seated on a golden couch of state, and near them, seated on a gilded couch, were the Queen Dowager and the aunt of the King and Queen. When the fortunate hour had arrived, a gun was fired and at the same moment all the white umbrellas were opened out. The *Hmannandaw* was specially fitted on this occasion with the ancient royal furniture, called *Mingundaw*, made of gold studded with jewels, and the room was richly decorated for the ceremony. *Pwès* were carried on all day and all night through. Not only were offerings made to the *Thathanabaing*, the *sadaws*, and all the *pôngyis* of the royal city, but all the Queens, Princes, Princesses, officials, foreigners, Chinese, Mahometans, Brahmins, and chief residents of the city received presents in honour of the occasion.

In February 1866 the King with all his queens and establishment went to the temporary palace at the foot of Mandalay hill and worshipped at the Mahakamazin pagoda before the great image which had been brought from Sagyin *taung*. At this time the *Thathanabaing Sadawgyi* died and was buried with great honours. As the remains passed by to the funeral pyre, the King and Queen came out in state from the temporary palace to do them honour, and the *Eingshemin*, the Princes, and the Ministers of State followed the train to the place of burning. At the Burmese new year the King, according to his regular custom, went to the Mingala garden palace and ploughed the fields with all his Court.

In April a great fire broke out in the west of the town in the Tulukyanaung quarter in the house of Maung Lat, one of the King's servants. Before it had burnt itself out the Kyunhtektan, the Moat road, the Thètan, the Byineinggyitan, the Sagaingtan, or Merchant street, and the Watan up to the Thayè bazaar were completely destroyed and upwards of 3,800 houses were burnt, with great loss of property.

At the beginning of Lent the King entertained the people who had kept fast with him at the Maha Lawkamazin Pagoda and the great marble image and ordered his Ministers and officials and rich people of the town also to entertain them each in his turn. This was, however, put a sudden end to by the rebellion in the city. The Myingôn and Myingôndaing Princes had conceived the idea that their uncle, the *Eingshemin*, had treated them ill and

they resolved to put him to death. They consulted astrologers to determine a favourable day for the crime and arranged to fire a certain part of the town as a signal to one another and to their followers to make a sudden attack on the palace. On the 5th *labyigyw* of *Nayôn* 1228 B. E. (16th June 1866) the sky became as red as blood and there was a violent storm and several houses were struck by lightning in the north-east of the city. Two days later the Princes set about their work.. At noon the *Eingshemin* was deliberating with a number of the Ministers in an open building near the *Hlutdaw* about this very plot. He had been informed of the conspiracy some time before, but had taken no immediate notice of the warning. Now, just at the moment when it was being debated whether the two conspirators should be arrested or not, the signal fire was kindled in the Hawgôn quarter, and the Myingôn and Myingôndaing Princes with their following, all armed with guns and drawn swords, rushed into the palace, the one through the eastern gate the other by the southern. The Myingôndaing rushed towards the Council Hall crying " Save me, Save me, " and behind him came the Myingôn. This was part of the plot. The idea was to suggest that they had quarrelled and that the Myingôndaing was seeking the protection of the *Eingshemin*. In this way they hoped to prevent the Crown Prince from taking to flight on the first alarm. The Myadaung *Wungyi* was the first man met. He was greatly alarmed at the sight of men with naked swords within the palace limits, a thing that had never been known before, and still more to see them headed by two Princes of the blood. He advanced to enquire the cause of the uproar and was immediately cut down by one of the Princes' followers. The *Eingshemin* saw this and fled from the *zayat* towards the *Hlutdaw* for protection. Just as he reached the steps, however, he was killed by Hpadi, one of the Princes' followers. At his heels came the Myingôndaing, who cut off his uncle's head, and rushed with it to the Myingôn shouting *Aungdawmoopyi*—" We've conquered, we've done it." The Laungshe *Wungyi*, the Myauk *Winhmu*, the Le *Wun*, the Taung *Wun*, the Nakhan *Pyawgyihmu*, the Ngayanè and Hkawthônni Myoôks, and other officials were cut down and left for dead. The Pakhan *Wungyi*, the Myothit *Wundauk*, the Pôppa *Wundauk*, the Kyauk-ye *Wundauk*, the Thittaw *Myowun*, the Myotha *Myowun*, the Kye *Wun*, the Sin *Wun* and some others succeeded in effecting their escape. The Malôn Prince and his brother, the Pyinsi, as well as the Sagu Prince, had already been seized and murdered at the south gate of the palace.

The rebels then made for the temporary palace to kill the King also. Fortunately the uproar had been heard and the Ashe *Win-*

hmu, the Kin *Wun*, and *Taungdwe Bo* came out with a few men and met the rebels face to face. The Kin *Wun* immediately seized the Myingôndaing and there was a violent struggle, but the *Wun* was stabbed from behind. The others also fought vigorously, but they were outnumbered and the whole of the royal party were killed. This diversion, however, gave the King time to escape, with his family and attendants, 50 in all. They left the temporary palace by the western gate and made for the city. Outside the gate the King came upon the Shwedaswè *Bo*, Maung Paik Ku who had been specially posted there by the Myingôn prince with orders to kill the King. Of this the King knew nothing. He recognized him however, and said "Nga Paik Ku carry me to the palace." The *Bo* came forward and as he did so the Mekkhara and Chinbin Princes saw a *da* in his hands and took it from him. The King then climbed on his back and they set out to the palace. The chief Queen was carried by Kalabyo-thinnyut *Saya*, Maung Chaung, and the Princes and the household followed close behind. On their way they came upon a pony belonging to the *Anauk Wun*, Maung Tattu, the brother of the Tadaingshe Queen, who was the mother of the Nyaung Yan and Nyaung Ôk Princes. This the King mounted and the party reached the palace in safety.

The Myingôn Prince came with the *Eingshemin's* head to the temporary palace and sent for the Yenangyaung *Atwinwun*, who was brought before him surrounded by men with drawn *das*. The Myingôn held up his uncle's head and said: "Look at this; this is the head of the man you thought would be king." The *Atwinwun* was afraid and said: "Are you going to kill me also? The Myingôn Prince said: "No, not if you will swear allegiance to me." This the Yenangyaung *Atwinwun* accordingly did, swearing by the Kuthodaw Pagoda, which the King had recently built near the temporary palace.

Meanwhile the Myingôndaing Prince, after killing the three officials mentioned above, had been searching for the King in the inner apartments and now burst into the main room, with a sword in each hand, shouting "the King is nowhere to be found; he has escaped us." The Myingôn forthwith placed the Yenangyaung *Atwinwun* in charge of the temporary palace and, picking out 40 of his most trusted adherents, set out with his brother to the palace. They entered the city by the eastern gate and made their way to the *Hlutdaw*, where they tried to force open the *Taga-ni* by firing repeated volleys at it. In this attempt, however, they were soon checked by the Mekkhara Prince and a party of officials who opened fire on them from the top of the steps of the *Myenan*, or Hall of Audience. The Myingôndaing then suggested to his brother that

they should smear the *Hlutdaw* with earth-oil and set fire to it. The fire could not fail to spread to the palace and the King would have to fly for his life and would be sure to fall into their hands. The Myingôn Prince, however, refused to allow this, because their mother was in the palace and might be injured in the scuffle. Shortly after, the Taungshweya Queen, by order of His Majesty, appeared at the top of the stockade, surrounded by guards, and endeavoured to persuade her sons to retire. They stubbornly refused to listen to her entreaties and continued firing into the palace.

In the meantime the Crown Prince's troops to the number of 200 marched on the temporary palace in search of their master. The Myingôn's men in charge of the place immediately took to flight without resistance and followed the Princes to the palace. The *Eingshemin's* men after a fruitless search followed up and entered the city by the northern gate and soon came upon the two Princes close to the *Hlutdaw*. They opened fire and killed several of the rebel *Bos* and the Myingôn and Myingôndaing after a short resistance retired to the west of the palace to the *Anaukyôn*, or women's court. From this point as night fell they again began to fire upon the palace. The Shwedaswè *Bo*, Maung Paik Ku (who had carried the King into the palace), now came out and made his way to the Myingôn Prince at the Tawya pagoda, near the *Anaukyôn*. The Prince asked him whether he had seen the King and, when he heard what had happened, killed the *Bo* on the spot for disobedience of orders. Firing went on all night, but in the morning the King's troops had collected in such numbers that the *Anaukyôn* was nearly surrounded, and the rebels fell back on the river. They found the King's steamer, the *Yenan Sekkya*, there and took possession, got up steam, and went down the river to Myingyan. There they seized the *Wun* and his officers and collected all the arms and ammunition they could find. They also laid hands on a quantity of *thathameda* money which was ready for despatch to Mandalay, and, after having taken on a number of fighting men, weighed anchor and went on to Yenangyaung. They made a prisoner of the Yenangyaung *Myothugyi*, who was a son of the *Atwinwun*, and having seized money and arms as before, steamed on to Malôn, where they did the same thing. After staying at Malôn a few days they returned to Myingyan and stayed there for about a month plundering the riverside and other villages. The King meanwhile put the Yenangyaung *Atwinwun* in command of the troops who were collected to operate against the rebels. The *Atwinwun* first of all made his way to Salin and Sinbyugyun, where he concerted measures for the arrest of the Princes and then proceeded to attack Myingyan. The Myingôn Prince put the *Myothugyi* in the bows of his steamer and

bade him call out that he would be the first to fall if fire was opened on the steamer. Soon after the rebels' steamer started down the river, which had not been expected. The *Atwinwun* pursued, but the *Yenan Sekkya* was too fast for him, and all he could do was to pursue her to the frontier and force the Princes to take refuge in British territory, where they were interned at Rangoon.

The Taungshweya Queen was now thrown into prison by the King on suspicion of having had a knowledge of the projects of her sons and remained there for a long time.

After remaining some time in Rangoon, the Myingôn Prince made his way to Kyetbogyi in Karenni and thence made raids on the Burmese frontier. The Lamaing *Wundauk* was sent against him with a force of 3,600 men, and before long the Myingôn had again to take to flight. He returned to Rangoon and was there put under restraint by the British Government.

On the day of the Crown Prince's murder, his son the Padeing Prince fled with about 70 men from Mandalay to Shwebo. There he was soon joined by the men of Tabayin, Pyinsala, and Tantabin, all of which were towns which belonged to the *Eingshemin*. Fighting men from a number of other towns and villages also joined the Padeing Prince, who soon collected in this way quite a formidable body of men. When the King got news of this he sent the late Crown Prince's *Atwinwuns* Maung Pè and Maung Hman, besides his own officers, the *Kyiwun* and the *Thittawwun*, and a number of *pôngyis* to the Padeing Prince at Shwebo to persuade him to come back to Mandalay. The King promised to protect him and to look upon him exactly as he had hitherto done. The Prince, however, refused to listen to them and the party came back unsuccessful to Mandalay. The Prince on his side organized his troops and put the Tabayin *Wun*, Maung Hman, an official in whom the *Eingshemin* had had great confidence, in command of them. He also appointed as chief *Bos* the Pyinsala *Wun*, Maung Aung Myat, the Tabayin *Sikke*, Maung On, and Maung Hpo Maung, a noted fighting man. Before long, Maung Hman marched his force from Shwebo and camped at Sheinmaga. Maung Aung Myat with another party crossed the river and advanced as far as Madaya, Taungykyun, and Kapaing, 6 miles north of Mandalay. Maung Ôn with his party camped at Mingôn, while Maung Hpo Maung, with his troops, made his way to Sagaing and Ava. A further contingent from Taungdwingyi, Pagan, and Sale towns, which had also belonged to the Crown Prince, came and joined him and marched as far as Paleik, 9 miles south of Mandalay. The King's forces were at first driven back and the city was nearly surrounded by the rebels. The King

was both disheartened and alarmed and privately suggested to the chief Queen that it would be better to surrender the throne voluntarily to the Padeing Prince and leave the palace with all his family, rather than be compelled to do so by force of arms. The Queen, however, was strongly against this and urged him to fight on. She was considered the most skilful astrologer in the Royal Family and maintained that her calculations proved that the King would neither be disgraced nor dethroned, but would overcome his enemies, if only he persuaded his officers to attack the Padeing Prince energetically. The Alènandaw, the Myauknandaw, and the Anauknandaw Queens united their tears and supplications to those of the chief Queen until His Majesty gave way and sent his son, the Thônzè Prince, to Ava, the Mekkhara Prince to Paleik, and the Nyaung Yan Prince to take command on the river-bank near Sagaing. The Yenangyaung *Atwinwun* was appointed *Wungyi* and despatched by steamer with a thousand men to the upper provinces, while the Shwebo *Wun* Bo Pyin was appointed *Ashewinhmu* and sent to Madaya, and the Paungdawpyet *Bo*, known as *Bo* Ma Nga, with the title of *Myaukwinhmu*, was sent to assist the Nyaung Yan Prince in the attack on Sagaing. The arrangements proved sufficient. The Padeing's men at first fought well, but were everywhere defeated. They were short of arms and ammunition, they hated their leaders who had been very strict in their discipline, and before long they commenced to desert in large numbers. In a short time the Padeing Prince was left almost alone and wandered about from place to place, practically without a following; eventually he was captured by a party under the Myadaung *Wun* at Thaputdaw Chaukywa in the Sagaing district and handed over to the Nyaung Yan Prince who commanded in Sagaing. The Nyaung Yan Prince treated him well and sent him to Mandalay as a State prisoner. On the conclusion of hostilities the King named Ava *Aungmyethasi* (the pleasant ground of victory) to commemorate the chief success of the civil war.

The Padeing Prince was kept in confinement for some months and was then put to death by the *Hlutdaw*, without the knowledge of the King, as it was said he was concerting a new rising with his sister, the Yanaungmyin Princess.

Two days after the murder of the *Eingshemin* and the three Princes, his nephews, their remains were embalmed and laid out in state. The body of the Crown Prince was placed in the main room of the temporary palace and was canopied by four white umbrellas. His insignia and Court dresses were also laid out beside the corpse. The remains of the Malôn Prince and his brother, the Pyinsi Prince, lay in the house of their mother, the Myauksaungdaw Queen. The Sagu Prince's body was placed in the house of his mother, the

Taungsaungdaw, in the compound of the temporary palace. The body of each Prince lay beneath two white umbrellas and their State dresses and badges of rank were also displayed, according to ancient rites and custom. After the bodies had lain thus for nearly a year, the temporary palace and its annexures were pulled down and the four princes were buried on the site of the main chamber of the temporary palace. A large mausoleum was built over their graves and an image called Sandamuni was brought from Amarapura and set up hard by, and the whole was surrounded by brick walls. An inscription was also added on the 22nd June 1867 (6th *labyigyaw* of *Nayôn* 1229 B.E.).

In November 1866 the British Envoy, Colonel Phayre, again came up to Mandalay to negotiate a commercial treaty. He was kindly received by the King, but His Majesty would not agree to any treaty on account of the unsettled state of the country. Colonel Phayre therefore soon left Mandalay, as the Burman chronicler says, "with much dissatisfaction."

In the same month all the arms in the country from every town and village were collected and sent to the *Hlutdaw*. There they were numbered and the quantities necessary for the defence of towns and districts were made up and issued to the *wuns* and other local officials who were made responsible for them.

In April 1867, a fire broke out north of the *Swedawsin* the building in which the sacred tooth of Buddah was kept. The fire was quite close to the palace and the King was greatly alarmed. It was, however, soon extinguished by the troops and officials who hurried to the spot. All those officials who had not reported themselves at the palace on the occasion of this fire were spread-eagled in the sun near the Civil and Police Courts, according to the custom in such cases. [This was due to the fact that a rebellion was usually signalled by a fire and all persons of importance were required to prove their loyalty by going immediately to the palace. The result usually was that fires which might have been readily got under if taken in time were often neglected until they become quite unmanageable.]

In July the Mahadan *Wun*, Nemyo-yazathiba, and the Yenatha Myoôk, Minhla-mindin-kyawgaung, were sent to Singu to explore some mines, said to have been discovered there. They were successful in finding at Sagyintaung in the Singu district 86 very fine rubies and fifty "of the ordinary colour" (possibly spinel or balas-rubies). These were taken to Mandalay and the King was greatly pleased with them. Experts valued them as quite equal to those of Mogôk. The explorers and the men who dug out the rubies

were liberally rewarded and regular mining was thenceforward carried on by men locally hired for the purpose. Sagyintaung was now re-named by the King Baddamyataung (the ruby hill).

In the same month the Chèbin Prince, Thadopyinyagyan; the Pinle Prince, Thadominsaw; the Shwegu Prince, Pyinyalaw; the Maington Prince, Thadomèyemingaung; the Yenaung Prince Thadopyinyalaw; the Katha Prince, Thadominbya; and the Htilin Prince, Minyèthu, entered the sacred order as postulants, and plentiful offerings were given to the *sadaws* and monks, and numerous *pwès* were given according to custom.

In March a letter had been received from the Governor-General of India regarding the conclusion of a commercial treaty. This was treated with the most notable regard by the King and shortly afterwards the envoys appointed left Rangoon. These were Colonel Albert Fytche, the Chief Commissioner, Captain Duncan, Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Edwards, Collector of Customs, and the Reverend H. W. Crofton, together with a number of officers in charge of the escort. They left Rangoon on the 20th September 1867 by the steamers *Nemesis* and *Colonel Phayre* and the King despatched *Wundauk* U Pe, the Singu *Wun*, and the Padein *Wun* to Minhla to meet them and to procure whatever supplies they might want on the way up. The mission reached Minhla on the 27th September and was received with suitable honours. The journey was resumed next day and at all the halting places on the way up *pwès* were given for their entertainment. On the 7th October Captain Sladen, the Political Agent at Mandalay, with Mr. Manook, the *Kalawun*, and the Hpaung *Wun*, went down with a number of war-boats and met the *Nemesis* at Kyauktalôn and went on board of her, and at 3 o'clock the same afternoon the whole party reached Mandalay. The following day a deputation from the King, the Yenangyaung *Wungyi*, the *Kinwundauk*, and other officials went on board the steamer and formally welcomed the mission to Mandalay. On the 9th the Envoy was conducted in procession from the steamer to the Residency, and on his arrival there the Yenangyaung *Wungyi* and a number of other officials paid a ceremonial visit. At ten o' clock on the morning of the 11th, according to arrangement, the Envoy and his suit proceeded to the palace, riding on elephants and escorted by numerous officials. They dismounted at the eastern gate of the palace and walked to the *Hlutdaw*, or Supreme Court, where they were met by the Pakhan and Yenangyaung *Wungyis*, with whom they shook hands, and were then led to the *Myenan*, the Hall of Audience. Thence they went on to the *Zadawun Saung* reception room, where the King met them in state and seated himself on a golden

couch; near him sat his sons the Thônzè, Mekkhara, and Nyaung Yan Princes, besides a number of the younger *Minthas* and the whole body of the Ministers of State. The King opened the conversation in the customary way by enquiring after the health of the Envoy and his party and the details of the voyage. Then the list of presents from the Viceroy to the King was read aloud and after a little conversation the Envoy was invested with a gold *salwè* of the highest grade. Colonel Fytche made a suitable reply and the King then retired. A number of cakes and sweetmeats were then handed round and after a short time the party left.

On the 14th October Mrs. Fytche and Mrs. Lloyd had an interview with the Nammadawpaya, the chief Queen, the Alènandaw, the Myauknandaw, and the Anauknandaw Queens in their rooms in the palace.

On the 19th of the month Colonel Fytche, accompanied by Captain Sladen, Captain Duncan, and Mr. Edwards, had a private audience. They were received by the King in a summer-house in the southern garden and there were present the Yaw *Atwinwun* the Pôppa *Wundauk*, *Atwinwundauk*, and the *Kalawun*. After some general conversation the King retired, and the Chief Commissioner, Captain Duncan, and Mr. Edwards visited the *Wungyis* in succession: first the Laungshe *Wungyi*, then the Yenangyaung *Wungyi*, and then the Pakhan *Wungyi*. On the 21st October Colonel Fytche, Captain Sladen, Captain Duncan, and Mr. Edwards again visited the Pakhan *Wungyi* for the purpose of discussing the clauses of the treaty. The Kin *Wundauk*, the *Kalawun*, Mr. Manook, and minor officers were present to take notes of the discussion. Next day the Pakhan *Wungyi* and the Kin *Wundauk* visited the Chief Commissioner and on the 23rd the entire mission visited the palace on the invitation of the King to see a sort of amateur ballet, performed by the young ladies of the households attached to the different queens. The performance was considered to be one of the best ever seen in the palace. When the King left, the mission was served with fruit and sweetmeats in an arbour in the garden and then paid a visit to the royal white elephant. They then went on to see the stone masons busily engaged in engraving on stone the whole body of the *Bitaghat*, the Three Baskets of the Law. The mint was next visited and then the bulk of the party returned to the Agency, while Colonel Fytche, Captains Sladen and Duncan, and Mr. Edwards again went to the Pakhan *Wungyi's* to settle points in the treaty.

Finally, on the 25th October, the entire mission went in formal procession to pay a farewell visit to the King. The order and

arrangements were the same as on the first occasion. The party was met at the *Hlutdaw* by the Pakhan *Wungyi*, the Yenangyaung *Wungyi*, the Kin *Wundauk*, the *Kalawun*, Mr. Manook, and numerous other officials and secretaries. The treaty in English and Burmese was produced and read aloud by the Padeing *Wun* and was then signed and sealed by Colonel Fytche on the one part and the Pakhan *Wungyi* on the other. After the signing of the treaty the mission party was conducted into the palace and received in the same room as on the first interview. The King had some conversation with the Envoy and then made presents to the entire party, valuable ruby rings, gold cups, and other mementoes. When the King retired the Envoy and the officers of his suite went to the Royal garden and were there regaled with sweetmeats and then went on to lunch at the house of Mr. Manook, the *Kalawun*. Mr. Manook had been most energetic in his attention to the comfort of the mission during its stay. In recognition of this Colonel Fytche afterwards presented him, through Captain Sladen, the Resident in Mandalay, with a gold watch, on which was an inscription recognizing the services rendered by Mr. Manook during the negotiation of the treaty, with the date 25th October 1867.

On the 28th October the Ministers came in a body to say good-bye to Colonel Fytche, and the same afternoon the whole mission embarked and the steamers proceeded next morning down the river. The Pôppa *Wundauk* and other officials accompanied the party to the frontier to attend to their wants. The Chief Commissioner expressed himself to these officers as much pleased with "the magnificent and honourable reception accorded to him."

The following December Mr. McCall, the manager of the firm of Messrs. Todd, Findlay and Company, came up to Mandalay and presented the King with a number of articles of value. He was well received by the King and got as return presents some fine ruby rings, a gold cup filled with gold coins, and some silk *pasos*. His Majesty also gave presents to the foresters or *thitgaungs* who accompanied Mr. McCall.

In January 1868 Major E. B. Sladen, the British Resident at Mandalay, was despatched on a mission to Western China and during his absence the British Residency in Mandalay was under the charge of the *Kalawun*, Mr. Manook, and all correspondence with the Chief Commissioner passed through his hand. Mr. Manook was afterwards formally thanked for his valuable services at the Agency. When Major Sladen arrived at a small Kachin village, called Ponleng, on the way from Bhamo to Momien, a private order, said to be issued by the *Wun* of Bhamo, was received

by the headman of Pônleng. This order was written on a short palm-leaf and simply stated that the *Kalas* were not to be allowed to return to Burma. This document was handed to Maung Mo, Captain Sladen's Kachin interpreter, who read it to the mission party and then returned it to the Kachin headman. Major Sladen wrote privately to Mr. Manook, the *Kalawun*, and asked him to lay the matter before the King, which Mr. Manook accordingly did, notwithstanding the risk which he thus ran. The King was much annoyed at this unexpected announcement and said he would recall the *Wun* and have the matter investigated on the return of the mission. When Major Sladen returned, the *Wun* was in fact recalled and Mr. Manook was sent by the King to the English officer to enquire whether he would rather have the *Wun* interrogated by the *Wungyis* at the *Hlutdaw* in his presence or would prefer to investigate the matter himself at the Residency. Major Sladen bluntly replied that he would neither attend any investigation at the *Hlutdaw* nor would he interrogate the *Wun* himself, for he was sure that that functionary would not tell the truth. Mr. Manook reported this reply to the King and so the matter ended. The Bhamo *Wun* was dismissed from office, but five or six months later he was appointed Governor of Salin.

In February there was another grand ear-boring ceremony. The Royal Princesses whose ears were bored were Supayagyi, Thiri-thuyatana-mingala Dewi, and Supayalat, Thiri-thupappa-yatana Dewi, daughters of the Alenandaw Queen; the Mingin Princess, Thiri-thuyatana Dewi, daughter of the Magwe Queen; the Mainglôn Princess, Thuthiriyatana Dewi, daughter of the Sapwadaung Queen; the Maingkaing Princess, Thuthiri-pappawa Dewi, an elder sister of King Thibaw, daughter of the Laungshe Queen; the Padeing Princess, Thirithu-pappaw Dewi, daughter of the Kohnitywa Queen; the Sinyin Princess, Thirithu-mingala Dewi, daughter of the Myauksaungdaw Queen; the Maingnaung Princess, Thuthiri-mingala Dewi, daughter of the Magyipinsauk Queen, and the Taungpyungyi Princess, Thuthiripappa Dewi, daughter of the Letpansin Queen. Besides these, fourteen princesses, daughters of the late *Eingshemin*, also had their ears bored. The ceremony was carried out in the *Hmannandaw* and was conducted with the usual pomp and customary regard for the respective rank and dignity of the ladies. Large offerings were as usual made to the monks, and the King himself a month before the event made presents to the Queens, Princes, Princesses, Ministers, subordinate officials, and the people of the capital in general, as he had done two years before on the occasion of the ear-boring of his favourite daughter, the Salin Princess.

Copies of the *Bitaghat* had been preserved in the *Bitaghat taik* at the foot of the Mandalay hill some time before, on the occasion of the setting up of the great marble Buddha. Since then stone carvers had been at work engraving the text of the books of the Law contained in the *Suttam vinaya* and *Abhidhamma* on 730 marble slabs, and these were now mounted round the Maha Lawkamasin (Loka Marazin) pagoda, each slab in a shrine or grotto of its own. This was in December 1868. The King had expressed his desire of ensuring the maintenance of the Buddhist religion during the next 5,000 years, and this meritorious work, the like of which no King had ever before attempted, was his mode of securing an exact text of the law. The marble slabs had been brought from the same Sagyintaung quarry where the block for the huge image was hewn out. Fifty sculptors were employed in copying the text, and the accuracy of this was certified by the most learned *sadaws* and officials in the royal city. The work had extended over a period of five years. [The Maha Lawka Marazein pagoda is now popularly known as the Kuthodaw, the Royal Merit pagoda.] In accordance with the treaty of 1867 the Mixed Court was established and opened on the 1st August 1868. Major, afterwards Sir Edward Boscawen Sladen, on the part of the British Government and Mr. Manook, the *Kalawun*, on the part of the King, were appointed the first Judges of this Court, and on the departure of Major Sladen on furlough his place was taken by Captain Strover, who officiated as Political Agent until the arrival of Major R. A. Macmahon in November, when Captain Strover left for Bhamo as the first Political Agent in that town. He was accompanied by Major Macmahon and they ascended the river in a small steamer, the *Colonel Fytche*, commanded by Captain Bacon. This was the first steamer to make the passage from Mandalay to Bhamo. Mr. Manook accompanied the party. Major Macmahon returned to Mandalay after a stay of only a few days, but Mr. Manook remained with Captain Strover. The Governor of Bhamo at first obstructed and opposed all the views of the Political Assistant, but he was checked and warned by Mr. Manook, who was afterwards warmly thanked for his services. [Mr. Manook would appear to have been a personal friend of the Burman annalist from the frequent laudatory references made to him.]

In 1870 a telegraphic line from Mandalay to the British frontier was nearly finished.

In June of that year, by order of the King, the *Daing Wun*, Mahamingyaung-thinhkaya, repaired the Shweta *chaung* as far as Nandakan, a quarter in the royal city.

In July four large buildings were erected in the palace to serve as offices for the Public Works, Police, Agricultural, and Financial Departments. The chief of the Public Works Department was the Khampat *Wungyi*, Thadomingyi-thirimaha-mingyaung-uzana. Under him were the Pôppa *Wundauk*, Mingyi-mahaminhla-mingyaung, the Bhamo *Wundauk*, Mingyi-mahamingyaung-kyawswa, and the Thandawzin Minhla-thinkaya. The Police office was in charge of the Myotha *Myowun*, Mingyi-mahamingyaung-thônyaing, with the *Kinwundauk*, Mingyi-mahasithu, and the *Thandawzin Kathè Myinwun*, Mahamindinyaza. The Department of Agriculture was put in the hands of the Kani *Atwinwun*, Mingyi-mahamingyaung-thinkaya, with the Theinni *Wundauk*, Mingyi-mahamingyaung-kyawdin. The portfolio of finance was given to the Pagan *Wundauk*, Mingyi-mahayaza-thinyin, with the Thandawzin *Mingala Myinwun*, Maha-minhla-sithu. The whole control of each department was placed in the hands of these officers.

In September the chief Queen of King Tharrawaddi, the mother of the Pagan Min, died and there was an enormons concourse of people at her cremation within the precincts of the palace. The funeral pyre was erected on the glacis north of the *Hlutdaw*; numerous officials attended until the incineration was completed. The bones were then gathered and washed with cocoanut-water, rose-water, and other sweet-smelling essences and were placed in a golden pot, held by a specially selected man. The golden urn was then deposited in a State palanquin, and this was carried in state, shaded by four white umbrellas, to the Irrawaddy, where the cinerary urn was thrown into the river, according to the rites proper for the occasion. A cenotaph was erected over the site of the funeral pyre, which exists to the present day.

The Magwe Queen had always been on bad terms with the Alènandaw Queen and quarrels were constant between them. At last in October of this year the Magwe Queen addressed the King and said that she feared the Alènandaw Queen would poison His Majesty's mind against her and bring about her ruin. She therefore begged that she might be allowed to leave the place and live with a man whom she loved, rather than remain in the place and be constantly nagged at and abused. The King was very angry at first, but he controlled his temper and gave permission to the Queen to leave the place and go to live with the rival in his affections. All the Queen's property, however, was seized and given to her two daughters, the Mingin Princess and the Taungdwingyaung Princess. When the Myotha *Myowun*, who was Governor of Mandalay, heard of this, he seized the Queen's leman, and would

have put him to death, but the King interfered and said the matter concerned him alone. He had forborne and forgiven and it was for no one else to judge the matter. The two therefore lived together undisturbed.

In 1871, commencing from the month of April, a great meeting was convened in the *Myenan* numbering 2,400 learned *sayadaws* and *pôngyis*. Under the presidency of the King they recited and rehearsed the *Bitaghat Thônbôn*, the Three Baskets of the Law, the communications of the Lord Buddha. The rehearsal occupied nearly five months and His Majesty feasted the holy men all this time. For this reason Mindôn Min was henceforward called *Pyinsama Thinkaya-natin* (or *thin*), the fifth King who rehearsed the Law of the Buddha, the Convenor of the Fifth Great Synod. He was the only King in modern times who observed this pious ceremony, and there were only four Kings before him, since the death of Shin Gautama, who had gone through this edifying and devout rite. The King's four predecessors were—

(1) Aratathat, the King of Yazagyo, who was the first who convened such a synod. Four months after the death of Shin Gautama, he with the chief *rahan*, Shin Mahakathapa, and 500 *rahans* read over the holy books at the mouth of a cave called Sayapinyaukyahlaing Ku. The King therefore received the title of *Patama Thinkaya-nathin*.

(2) The next was Kalathawka, Lord of Wethali. The chief *rahan*, Maharatha, with 700 *rahans*, performed the same ceremony throughout a period of eight months at the Walokarama *kyaung*, 100 years after the death of the Buddha. This King is therefore known as *Dutiya Thinkaya-nathin*, the convenor of the Second Great Synod.

(3) The great King Thiridhammathawka, ruler of Patalipok, was the *Tatiya Thinkaya-nathin*. One thousand *rahans*, with Shin Maukkalan as their *choragos*, during a period of nine months intoned the sacred precepts at Atthaw Karama *kyaung*. This was 336 years after Gautama had entered into rest.

(4) The fourth was Wattakamani, King of Thiho (Ceylon). The chief *rahan*, Shin Maheinda, with 500 monks, his companions, chaunted the volumes of the *Bitaghat* 455 years after the Buddha had attained *Neikban*. This King therefore is known as *Sadôtta Thinkaya-nathin*.

There was then no repetition of the pious rite until the time of King Mindôn, founder of Ratanapông (the Royal City of Gems) and the number of holy men who attended the synod was nearly equal to the congregations of his four predecessors taken together. There had been no such function for nearly 2,000 years, for His Majesty's synod was held in the year of religion 2414. He is therefore worthy of greater esteem than any of those that went before him.

In November the King sent the Yaw *Atwinwun*, Mingyi Minhlamahasithu, to Salin to repair an old pagoda there, which had been erected by Kyawswa Min, the King of Pagan, in former days. He had no sooner left Mandalay than his enemies calumniated him to the King. They said the *Atwinwun* was in the habit of saying openly that he saw no harm in drinking liquor, and that he actually did drink himself and often spoke against the King in his cups. The King was very angry and sent off the *Amyaukwun*, Mahamingaung Nawrata, to arrest the *Atwinwun*. This was done at Myingyan and the *Atwinwun* was brought back to Mandalay as a prisoner. The King, without any enquiry or investigation whatever, dismissed the *Atwinwun* from his offices and confined him in Amarapura for a long time. Eventually he relented, or was persuaded that the charges were not true, and appointed the unfortunate official to his former rank as Shwepyi *Atwinwun*. [This official, however, seems to have been very unguarded in what he said, for there is a note to the effect that in 1878, on the accession of King Thibaw, the Shwepyi *Atwinwun* became Magwe *Mingyi* with the presidency of a sort of council, which was supposed to administer the country in "European fashion," and in particular held charge of the treasury. The King received money on his note of hand, but he sent so often that one day the Magwe *Mingyi* (he is mysteriously called the "witty" minister) told the man, who came with a large demand for His Majesty, that the young King was very extravagant and should remember that money was not to be obtained for nothing, but was wrung out of hardworking cultivators, and should not be squandered as if it were sand or stones. (There seems more morality and sense in this than "wit," or wisdom either, considering the circumstances). The tale was carried to the King and Supayalat, and the *Wungyi* was deprived of all office only four months after his accession to rank. The Yenangyaung *Wungyi* was dismissed on the same day and the two were imprisoned in the south garden of the palace. Curiously enough these two men Maung Po Hlaing (Magwe) and Maung So (Yenangyaung) were the two who persuaded Mindôn Min, when he was at Shwebo, not to retreat on Manipur, but to fight where he was. Maung Po

Hlaing's father was Yindaw *Wungyi* in King Tharrawaddi's time, and was noted as a learned and able minister. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and was much liked by the foreigners who came to Tharrawaddi's Court.]

In March 1872, an Embassy was despatched to the Court of St. James's with letters and presents to the Queen. The members were the Kin *Wundauk*, now appointed *Wungyi*, Mingyi Mahasithu, and chief of the Embassy, the Patin *Wun*, Mahamingaungsithu, and the Pangyet *Wun*, Mahazeyananda Kyawtin, with equal powers under him and now created *Wundauk*, and *Sayegyi*, Mahaminhlazeyathu, as Secretary to the Mission. The King had been ill-advised by his Ministers and had not given formal notice of his intention of sending such a party to the Political Agent or to the English Government. In consequence of this irregularity, the Envoy was afraid that he might not be properly received in London and therefore first of all visited the Courts of Italy and France. They were honourably received in both countries and then went on to London, where they were magnificently received by Her Majesty the Queen and the Court. The Embassy after presenting their letters and gifts visited many places of interest in England and then returned with much joy and satisfaction and went back by way of Paris. There a commercial treaty was concluded, according to the terms of which French subjects were granted permission to work mines for minerals and precious stones in Burma without let or hindrance. The Embassy then returned to Mandalay and the *Kinwun Mingyi* recounted what had been done. The King was much displeased with the clause of the treaty authorizing the working of mines for precious stones by the French, and said the Ambassador had no authority to agree to any such concession. His Majesty held up in his hand one of the most valued of the crown jewels, a ruby ring known as Nga Mauk, and asked the assembled courtiers what its value might be. They bowed their heads to the ground and said no such jewel could be found anywhere in the world. No value could therefore be set on it. It was priceless, inestimable, inimitable. The King then, holding the jewel aloft, said: "If this one ruby be so inestimable "how many such priceless stones are there to be found in our ruby "mines! Moreover, there is no country in all the world which pro-"duces rubies such as ours. Are we then to resign our pride in "this possession and let foreigners work our mines? The treaty is "not ratified."

[The ruby ring, Nga Mauk, was only worn by the Kings of Burma on ceremonial occasions, such as the reception of Ambassadors from foreign countries, or at great festivals.]

About this time a Shan *Amat* of Theinni (Hsen Wi) named Shin He (Hsang Hai) left Hsen Wi town and gathered under him a number of wild Kachins and committed many depredations on the Theinni frontier. The Bhamo *Wundauk*, Mingyi Maha-min-gaung-zeyathu, was despatched with 3,000 troops to suppress him. There was a fight and Hsang Hai and his Kachins took to flight. [Hsang Hai, however, gave a great deal of trouble afterwards and led to the break up of the Hsen Wi State with disturbances which lasted until the country was occupied by British troops.]

On the 18th of April there was an exceedingly violent storm in Mandalay, with thunder and lightning, heavy rain, and fierce gusts of wind. Four persons were struck by lightning and killed. The like had never been known in the royal city before. Three men were killed by lightning in the Natso-lètwè quarter on the north of the city and one in the Dawè quarter to the south of the palace.

On the 24th of the same month letters from Her Majesty the Queen of England, the Prime Minister, and the Viceroy of India were brought up to Mandalay by Colonel Horace Browne, the Deputy Commissioner of Thayetmyo, and most honourably received by the King in full audience. The letters were read aloud by a *Thandawzin*, and the King, according to custom, had some conversation with the officers of Colonel Horace Browne's party and expressed himself highly pleased with the letters. After he had retired the British Officers had refreshments of the usual kind served up to them and then returned to the Residency.

The Myauknandaw Queen after her return from a visit to worship at the Arakan pagoda was seized with an attack of influenza and, though she was attended by the most skilful of the Court physicans, failed to recover and died on the 3rd May. Hers was the first case of influenza known in Mandalay, or rather the first fatal case. This Queen was the daughter of a *Myothugyi* and was taken by King Mindôn as his first wife, while yet he was only a Prince. She had very great influence over the King and continued to rank as his second wife after his marriage with the chief Queen, the Nammadawpaya, who according to rule was of the royal house (she was Mindon's half-sister). Before her death the Myauknandaw specially requested that her remains might be buried instead of being burnt according to custom. A grave was therefore prepared for her in the north garden of the palace and she was entombed with great ceremony and a mausoleum with a spire was erected over the spot. This, however, was pulled down and utterly destroyed when King Thibaw ascended the throne, and the Queen's remains were carried away and thrown into the com-

mon burying-ground. This desecration was said to be due to Queen Supayalat, who declared that the Myauknandaw Queen was not of royal blood and therefore not worthy to be buried within the limits of the palace. The true reason, however, was probably the hatred which Supayalat's mother, the Alènandaw Queen, bore to the deceased, her superior in the palace, though her inferior in birth.

In the same month of May 1872 the Mekkhara Prince, Thado-thudhamma-mahadhammayaza, was appointed to the charge of the engineering works and factories in Mandalay, with a number of officials under his orders.

In July five Princes, the sons of the King, and 15 Princes, the sons of the late *Eingshemin*, assumed the yellow robe and remained throughout Lent in the monastery of the *Thathanabaing*, the Superior of the Order. His *kyaung* lay to the east of the city.

From the 1st December of this year the King commenced a monthly dole to the heads of every monastery in Mandalay. The offerings sent were a basket of the best rice, five *parabaiks* (note-books), five pencils (of steatite for writing in these black scroll-books), 1 viss of ghee, 1 viss of honey, 1 viss of oil, and 1 viss of molasses, to each *sadaw* or *pôngyi* who officiated as abbot. The heads of *kyaungs* sent in return their benedictions formally written out on palm-leaves. These benisons were all formally recited by the *Thandawsin* every evening before the audience which was held daily.

About the end of the year an Italian Envoy came to Mandalay and was honourably received and the treaty, which had been negociated nearly two years before, was formally ratified.

At nearly the same time a portrait of Her Majesty the Queen was delivered to Mindôn Min and was treated with the greatest possible honour and respect.

In April 1873 the Kyabin Prince, son of the Limban Queen was married to the Kutywa Minthami, daughter of the Samakon Queen. He went mad shortly after his marriage, but this calamity, otherwise to be deplored, was the means of saving his life in 1879, when King Thibaw put the other Princes and Princesses to death.

In June 1873 a Chinaman named Li-si-tai, who styled himself an imperial officer, came to Mandalay and had an interview with the King. He represented that the Panthays (*Huitsu*) had rebelled against the *Udibwa* and had destroyed much of the country in Western China. Li-si-tai said that he had spent all that he possessed in warring against these rebels, and added that it would be a gracious token of His Majesty's affection for, and alliance with

the Emperor of China if some 20,000 or 30,000 viss of cotton then lying at Bhamo were presented to him, Li-si-tai, to enable him to resume the struggle against the marauding Panthays. The King was fully persuaded that Li-si-tai was in reality a Mandarin of the Middle Kingdom and gave him 20,000 viss of the royal cotton stored at Bhamo. Li-si-tai was in actual fact "an audacious and arrogant robber chief," who made a living by plundering caravans between Bhamo and Momein (T'êng-yüeh). This present from the King, however, apparently improved his mode of life. He joined the Chinese army, really did fight the Panthays, and in the end was decorated by the Chinese authorities. [Li-si-tai was the man who is believed to have been the chief agent in the murder of Augustus Raymond Margary.]

In June also some *sayadaws* and *pôngyis*, tired of the restraints of the monastic life, put off their yellow robes and became laymen. The King had them assembled together and appointed them to posts in different districts and towns according to their abilities. Each man had a fixed salary and they were styled *Lupyandaw* on account of the interest the King had taken in them, instead of the usual opprobrious *lutwet*.

In November 1873, the Pakhan *Wungyi* Thadomingyi-minh'a-sithu, the Chief Minister of the Council and the signatory on the part of Burma of the Commercial Treaty of 1867, died much regretted by both the King and every one who had known him.

In December a man named Maung Ye, who had been a salt-boiler in Pegu, came up to Mandalay and attempted to make his way into the palace through the *Taga-ni*, the main gate. The officer in charge of the gate seized hold of him, for the *Taga-ni* could only be used by the Royal Family, the Ministers of State, and Foreign Ambassadors. Maung Ye, however, boldly announced to the *Bo* that he came by the orders of the *Naga Min*, the Dragon King, who had heard of the piety and power of the Burmese King and wished to come and serve him. The *Naga Min*, however, was a sea dragon and could not live on dry land. He had therefore despatched Maung Ye as his forerunner to charge the King to build a large tank and fill it with water so that the *Naga Min* might have a dwellIng-place. The *Naga Min*, Maung Ye said, would make his appearance in Mandalay in a month's time. The *Taga-ni Bo* reported all this to King Mindôn, who ordered that Maung Ye should be brought before him immediately. Maung Ye's petition was formally read to His Majesty and after a few questions the King loaded the impostor with presents and gave orders for the construction of a large tank at the foot of Mandalay hill with a plentiful

supply of water for the *Naga Min*. When the tank was finished the shameless Maung Ye announced that the vapourous outline of the *Naga Min* would be seen hovering over the *Myenanpyathat* (the main spire of the palace) and the residence of the chief Queen. Accordingly one night the watchers declared they saw a brilliant glow on these buildings. It was believed that Maung Ye had really produced some illusion by black arts, or by some trick learnt in his trade of panning out salt. However that may be, he lost none of his audacity and had the effrontery to address another petition to the King to the effect that, if His Majesty wished to interview or make use of the *Naga Min*, he had only to go to the tank and stamp thrice on the ground with his royal feet and say "Naga, come forth." This, however, Mindôn Min refused to do and probably began to suspect the deceit that had been put upon him. Nevertheless, he allowed the mysterious legend to be put about among his subjects, so that they might be led to believe that he was like the great and glorious kings of old, of whom it is fabled that their power was so world compelling that even the *Nagas* were unable to stay in their own places, but were forced to come and do the royal behests. This, he thought, would in after years be told of him also and his name be made famous in history.

On the 1st January 1874 an Envoy from the French Republic, who had arrived a few days before, was received in audience by the King. After the usual complimentary conversation the Envoy said he had come to obtain the ratification of the treaty concluded by the *Kinwun Mingyi* in Paris on behalf of the Burmese Government. The King said he could not sign that treaty and in his turn called upon the French Envoy to sign the amended treaty drawn up in Mandalay, which omitted the right granted to French subjects to work the ruby mines in Burma. The Envoy said that he could not do this, for he was only empowered by his Government to sign the treaty as it was drawn up in Paris. Not many days afterwards he left Mandalay "with great disappointment."

The *Kinwun Mingyi* followed him before long to Paris with the treaty as amended by the King. The French Government, however, were no less unwilling to give way than His Majesty and after a short time the *Kinwun Mingyi* was informed that the Government of France had much business on hand and could not enter upon a new treaty. So the *Mingyi* returned to Mandalay without effecting anything.

In June the King and the chief Queen in their State robes proceeded to make the circuit of the moat round the city walls seated in a State barge, called *Karawaik Paungdaw*. They were followed

by all the Queens, Princes, and Princesses and the entire body of officials in a procession of boats. In this way the King took possession of the now completed city of *Ratanapông* (the Royal City of Gems), or Mandalay, and the city was formally blessed by the *pônnas* (Brahmins) according to ancient custom. The King and the chief Queen assumed new titles, and new titles were also conferred upon all the Queens, Princes, Princesses, and officials.

After the Myingôn Prince's rebellion in 1866 the King had issued an order that no officials whatsoever should serve or visit any of the Royal Princes without special permission, under penalty of the royal displeasure. About this time, however, a man named Maung Gyi, Amyin Myoôk, went to the Mekkhara Prince's residence and received from him as presents some waist-cloths and turbans. Maung Gyi afterwards showed these with great pride to his father-in-law the Alôn *Wun*, Mingyi-mahathaman-nayan. The *Wun* was very far from being pleased and said that, if it were known that Maung Gyi had accepted these gifts from the Prince, he, the *Wun* himself, would also get into serious trouble. He therefore carried the *pasos* and *gaungbaungs* straight off to the King and told him the whole story. The King praised him for his fidelity and loyalty and conferred a higher title upon him, that of *Mingyi Mahathetdawshe*, which is especially reserved for the officials in whom the King has complete confidence. The title carries with it a guarantee that its bearer shall never be put to death, no matter what crime he may commit. As for Maung Gyi, he was sent a prisoner to Mogaung (the Burmese Siberia, like the Chinese Mongolia or Turkestan). The Mekkhara Prince's fault was overlooked on account of the signal services which he had rendered in the 1866 rebellion.

In August of this year there was a scarcity of food in the northern district about Thinkadaw and Sampenago, and the people were reduced to live on roots and jungle herbs. The King sent two steamers loaded with rice to their relief. Part of the rice was sold at a merely nominal rate and much was given away gratuitously to those who had no money to buy it.

On the 6th February 1875 a mission composed of the *Wundauk* Mingyi-mahaminhla-yazathu, the *Sayegyi* Nemyo-mintin-sithu, and the *Ahmaya* Nemyo-mintin-kyawgaung was despatched to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to discuss the settlement of the Karenni boundary, and the question was finally settled in Mandalay between the Burmese Government and Sir Douglas Forsyth, the emissary of the Viceroy, "and the Karenni were secured against foreign aggression."

About this time the King noted that the inscriptions set up at the most famous pagodas in the country were being effaced by age and exposure to the weather. He therefore ordered copies to be engraved on marble slabs so that they might last for ever. These marble slabs were then stored in a chamber built of brick at the Arakan pagoda. They were 51 in number.

In December there was another great ear-boring festival, held in the *Hmannandaw*. The Princes and Princesses, children of the King, whose ears were bored were the following: Supayagale, Thirithu-theinkha-yatana Dewi, the younger sister of Supayalat, King Thibaw's queen; the Pyinsi Princess, Thupaha Dewi; the Pyaung Pyi Princess, Thirithu yuza Dewi, younger sister of King Thibaw; the Mohnyin Princess. Thirikinzana Dewi; the Kyaukyit Princess, Thirinanda Dewi; the Natmauk Princess Thiripama Dewi; the Madaya Princess, Thiritheinkha Dewi; the Yinkhe Princess, Thirithuseitta Dewi; the Myothit Princess, Thirithuwunna Dewi; the Hingamaw Princess, Thirithuthama Dewi; and the Princes Panya Min, Thadominyè-kyawdin, Taungmyaw Min, Thadominyè-kyaw, the Kawlin Prince, Thadominyè-kyawgaung, the Maing Sin Prince, Thadominyè-yannaing, and the Maingpyin Prince, Thadominyè-thihathu. Besides these there were 14 daughters of the late *Eingshemin* and nine granddaughters and three grandsons of the King. On this occasion all the Courts were closed and many prisoners were released from the jails, both civil debtors and criminals. by order of the King.

During the ceremony, while the King and the chief Queen were sitting together on the throne in the *Hmannandaw* looking on, the Alènandaw Queen without any warning went up to the throne and sat down beside them. The whole Court was astounded at her boldness, for no queens were allowed to sit on the throne with the King, except the chief Queen. The Nammadaw Paya was very indignant, but she restrained her anger in the presence Chamber. When the ceremonial was over, however, she went straight off to her suite of apartments and wept for shame. The King heard of this and went to speak to her, but she attacked him, saying that it could only be owing to his encouragement that the Alènandaw Queen would dare to do such a thing, absolutely unparalleled as it was in its defiance of Court etiquette. The King assured her that so far from having given any encouragement he had been as much surprised as she could have been at the irregularity, and added that he proposed to reprimand and chastise the froward Alènandaw.

The Alènandaw Queen was noted as much for her wiliness as for her haughty demeanour. It appears that she contended that she, as

a daughter of King Bagyidaw, had a perfect right to sit on the throne with the King and the senior wife at a festival in honour of the ear-boring of her own daughter. She would not stoop to ask for permission, but boldly asserted her right by doing the thing itself.

In February 1876 it was brought to the King's notice that the water of the Yane, Tapin, and Winyohan streams from the Taungpyu district north of Mandalay was dispersed and not utilized as it might be. He therefore ordered the Yenangyaung *Wungyi*, Thadomingyi-mahaminkyaw-minkhaung, to dig out and repair these *chaungs* so that the people might be able to utilize the water for the cultivation of their fields. The distance over which the labour extended was 3,000 *ta*, 3 *taings*, from 7 to 8 miles.

In addition to this the King at the same time gave orders for the embanking of the Irrawaddy. During the floods the river used to rise every year as far as the Shweta *chaung* and caused a good deal of inconvenience and sickness. Accordingly the King issued an order in the month of May to all officials that the river was to be banked up. The bund was to extend from Obo on the north of Mandalay to Amarapura on the south, and each officer had a section assigned to him which he was to complete with all convenient despatch. The height and breadth of the embankment were given and the earth of which it was built was to be piled upon a basis of rocks and stones.

On the 23rd October of this year the Nammadawpaya, the chief Queen, fell ill of fever and, notwithstanding the care of all the most skilled physicians of the Court, daily became worse. Accordingly the King, as a last resource, set free a number of prisoners from jail, 65 in number, one for each year of the life of Her Majesty Thiripawaya-talawka-yatana-mingala Dewi. Among them were Nga Pyaw, Nga Hpo Ka, Nga Thaung, Nga San E, and Nga Tha Aung, five dacoits who were under sentence of death. This pious act, however, proved of as little avail as the drugs of the medical men, and on the 12th November the Queen died. She was buried with great pomp in the north garden of the palace and the King and the whole Royal Family with the Ministers of State attendded the funeral robed in white mourning garments, and remained in mourning for seven days. A tomb with a spire was erected over her grave. Her loss greatly affected the King, who had frequently sought her advice on matters of State. The amiability of the Nammadawpaya and her conspicuous benevolence and piety had also greatly endeared her to the people at large, and she was universally regretted. She was a daughter of King Tharrawaddi by his chief Queen and full sister of the Pagan King. Mindôn Min never

got over his grief for her loss and wore a white *paso* until the day of his death in mourning for her. He paid frequent visits to her grave—so often, that eventually he had a small summer palace built close by, where he frequently lived for several weeks at a time.

After the death of the good Queen it was rumoured in the palace that the Alènandaw, who was also a King's daughter and a great favourite with the King, would be nominated chief Queen in the room of the deceased. When this got about, all the influential queens and many of the others went to the King privately and asked him with tears in their eyes whether the rumour was true. If it were true, they said that haughty and irritable lady would soon make the palace unbearable for them and they would all have to beg permission to leave His Majesty and retire from the palace. The King was very gentle and solemnly assured them that he had given a promise to the late Queen that no one should be appointed to fill her place.

A few months later, however, the Alènandaw Queen formally petitioned the King that she, a daughter of King Bagyidaw by his chief Queen, had a right to the title of Mindôn's chief Queen and maintained that the retention of the title of Alènandaw was a direct slight to her. The poor King compromised the matter by allowing her to use a white umbrella and gave her a white cow elephant, which had been sent from Tavoy, to ride on. She thus obtained the title of *Sinpyumashin* (Mistress of the White Elephant). At the same time, to soothe the other queens, His Majesty privately told them that the white umbrella had been given to the Alènandaw by the chief Queen just before her death and that he had nothing to do with it. The King only wanted peace, but so imperious and domineering was the Alènandaw that she would undoubtedly have gained her end and would have been formally nominated chief Queen, if His Majesty had only lived a few years longer. She was his favourite, though she was so brazen and pushing.

In December 1876 King Mindôn resolved to build a pagoda which should surpass every pagoda in existence in size and magnificence. The site he selected was at the foot of Yankin *taung*, a hill to the east of Mandalay, and the shrine was to be built of stone. The plan sketched shows that the pagoda would have been vastly greater than any building on earth. The work was pushed on with the greatest energy. Many people died of sickness and great numbers of cattle employed to carry material died of fatigue. The King's mind was set on completing the work and officials were sent out to report the daily progress, each Minister taking the duty in

turn. Mindôn Min one day asked one of his royal Italian engineers when he thought the pagoda would be finished. That officer callously replied: "It will take about 40 years, Your Majesty." The King was almost more annoyed than displeased, for he was determined to finish it before he died. As a matter of fact the structure had only risen about 3 feet above the ground at his death.

In 1877 the King had a canal dug from the north of the palace to the moat to the east of the city, running through the north-east gate of the city called *Thônkè*. He proposed thus to go to the pagodas and *kyaungs* to the north-east of the city by water, and in November, on the completion of the Atumashi *kyaung* (the Incomparable), actually did go with the whole Court in a procession of State barges. He returned again on the same day to the palace.

At the end of the year it was maliciously reported to the King that the officials of the late *Eingshemin* were meditating treason. They were accordingly all arrested and sent as prisoners to the Shan States. There was no real ground for the charge, but the King was afraid that disturbances might be created in the country.

On the 10th of May 1878 the Atumashi *kyaung* was consecrated and the King went out with the entire Court and Royal Family, again by water, intending to stay at a temporary palace which had been built for the occasion close to the *kyaung*, where also a great feast was prepared and all the people of Mandalay, foreigners (*i.e.*, Europeans), Chinese, natives (*i.e.*, Natives of India), and Burmese were entertained at His Majesty's expense. On this day, however, there occurred two portents which greatly affected the programme. While the *Karawaik Hpaungdaw* was passing along the moat, laden with the *Pitaka*, or collections of the canonical books, to be deposited in the monastery about to be consecrated, the boat struck a post and the spire over the *Hpaungdaw* was violently wrenched and nearly broken short off. Again after the *kyaung* had been formally consecrated, the King went up to pray before an image in the interior of the building. He had to go up some steps and as he went he stumbled and would have fallen had it not been that one of the Princesses was close by him, whose shoulder he seized and so recovered himself. The King was a good deal shaken and seriously frightened and returned to the palace the same evening instead of staying in the temporary building as had been arranged. The story of the two accidents got about and they were looked upon by the people as bad omens. The King himself apparently had the same idea, shut himself up in his palace, and went nowhere.

In June the yearly examination of *pôngyis* and *shins*, candidates for the full grade of monk and probationers of the order, took place

at the Thudhamma *zayat* and the Patan *zayat*, at the foot of Mandalay hill. The King, instead of going himself, sent the Ministers in turn to entertain the *sayadaws* and *pôngyis* who conducted the examination, and to report progress every day. In previous years he had always made a point of being present himself at this *Patamapyan* as the examination for orders was called.

In July the King really fell ill and, notwithstanding the efforts of his medical advisers, daily became weaker, so that he was not able to hold the ordinary audiences A rumour soon flew all over the country that His Majesty was actually dead and embalmed, and there was much anxiety throughout his dominions. To restore confidence and quiet the minds of the people, the King by a great effort made his appearance in the Hall of Audience and remained there for a short time. It was too much for his strength, however, and he gradually became worse, and on the 12th September all the Princes received an order to attend in the palace by command of the King. The Nyaung Yan Prince, who as the most pious of his sons, had by the King's command been in daily attendance on His Majesty with the physicians and knew the nearly hopeless state of his father, and moreover received a private warning from his mother, instead of going to the palace, took refuge at the British Residency, and persuaded his brother the Nyaung Ôk to go with him. The other Princes, however, obeyed the citation without suspicion and went direct to the palace. They were arrested in a body and imprisoned in a building to the south of the *Hlutdaw*. Two days later they were removed to a building north of the *Bahosin*, the clock turret, and there were loaded with chains.

The mothers of the unfortunate Princes made their way to the King and begged for their release, and on the 19th September the King issued an order that they should be immediately set free and brought before him, at the same time adding that their arrest had been made without his knowledge, or permission.

The Princes were accordingly set free and brought inside the palace, but the Mekkhara Prince alone was allowed to go to the King's bedside. He told his father how matters stood, and Mindôn Min realized the danger they were in while he remained bedridden and that they would be in still greater peril if he were to die. He therefore hit upon a plan which he thought would free them from the snares which had been set about them, and would enable them to protect themselves. This was to appoint several of them *Bayingan*, or Regents. Accordingly he dictated an order appointing the Thônzè Prince *Bayingan* of all the country from Shwebo to Bhamo, with a *sayedawgyi* of the *Hlutdaw* as a subordinate, and with one of

the royal steamers at his disposal; the lands from Kyauksè as far as Taungngu frontier were assigned to the Mekkhara Prince as Regent, also with a *Hlutdaw* clerk and a steamer for the Prince's use; and the tract between Talôkmyo (Myingyan) and Myedè, with another *sayedawgyi* and a royal steamer, was assigned to the Nyaung Yan Prince as the third *Bayingyan*. Each Prince was to rule over his territory independently and the younger Princes and their relations were allowed to attach themselves to whichever of the three they preferred. A further order was issued to the treasury to advance what sums might be necessary for the expenses of the *Bayingans*. The King also expressly warned the Mekkhara Prince that neither he nor any of the other Princes were to return to the palace, unless under an order signed by his own royal hand, which he said they would all be able easily to recognize. He then gave his son his blessing and stretched himself out on his couch with his feet towards the Prince. The Mekkhara knelt down, brushed the royal feet with his hair and kissed them and humbly thanked the King for the honour and favour which he had shown him and the other Princes, his sons, and retired from the presence.

He rejoined the other Princes and went down with them to the north garden of the palace, where they met their mothers, the various queens, and their sisters, who had gone there by the King's orders to bid them farewell. While they were conversing an armed party rushed upon them and arrested them all and they were all again lodged in their prison-house after only a few hours' freedom.

The *thandawzin* who had taken down the King's order for a triple regency read it aloud before the Ministers. But the *Kin Wun Mingyi* and other prominent functionaries who were interested in the plot in favour of the Thibaw Prince prevented the decree from being issued by the *Hlutdaw*. They knew that the King was in a dying state and that the chance of their punishment was slight. It was they therefore who issued the order for the re-arrest of the Princes.

The hapless queens and princesses, when they saw their dear ones thus seized before their eyes and some of them cruelly beaten and ill-treated, fled to the palace weeping and beating their breasts to relate what had happened to the King and to entreat him to exercise his authority. This, however, had been foreseen by the Alènandaw Queen, who was the originator of the plot, and she met them on the way and relentlessly bade them hold their peace in the Palace. They all feared the Alènandaw and were fain to retire, and immediately afterwards found themselves made prisoners in their own apartments. There was therefore no one to tell the

King what had happened and he believed that the Princes were set free and said to himself on his sick bed: Now they have got to the steamers. Now they have started. Now they are going full of joy and gratitude to assume their new duties." But the Princes lay loaded with chains in their crowded cell and the King knew nought of it.

He died on Tuesday, the 1st October, in the golden palace at the moment when the second hour was struck and thence his remains were humbly carried by the Ministers to the crystal palace, the *Hmannandaw*, and there laid on a golden couch of state all set with precious stones. His body was decked out in the royal robes; his face, hands and feet were covered deep with the finest gold leaf; a white canopy embroidered with gold leaves was set overhead; and the eight white umbrellas, four on each side, were unfolded over him. On either side were laid out his crowns, his robes of state, and the royal insignia and badges of authority. The whole chamber was hung with fine white cloth and all in the palace were dressed in pure white as a sign of mourning. The gates of the palace were thrown open to all who might wish to come and pay homage to what remained of their Sovereign, and people from all the country round, from the city, and from far distant places, came to mourn at the bier of the good King.

After a few days he was buried in great state, attended by the Pagan Min, his brother, the queens, the princesses and all the dignitaries of state clad in pure white. The catafalque with its white ropes was drawn by the queens, the princesses, and others of the Royal Family to the north-east of the *Hlutdaw* to a spot close to the grave of the late Queen Dowager, the wife of King Tharrawaddi, and there he was buried with great honour and solemnity according to the prescribed royal rites. King Thibaw was present at the funeral, and it was particularly noticed that he and his followers were dressed in their ordinary garb and not in white like all the others present. He came, not on foot, but in a State palanquin, and when it halted near the burial place he did not alight, but gave the necessary order for burial from his palanquin, extended at full length. The officer in charge of the obsequies set fire to the funeral trappings as a signal for the interment to go on and Thibaw then immediately retired. The rest remained till the sepulture was completed. A fine monument was afterwards erected over the grave.

The King died of dysentery after an illness of two months. His loss was felt with profound regret in every part of his dominions. He was equally loved, esteemed, and respected by his people, who

admired him for his learning, his intelligence, and his kind-heartedness. He was occasionally lead by evil advice to do harsh things, but when he discovered that wrong had been done he made prompt and frank amends to the victim. He loved peace above all things and was willing to sacrifice almost anything to secure it. He was very religious and eager to learn anything new in science, knowledge, or literature. On the representation of the English Missionary, the Reverend Doctor Marks, he built a beautiful church and a school for the teaching of the Christian religion, and to this missionary school he sent several of his sons, King Thibaw being one of them. But the King was above all zealous to advance and foster the Buddhist religion. He erected numberless *kyaungs*, pagodas, *zayats*, and other meritorious works. His name is the most notable in the Alaungpaya dynasty.

He was born on Tuesday, the 6th increase of *Waso* 1176 B.E. (3rd July 1814), and died on the 1st October 1878, at the age of 64, after a prosperous reign of 26 years. He took his title of Mindôn from the fact that, while a prince, he drew the revenues of the Mindôn township, west of Thayetmyo, within a few miles of the foot of the Arakan Hills. His birth name was Maung Lwin.

This ends the chronicle of King Mindôn's reign.

The following domestic palace details have been collected from a variety of Burmese sources:—

The chief Queen was the only one of the queens who had the power to petition the King direct in favour of a candidate for office, or to interpose in behalf of a prisoner or any one sentenced to death.

The other Queens and ladies of the palace had no recognized authority, but many of them had a good deal of personal influence with the King in the privacy of his chamber, and therefore great court was paid to them by minor and district officials and even by Ministers of State in the hope that promotion or protection in times of trouble might thus be secured for them. Friendship with these ladies was also useful in another way. They could report what passed or was talked of in the palace and so do a friend a good turn. The queens' chambers were therefore thronged with the wives and daughters, alike of officials and aspirants for office, and occasionally a very kind-hearted lady of the Court would send a special warning message to a suitor or a delinquent. After his establishment of the salary system King Mindôn handed over some of the queens to the care of various Ministers and district officials and ordered them to be regarded as daughters and to be looked after and provided for accordingly. These ladies naturally had an

eye to the interests of their guardians and gave secret information for their advantage. Feminine influence was thus even more paramount at the Burmese Court than it is elsewhere in Burma.

The situation therefore when King Mindôn fell seriously ill was sufficiently complicated. There was no rule extant that the eldest Prince should succeed, and no one had been nominated *Eingshemin* or heir-apparent by the King as successor to the Prince, his brother, murdered in the rebellion of 1866. In 1869 Colonel (then Captain) Sladen had urged the King to nominate one of his sons to be his successor, on the ground that this would secure the peace of the country. But the King had argued that, on the contrary, this would be the surest way to create disturbances. He had so many sons of an age fit to govern the country that the appointment of any one of them as *Eingshemin* would be practically signing his death-warrant. The matter therefore was postponed until the lingering and debilitating illness of the King left him without the energy or the influence sufficient to settle the question himself.

As matters stood it was hardly possible that there could be a peaceable and bloodless succession. The three most prominent and elderly Princes were the Mekkhara, Thônzè, and Nyaung Yan *Minthas*. They were all loyal; they had rendered equally good service in the rebellion of 1866; they were much of an age and, as far as their mothers were concerned, according to Burmese notions, they were on an equality. The Thônzè Prince had perhaps a slight advantage in the rank of his mother; the Mekkhara Prince was the bravest and perhaps the most prominent; the Nyaung Yan Prince was the most pious and well-read and therefore possibly the most likely to find favour in the eyes of the Governor of the Fifth Great Synod. The King himself hesitated, as is evident from his division of the Regency among them. Possibly he thought he would recover from his sickness and would have time to settle the succession; possibly he was too weak to arrive at any decision; most likely he was confused by the startling arrest of all the Princes without his orders. His love of peace and the absence of any one to guide his decision probably determined him to leave matters to settle themselves. In any case he made no definite nomination.

The Alènandaw Queen saw her opportunity in this. She knew that she was hated by all the Queens and indeed by most of the Royal Family. She knew that each Queen would intrigue for her son with the aid of whatever officials could be won. She knew that the Thibaw Prince was in love with her daughter Supayalat, and she determined that through them she would continue to exercise the same influence at Court as she possessed in Mindôn's time. She

carried out her plot with equal energy and daring. While the King was ill, the only persons, besides the physicians, allowed to come near him were the Alènandaw Queen herself, the Taungsaingdaw, the Thanatsin and Letpansin Queens, and U Hka Gyi, the chief eunuch. She still further isolated him by ordering that no ponies or carriages were to pass near the palace and that no one was to speak above a whisper throughout the whole building, or to come near the sick chamber. It was by her orders that the Princes were first summoned to the palace and arrested, and it almost seems as if she had obtained the King's approval of this step on the ground that the safety and peace of the kingdom called for it, but this latter point is very obscure. At any rate she persuaded the King to stipulate that all the Princes should leave Mandalay with the three *Bayingans*, Mekkhara, Thônzè, and Nyaung Yan, except the Thibaw, Maingtôn, and Thagaya Princes.

Meanwhile she had further developed her plot. She sent for the *Kin Wun Mingyi* and her particular ally, the Myaukdwe *Bo*, a military officer and father of the Yanaung Mintha, and informed them that the King had appointed the three Princes to be *Bayingans*, and that the inevitable result of this must be disturbances, risings among the people, and the overthrow of the Ministers themselves. She therefore suggested that it would be well for the peace of the country not to let any of them leave Mandalay and said all should be confined by order of the *Hlutdaw*. At the same time she hinted that the King had expressed a wish that Thibaw should marry Supayalat and should be nominated *Eingshemin*. Whatever the Ministers may have thought of the last proposition, they were thoroughly alive to the dangers hinted at by the Alènandaw, and the *Kin Wun Mingyi* easily persuaded the Hkampat, Yenangyaung, and Shwe Pyi *Wungyis* to agree to the Queen's proposition. An order of the *Hlutdaw* was therefore issued for the re-arrest of all the Princes and this was promptly carried out in the north garden of the palace as related by the Burmese chronicler. A few of the minor Princes escaped during the scuffle which occurred. The Mekkhara and Thônzè Princes resisted violently. The former was cut over the head and the Thônzè Prince was also injured by a fall off the palace wall, which he was trying to scale. In order to divert suspicion and to persuade the people that the arrest was made really for the sake of the country, to ensure its tranquillity, the Thibaw Prince was arrested among the others, by the express desire of the Alènandaw Queen. He was, however, very soon liberated on the pretext that the King wanted him to give him his medicine.

The King was now more isolated than ever and the Alènandaw Queen further developed her plot. While the Ministers were sitting

in Council near the southern palace there was brought to them by an eunuch from the Alènandaw a *parabaik*, a black official note-book. It contained a list of the Princes' names, and the Ministers were requested to put a mark against the name of the one they thought best fitted and worthiest to be appointed *Eingshemin*, the successor to the throne. The *parabaik* was first handed to the Hkampat *Wungyi*, who at that time was looked upon as President of the Council. He looked over the list and passed it on, without a word and without making any remark to the *Kin Wun Mingyi*. This officer had now been completely won over by the Alènandaw, and without a moment's hesitation he placed his mark against the name of the Thibaw Prince. The other Ministers thereupon, whether in the plot or not, all followed his example and voted for Thibaw. They thought that this Prince, who had no established party of his own and no powerful relations in the Court to outward seeming, would be more easily managed than the more elderly Princes, all whose favourites and likings were known.

The *parabaik* was then taken back by the eunuch to the Alènandaw and after a day or two she laid it before the King and pointed out to him the unanimous vote of his Ministers. The King simply looked at it and laid the book down by his bed without a sign or a word. All this time he knew nothing of the arrest of the Princes and during a slight revival of his strength the Ministers were in great alarm and were with difficulty kept from releasing the prisoners by the Alènandaw. The amendment of the King's health was, however, only temporary. A relapse set in and within ten days he was dead.

He lay in state for seven days, and the day after the funeral Thibaw was proclaimed King. The Ministers established a kind of Council which was to administer the affairs of the country on what was called a constitutional system. No order was to be issued and no appointments were to be made without the consent and approval of this Council. This was not at all, however, what the Alènandaw or King Thibaw and his consort wanted and the Council came to an end in three months' time. That body had endeavoured to keep a control of the treasury, and the Shwe Pyi *Wungyi* in its name ventured to protest against the royal extravagance. The immediate answer to this attempt to cut the privy purse was the dismissal of the plain-spoken Shwe Pyi *Wungyi* and of the Yenangyaung *Wungyi*, who was reported to have spoken favourably of the Mekkhara Prince. Such autocratic action was too much for the Council and no more was heard of the attempt at "constitutional Government." King Thibaw ruled supreme.

Immediately after the coronation ceremony the Myaukshweyi Queen, the mother of the Nyaung Yan and Nyaung Ôk Princes, and her daughters were arrested and imprisoned. At the same time there were thrown into jail the Kunywa Queen, the mother of the Thônzè Prince, and her daughters, the Mekkhara Prince's mother, the Myauksaungdaw Queen and her daughters, the Pagan Queen and her daughters, the Limban Queen, the Thekpan Queen, and the Saingdôn Queen, with their daughters, besides many others. They were all confined in the palace enclosure near the western gate and remained closely guarded until the occupation of Mandalay by the British troops.

At first the King's intention was simply to keep the Princes, his brothers, in confinement. A large jail for their accommodation was therefore commenced on the western side of the palace, but before long the Alènandaw Queen, her daughter Supayalat, and their confidential advisers arrived at the conclusion that the death of the Princes was the easiest way of preventing them from giving trouble. King Thibaw required little persuasion and the massacre took place in February 1879. A huge trench was dug to receive them all and many were tossed in half alive or only stunned by the clubs of the executioners. The Hlethin *Atwinwun* was *Myowun* of Mandalay at the time, and he with the Yanaung *Mintha* and their *Letthôndaws*, their personal attendants, were sent to verify the *dragonnade* and see that none escaped. The huge grave was covered with earth, which was trampled down by the feet of the executioners, but after a day or two it began gradually to rise and the King sent all the palace elephants to trample it level again. After some time the trench was opened again and the bodies were taken out and removed to the common burial-ground and interred there.

The most prominent among those murdered were the Myauksaungdaw Queen with her daughters, the Kani and Ngapè *Minthamis* and her son, the Mekkhara Prince; the Kyanhnyat and Thinkyè Princesses; the Thônzè Prince and his brother the Pintha *Mintha;* the Kothani, the Shwegu, Mohlaing, Taungnyo, Yenaung, Maingtôn, Kawlin, Kotha, Thagaya, Thilin, and Tantabin Princes, besides many others, sons of the King and of the *Eingshemin* who was murdered in 1866. Other notable persons killed were the Tabè *Mintha*, Mindôn Min's cousin, the Yenatha *Mintha*, the Limban Queen's brother, the Bhamo *Atwinwun*, uncle of the Thônzè Mintha, Maung Yauk, formerly Governor of Rangoon in Burmese times, and his brother, the *Myinzugyiwun*, the Madaya *Wun*, who was uncle of the Nyaung Yan Prince, and a number of other officials and

relatives of the Princes. The victims numbered in all between 70 and 80 souls. Both the Court and the country were horrified, but none dared to murmur. A spirit of lawlessness, however, spread throughout the kingdom and dacoits and robbers soon infested every part of the country.

Immediately after the massacre Supayalat distributed among her favourite maids-of-honour the cities and titles assigned to the murdered queens and Princesses, and King Thibaw in the same way named his most trusted *letthôndaws* successors of the deceased Princes. The titles therefore all survived in different individuals.

King Thibaw married Supayalat immediately upon his succession to the throne. He had been in love with her for some considerable time. His mother, the Laungshe *Mibuya* (who was seventh in rank among the Queens), the Alènandaw, and the Ministers, however, decided among themselves that he should also marry Supayagyi, the elder sister of Supayalat, and that Supayagyi, as the eldest daughter of the Alènandaw, should have the title of chief Queen, *Nammadaw Mibuya Kaunggyi*, while Supayalat was to be styled *Myauk Nandaw Mibuya*, or northern Queen. It was assumed that Thibaw, like all Kings of Burma, would have four principal queens and a number of minor spouses according to fancy. However, to begin with, he married the two sisters in the presence of the entire Court at the time of his coronation, and they sat on the throne to the right and left of him. Both of them were allowed to use white umbrellas and Supayagyi moved into the apartments which had been inhabited by Mindôn's chief Queen. Supayalat, however, established herself in the King's own rooms and kept a close eye on him, so that he was never able to go anywhere without her. The King therefore saw nothing of Supayagyi at all.

This, however, did not satisfy Supayalat, who was determined to be sole mistress. Before long Supayagyi fell sick and her favourite nurse, Ma Pwa, lighted some candles and placed them in a row in the *Nammadapaya's* rooms as an offering to the spirits for the Queen's recovery. Supayalat heard of this and immediately told King Thibaw that Supayagyi and her nurse were working spells against his health and power and were conspiring to bring about the return of the Nyaung Yan Prince as King. She therefore persuaded the King to send messengers to see what was going on and he was duly told that candles were indeed burning in a row, but what it was for the spies could not say. Thibaw was gradually worked into alarm and indignation by Supayalat and had several hot altercations with the Alènandaw, who took the part of her elder daughter. In the end Thibaw ordered the nurse to be put to death. When the Alènandaw heard this she thought

PLATE II.



Photo-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

KING THIBAW AND SUPAYA - LAT.

Supayagyi was also in danger and caused her to be removed from the *Nammadapaya's* rooms and brought under her own immediate care again. This was the very thing which Supayalat had been scheming for. She hated the notion of any one staying in the chief Queen's suite except herself.

Supayagyi was very fond of her nurse and worked herself into such a state of misery over her sentence to death that the Alènandaw was fain to stifle her pride and went to King Thibaw and begged him to spare Ma Pwa. He recalled the death sentence, but Supayalat would not allow her to be released and Ma Pwa, with her three sons and her aged mother, were kept confined in the women's prison for some considerable time. Supayalat, with or without grounds, believed that Ma Pwa had been scheming to introduce the King into Supayagyi's chamber and this was more than her jealousy could stand. Her hatred was implacable. After a few months Ma Pwa was removed to a prison in Sagaing and she had not long been there when a private order arrived that the nurse was to be starved to death, which was duly carried out.

Jealousy was Supayalat's chief characteristic, and to it she united the imperiousness and cruelty which she had inherited from her mother. She kept the King completely under her control and effectually prevented him from indulging in *amours*. When her first child, a daughter, was born, all the daughters of the officials were ordered to come to the palace to pay homage to the infant Princess and to do her homage. Among those who came was Mi Hkingyi, a grand-daughter of the Hkampat *Wungyi* and niece of the Pagan *Atwinwun*. Mi Hkingyi was very good-looking and very gentle in her manner. She was therefore chosen among those to attend on the infant, and King Thibaw saw her often when he came to see the child and soon took a fancy to her. He therefore sent the Taingda *Atwinwun's* grandson, a lad of fourteen, to express his love for her. Mi Hkingyi dutifully told the messenger to ask her uncle and aunt, the Pagan *Atwinwun* and his wife. The King then privately sent the Yanaung *Mintha*, a special favourite of his, to the *Atwinwun*, to say that he wanted to marry the girl. The *Atwinwun* and his wife expressed their sense of the honour intended, but said that they were afraid of Supayalat, who would take revenge not only on the girl, but on all her relations. The King then summoned them to meet him in a suite of apartments close to the *letthòndaw's* quarters, where Supayalat very seldom went and showed the preparations he had made there for Mi Hkingyi, and declared by his royal honour that he would see that neither the girl herself nor her relations should suffer from Supayalat's indignation. He also

promised to tell Supayalat the whole circumstances of the case after her second confinement which was expected, and assured them that he would reconcile her to the situation, appoint Supayalat *Nammadawpaya* and Mi Hkingyi to the dignity of *Myauknandaw*, and that thus everything would be satisfactorily arranged. There is something almost ludicrous in all this to-do about a mere chit of a girl, when even the Princes of Burma, to say nothing of the King, were in the habit of making alliances as they would have bought a new pony. The fuss made, however, shows how completely Supayalat ruled the palace, so that not merely the Ministers, but even the King himself hesitated about doing anything without her consent and approval.

The girl was brought into the palace and established in the quarters prepared for her, and King Thibaw, *da* in hand, himself threatened Supayalat's attendants with immediate death if they told her anything about his new connection. He informed Supayalat that he was to receive a solemn *betthet*, a blessing with consecrated water from the *pônnas*, and that it was necessary for him to keep solemn and solitary fast for seven days in preparation for the ceremony. Two small temporary palaces were therefore built in the southern garden of the palace and in one of them Supayalat kept a genuine fast so as to be worthy to receive the *betthet* with the King. Thibaw himself kept a sort of honeymoon with Mi Hkingyi and held high revelry with his favourite *letthôndaws*, the Yanaung *Mintha*, the Pintha Prince, the Taungtaman-lèsa, and the Ekkahabat *Myinwun*. The Queen was very proud of her asceticism and bragged about it freely to her attendants, adding that even the austere Mindôn Min had never submitted himself to such mortification on an occasion of the kind as the young and lusty Thibaw had now done. She was confined of her second child 15 days later and King Thibaw then told her of his alliance with Mi Hkingyi. The Queen's indignation at the new connection was worked into fury when she thought of the trick that had been played on her and the way she had been fooled before her attendants. She demanded that Mi Hkingyi should be surrendered to her at once, but Thibaw had gathered courage from his *letthôndaws* and flatly refused. He, however, thought it well to move Mi Hkingyi into a safe place in the southern garden of the palace, and thence she used to visit him dressed in men's clothes and guarded on the way by the Yenaung Prince and other confidants of the King.

Supayalat then realized that high-handed demands were not likely to prove successful and changed her plan. She affected to be reconciled to the division of the King's affections and argued that it would be more seemly that the new Queen should live in the

palace in the usual way. She gave a solemn promise that she would do Mi Hkingyi no harm and for a short time did really treat her kindly. Before long, however, she began to bully and ill-treat the girl, who complained to the King. Thibaw consulted with his confidential friends, the Yenaung and Pintha Princes, the Taungtaman-lèsa, and the Ekkabat *Myinwun*, who bluntly said that it was a woman's duty to obey her husband, that the King might have as many wives as he pleased and that he was justified in thrashing or threatening Supayalat into compliance if mere argument failed. On the next occasion of a remonstrance with Supayalat about her treatment of Mi Hkingyi therefore, the King seized a spear and rushed at his wife. Supayalat fled to her mother Alènandaw's apartments and got there before the King could catch her. The maids-of-honour scattered in dismay and were not to be found, though the *letthôndaws* were sent to look for them. The whole palace was in a state of commotion and the gates were shut lest the consternation should spread outside.

Late at night Thibaw repented of his hastiness and went and made it up with Supayalat, but she had now taken her measure of him and returned to the palace determined not to give way. Quarrels between her and Thibaw were frequent and almost as violent as this had been, but Supayalat now never gave way, and what between fear of her and love for Mi Hkingyi, Thibaw got into such an excited and bewildered state, that rumours spread into the city that the King was going mad.

The Queen therefore resolved to put an end to the cause of quarrel in a summary way. She knew that the Yenaung and other *letthôndaws* were the King's great supporters and were bound for their own safety to thwart her plans. She determined therefore to get them out of the way and took the Taingda *Atwinwun* into her councils.

King Thibaw had never gone round the city moat and she persuaded him that in order to take formal possession of the city it was necessary that he should do so. She also reminded him that it was customary on such occasions to set up four golden boxes, one on each side of the city, into which any one who had a petition to make, or grievances to unfold, might drop his letter and so secure the royal attention without danger or expense to himself. The King agreed and, with the Queen and the *letthôndaws*, made the four-mile circuit in the royal barges in stately and pompous fashion. They returned at night and the four boxes were brought into Supayalat's apartments and opened by the King himself. There were a number of petitions and most of these from all four boxes were anonymous letters directed against the Yanaung and

Pintha Princes, the Pagan *Atwinwun*, the Taungtaman-lèsa, the Ekkhabat *Myinwun*, and others of the *letthôndaws*, charging them with treasonous conspiracy against the King and his Government and correspondence with the Nyaung Yan and Nyaung Ôk Princes. These letters had all been concocted by the Queen herself and deposited by her ally, the Taingda *Atwinwun*, in the golden boxes.

The Queen herself insinuated her suspicions, and King Thibaw, who lived in constant fear of such plots, was easily persuaded to order the arrest of the accused and to entrust the duty to the Taingda *Atwinwun* and the Shwehlan *Myowun*, both of them in the Queen's confidence. The next morning the Yanaung Prince was arrested as he entered the palace gates in the ordinary course of his duties and immediately after, the Pagan *Atwinwun*, the Pintha Prince, the Taungtaman-lèsa, the Ekkhabat *Myinwun*, the Hkampat *Wungyi*, the Kaunghan *Wun*, the Ngwekun *Wun*, with all their families and retainers, were arrested in their own houses and lodged in jail without any form of trial or investigation.

They remained thus in confinement for 20 days and then Supayalat began to be afraid that the King would relent and set free the prisoners, most of whom had been his closest friends. She therefore took counsel with the Taingda and Shwehlan *Wuns* again and persuaded them to go and tell the King that the Yanaung *Mintha* was raging in his cell and had declared that he would rather kill himself than submit to be put to death by the King's order, and had actually tried to commit suicide by cutting his throat with a pair of scissors.

Thibaw when he heard this fell into a rage and ordered the Yanaung *Mintha* out for immediate execution and this was carried out on the spot. A few days later the Pagan *Atwinwun* and the Ekkhabat *Myinwun* were put to death in jail. Of the rest, some remained in confinement and some were exiled to Mogaung. Among the latter was the Taungtaman-lèsa, who was killed on the way there by the secret orders of Supayalat.

The whole story of the conspiracy was a pure invention of the Queen's, but it served her purpose and got rid of the King's allies and advisers. He now became a mere puppet in the Queen's hands, and she so arranged that Thibaw could never see Mi Hkingyi except in public. She also told the girl that she would accuse her and her aunt, the Pagan *Atwinwun's* wife, of attempting magical arts against the King, if she ventured to go near Thibaw, or to say anything to him but what Supayalat instructed her to say. The girl's spirit was broken and she was daily nagged at and ill-treated by the maids-of-honour and by Supayalat herself.

Thibaw gradually forgot the girl whom he was never allowed to see and Supayalat placed Mi Hkingyi in charge of the *Taingda*, who had now been appointed *Wungyi*. She was kept a close prisoner in his compound, but one day Supayalat heard from the *Wungyi's* grand-daughter that the girl was kindly treated and allowed to see *pwès* in the compound. She got in a great rage over this, threatened the *Taingda* with dismissal, and spoke to the King about it. Thibaw had quite got over his fancy. He wanted peace in his household above all things. He sent for the *Taingda* and asked if Mi Hkingyi was still alive and added that he wanted to hear no more about her. The *Wungyi* took the hint and had the girl killed. Supayalat sent a eunuch to make certain of the fact.

The whole matter was much discussed in Mandalay and throughout Burma and ruined the confidence of the people in the King. The lawlessness in the palace provoked lawlessness in the country and legalized dacoit gangs preyed over whole districts.

The following notes on the reign of King Thibaw are supplied by Maung Po Ni, of Mandalay :—

King Thibaw assumed the title of Thiripawara Ditya Lawka Dhipadi Pandita Maha Dhamma Rajadhiraja. He was the son of the last King, Mindôn Min, by the Laungshe Queen, Princess Nanda Dewi, and was born on the morning of Saturday, the 12th waning of the moon of *Nattaw* 1220 (1st January 1859), so that he was twenty years of age when he ascended the throne.

When he was sixteen years of age he entered a monastery on his novitiate and, after a stay of three years, passed in the first class at the annual Sudhamma examination.

On his return to the palace after his father's funeral, he found that the Princess Salin Supayagyi, one of His late Majesty's daughters, and kept *Tabindaing*, had shaved her head along with her three maids-of-honour, and had put on the dress of a nun. This somewhat annoyed King Thibaw, for he had intended to marry her. He consoled himself, however, by marrying her two remaining sisters, the Princess Maingnaung Myoza Thuthiri Ratana Mingala Dewi and her younger sister, the Princess Myadaung Myoza Thuthiri Pabha Ratana Dewi, daughters of King Mindôn by the Sinbyumashin Queen.

In the month of *Tabodwè* 1240 (February 1879), for the safety and welfare of the country, the King's elder brother, the Princes Thônzè, Mekkhara, Shwegu, and a number of others, in all upwards of 40 persons, were made over to the Ministers and put to death.

In the following month His Majesty's uncle, the *ex*-King Pagan Min, died and was buried with the usual pomp and ceremonies. At the same time King Thibaw's infant son died of small-pox in the palace, and the King therefore could not attend his uncle's funeral, but it was nevertheless very grand.

During the month of *Nayôn* (May) 1879 the King caused a pagoda to be built in a garden to the south-east of the city, known as the Thiri Hemanum garden. This pagoda was known as the Ma-an-aung Yatana and King Thibaw was thereafter sometimes known as the Ma-an-aung Yatana *Dayaka*, or founder of the pagoda of that name.

In the month of *Tabodwè* (January) 1880 a large white house was built for the King's mother, who had become a nun. She took possession of this, but died in the following year.

In the month of *Waso* (June) 1880 a mission was sent to effect a treaty of friendship with the British Government, but after it had been delayed for eight months at Thayetmyo, it had to return without effecting anything.

In August of the same year the chief Queen gave birth to a daughter.

In the following month the Yaw *Myoza Wungyi* was given Rs. 5,000 and sent to quell a disturbance which had broken out at Möng Nai (Monè) and to take charge of that part of the Shan States.

In the month of *Kasôn* 1243 (April 1881), as it was the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, it became necessary, in accordance with ancient custom, to again perform the ceremony of coronation. Highly ornamental sheds were therefore erected on the space in front of the Palace, and the King and the chief Queen, seated on a throne, went through the ceremony of *Beit-theit;* consecrated water was poured on their heads from three conch shells. They then proceeded to the city moat and entered a barge, in which they were rowed round the city, both banks of the moat being lined with troops all the while. The significance of this ceremony was that the King took possession of the city. Special effect was lent to the function by the circumstance that the moon was under eclipse at the time.

In July 1881 the chief Queen gave birth to another daughter.

In the month of *Tagu* (March) 1882 the *Atwinwun* Kyaukmyaung Myoza, was appointed chief envoy to proceed to Simla and London with friendly letters and presents. The Embassy was intended to negotiate a commercial treaty and to secure other advantages for the country. A draft treaty was sent to Mandalay by the British Government, but the King thought it one-sided and ejected it. Moreover, he particularly desired that any treaty he

might make should be with the Queen-Empress and not with the Viceroy of India.

In the month of *Tabodwè* 1244 (February 1882), when the King was 24 years of age, all hereditary officials in charge of towns and villages (myothugyis and thugyis), whose names were registered in the lists or *Sittans* of the years 1145 B.E. (1784) and 1164 B.E. (1803), were required to submit fresh papers, showing the reality of their hereditary rights and the time they had endured. These lists were submitted to the *Hlutdaw*, which had the power of confirmation or rejection.

In the month of *Tabaung* (March) of the same year pagodas were erected to note the days of the week on which His Majesty and the chief Queen were born. That to the King was put up in the Salin Myet-thin quarter, south-east of the city, and was named the Lawka Yan-naing pagoda. Two others in honour of the chief Queen were erected in the Abyaw-san garden, east of Mandalay hill.

In the same months titles were bestowed upon the monks, the Mala Lingaya and the Shwegyin *sadaws*. The former received that of Sasana Dhaja Dhamma Siri Dhipadi Maha Dhamma Rajadhiraja Guru and the latter that of Jaganahi Dhaja Sasana Pala Dhamma Senâpati Maha Dhamma Rajadhiraja Guru. These titles were bestowed in the Thudhamma temple, where a large number of holy men were assembled and the usual gifts and offerings were made to them. After the titles had been formally conferred, royal orders were read aloud, declaring that these two *sadaws* were specially charged with the propagation of the Buddhist religion.

In the same month offerings were ordered to be prepared, which consisted of a white umbrella for the Mahamuni image (at the Arakan Pagoda) on behalf of the chief Queen, and two other white umbrellas for the shrine of the Lawka Marazein (the Kutho-daw, where the books of the law are engraved on marble slabs), one for the King and the other for the chief Queen. These umbrellas were made and ornamented in the mirror room, on the north side of the palace. The adornments consisted of lace borders and fringes and handle tips encrusted with gold, silver, diamonds, pearls, rubies, and coral. The value of each umbrella was estimated at upwards of Rs. 80,000. When they were finished the umbrellas were conveyed to their destination in solemn procession by the Ministers of State and were opened out over the two images.

During the same month, as the King was desirous of entering into a treaty of friendship with the French Government, suitable presents for the President of the Republic were prepared and the *Atwinwun* Myothit Myoza, *Wungyi*, Mahazaya Thingyan, was appointed chief of the mission, whilst the *Wundauk* Thangyet, *Wun*,

Mingyi Minhla Maha Sithu Kyaw, and the chief writer, Maha Minhla Thinkaya, were appointed Assistant Envoys, and all left for Paris.

Also in the same month the *Myowun* Shwehlanbo Kawlin Myoza *Mingyi*, Maha Mingaung Nawra-hta, who was placed in Möng Nai (Monè) on account of the disloyalty of Nga Kyi Ngè, ex-*Sawbwa* of Möng Nai, and of Nga Htun, *ex*-Myoza of Möng Nawng, Nga Waing, ex-*Sawbwa* of Lawk Sawk (Yatsauk), and Nga Pe, *ex*-Myoza of Möng Ping, having returned to the capital, his place was taken by the *Wundauk* Kutywa Myoza, *Mingyi* Mingaung Sithu Kyaw, who received command of a force of 1,000 men and went to take charge of Möng Nai and to restore peace in the Shan States.

During this month also 225 *ticals* of gold were set apart to be made into four alms-bowls. When these, with stands and covers complete, were finished, they were conveyed by the Ministers of the Court to Pakhangyi, where they were deposited as royal offerings before the sacred images.

During the month of 2nd *Waso* 1245 (July 1883), when King Thibaw was 25 years of age, he called for an enumeration of the slaves in the city, both male and female, and required that all slave-owners should produce their bonds before the *Hlutdaw*, showing for what amount of debt each person had been enslaved, and how much had been paid towards the liquidation of the debt. The owners of the slaves, the slaves themselves, and the persons who sold them were summoned and each case was separately enquired into by the judges and specially appointed officers. The King then paid upwards of Rs. 40,000 towards the emancipation of a large number of them. Two hundred and forty of these became *rahans* and 1,154 entered monasteries as novices, making a total of 1,394 who assumed the yellow robe. To all of these the King gave presents of robes and money. Two hundred monks of all degrees were then invited to the Thudhamma temple and suitable offerings were made to them, and for three days the Princes and Ministers of the Court were employed in carrying out the necessary details of the ordination ceremony.

During the month of March of this year, Maung Hpôn, a son of the late *Eingshemin*, who had become a *rahan*, but was nevertheless watched by a body of 100 men appointed for that purpose, conspired with some of these guards to raise a rebellion. Some of them, however, betrayed him. An enquiry was held, and Maung Hpôn confessed. His monkish robe was then stripped off him and he and all who supported him were thrown into prison.

About the same time, to promote the peace, contentment, prosperity and happiness of all classes of his subjects, as well as of the

monastic order, the King ordained that the country should be divided into ten divisions or *kayaings*, each division being placed under a *Kayaing Wun*, or Commissioner. These Commissioners were to be chosen with care and were periodically to visit everypart of their jurisdiction.

In the month of *Tabaung* (March) 1883 both of His Majesty's infant daughters died of small-pox, within a few days of each other. They were buried in the north garden and monuments were put up over their graves.

The following month a fire broke out in the house of a man named Nga To, in the Katna Bumi quarter in the west of the town. The fire travelled southwards towards the Kuthinayôn pagoda, burning the whole series of *kyaungs* which surrounded it, besides a number of others, and then swept on to the temple of the Maha Muni (the Arakan pagoda). There it burnt down the temple and all the surrounding religious buildings, including the sheds leading up to the temple on all four sides.

His Majesty paid out Rs. 18,360 to re-build the temple and the approaches. The work was commended to the care of the Ministers of the *Hlutdaw* and they were instructed to use the utmost expedition.

In the year 1884 there was a most wanton massacre. It was thought that the Myingun Prince, who was then in Pondicherry, had designs on the throne of Burma and that he had supporters among certain officials in Mandalay. A number of these, who were supposed to have sent messengers to him, or to have visited him personally, were thrown into prison, where it was hoped they would give information against others in order to save themselves. But this scheme was elaborated on. There were at the time very many men imprisoned on political charges, especially in the gaol near the palace. Secret orders were sent to the gaolor to release some of the prisoners. While these men were making their way out, an alarm of a gaol outbreak was started, shots were fired, and the King's troops rushed into the gaol and cut down every one they came across. To save trouble with those locked up, the gaol itself was set on fire, and this also was a preconcerted signal to the two gaols in the town, where all the prisoners were promptly massacred. Great numbers of perfectly innocent persons thus lost their lives, for no enquiries were made and none were spared.

During the month of December in the same year the great brazen image known as the Thibya Thiha at Amarapura was brought from there to Mandalay. The conveyance of this image cost the King Rs. 30,000. Its weight in brass was estimated at 20,000 viss. It is now in a temple in the Aungnan Yeit-tha quarter of the town.

Early in the next year a white elephant was brought from Taungngu. When it reached the capital the streets all the way to the palace through which the animal passed were lined with troops, and there were great rejoicings all over the town. On the first *Waso* (June) 1885 M. Haas came to Mandalay as French Consul.

King Thibaw had now become very unpopular among his subjects. The massacre of 1884 especially had horrified many of them. The establishment of the royal lotteries moreover had impoverished and demoralized the people and the royal exchequer was nearly empty. The chief Queen sent the Taingda *Mingyi* a simple order to fill it for her. The Taingda *Mingyi* hit upon the plan of accusing the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation of having committed a breach of contract in regard to the working of certain teak forests, and fined them arbitrarily the sum of Rs. 23,00,000. The Corporation appealed to the Government of India and a remonstrance was sent to the King, with the suggestion that the question should be referred to arbitration. King Thibaw, however, ignored this remonstrance and proceeded to levy the fine by the confiscation of timber, elephants, and other property of the Corporation. Upon this an ultimatum was sent to the King, embodying the following provisions:—

(1) The dispute between the Burmese Government and the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation to be settled by arbitration, conducted by a British officer and a responsible Burmese official.

(2) The reception at the Burmese Court of a British Resident under suitable conditions.

(3) The foreign relations of the Burmese Government to be under the control of the British Government.

The King sent an unsatisfactory reply and the result was the advance of the British troops on Upper Burma. There was some fighting at Sinbaungwe, Kanmyo, and Minhla, and the expedition arrived before Mandalay on the 28th November 1885. The troops disembarked at half past one, marched through the town and surrounded the city walls. General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen entered the palace by the eastern gate and had an interview with the King, who surrendered unconditionally. He, with his two queens and his infant daughter, the Teit Supaya, were taken to the steamer *Thooreah* and conveyed to Rangoon and thence to India, where latterly he has been detained at Ratnagiri. The Taingda *Mingyi* was deported to Cuttack, but was allowed after some years to come to Rangoon, where he died in 1896.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY.

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE THIRD BURMESE WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF UPPER BURMA.

THIBAW MIN, the last King of Burma, was the eleventh of the Alaungpaya dynasty. The founder, Aung Zeya, began life as a farmer, developed into a dacoit, and died King, with his frontier at the farthest limits that Burma ever had. The subjoined table shows the succession of the Kings of Burma from the time of Alaungpaya to the time of the downfall of his dynasty.

(1) Alaungpaya (1752—1760).

- (3) Sinbyuyin Mintayagyi (1763—1776).
  - (4) Singu Mintayagyi (1776—1781).
- (6) Bodawpya (1781—1819).
  - *Eingshemin* (died before his father).
    - (7) Bagyidawpaya (1819—1838).
    - (8) Shwebo Min (King Tharrawaddi) (1838—1846).
      - (9) Pagan Min (1846—1852).
      - (10) Mindôn Min (1852—1878).
        - (11) Thibaw Min (1878—1885).
- (2) Naungdaw Mintayagyi (1760—1763).
  - (5) Paungga Min (reigned seven days in 1781.)

The early history of Burma is related in the *British Burma Gazetteer* published in 1880. It is sufficient here to recall that the first war between England and Burma occurred in the reign of Bagyidawpaya, the seventh King of the dynasty, and was terminated in 1826 by the treaty of Yandabo. The provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were then ceded to the British. Pagan Min, the

ninth King and the nephew of Bagyidaw, was the ruler at the time of the second Burmese war. This was terminated in December 1852 by a proclamation of Lord Dalhousie's, which annexed the province of Pegu to the Indian Empire and fixed the frontier at the parallel of latitude 6 miles north of the fort of Myedè, thus cutting off the kingdom of Burma entirely from the sea, and converting the name of the independent country into Upper Burma, as distinguished from British Burma.

Almost immediately after the end of the second war, Pagan Min was deposed by his brother Mindôn Min. Mindôn Min was above all things anxious for peace, though he did not by any means love the British. He was very learned in the literature of his country and he was enlightened enough to seek to introduce western civilization into his kingdom. He sent Envoys to Europe to study the arts and manufactures of European nations, and the sons of many of the chief Court officials were sent to England, France, and Italy to be educated in the languages and acquirements of those countries. He also bought a fleet of steamers to ply on the river and built numerous factories and workshops in his capital. In this way, and having no wars on his hands, he did much to increase the revenue and promote the commercial prosperity of the country. The main facts of his reign are chronicled in the translation from a Burmese annalist which appears in the previous chapter.

The event of chief importance in his reign was the treaty concluded at Mandalay in 1867 between the British and Burmese Governments. This provided for the mutual extradition of criminals, the free intercourse of traders, the restriction of the royal monopolies to earth-oil, timber, and precious stones, and the establishment of permanent diplomatic relations between the two countries. Under this treaty a British Resident was established in the Upper Burmese capital, with certain civil jurisdiction over cases concerning British subjects, and a Political Agent subordinate to the Resident was stationed at Bhamo. So long as Mindôn Min lived, notwithstanding that he clung to the obsolete ceremonials to which he was accustomed, and thus debarred the British Resident at Mandalay in his later years from access to his presence, nothing arose which gave any reason to apprehend a breach in the good relations between England and Burma.

Mindôn Min died on the 1st October 1878, of dysentery, after an illness of two months. He was succeeded by the Thibaw Prince, his son by the Laungshe Queen, the seventh in rank of the queens. The Prince's *ngè nami*, or personal name, was Maung Pu. He was also called Maung Nyo Sin among his playmates in the palace on account of the lightness of his complexion (*nyo*). The succes-

sion was due to an intrigue, details of which from Burmese sources are given in Chapter II, and was entirely unexpected in the country, though as a matter of fact the main details of the plot were carried out nearly three weeks before the old King died. Of the six principal sons of the King, resident in Mandalay at the time, two, the Nyaung Yan and the Nyaung Ôk, got wind of the conspiracy and took refuge in the British Residency and the other three were close prisoners in the palace for a fortnight before Mindôn Min died. There seems a probability that the old King knew of the cabal when it was too late, and was possibly even induced in his weak state of body and mind to acquiesce in it. He seems always to have been afraid to thwart the imperious Alènandaw Queen, who was set on having her daughter's lover, the Thibaw Prince, seated on the throne. At the time of his accession the Prince was barely 20 years of age, and little was known of him, except that he had studied English letters at Doctor Marks' Missionary school in Mandalay, and had in addition passed creditably as *patama-pyan* in the Buddhist scriptural examination.

The new King succeeded to the throne perhaps at an unfortunate time. A revision of the commercial treaty of 1867 had long been desired and overtures had actually been made with that object by the Government of India to King Mindôn in 1877 and 1878, but without result. The King had throughout been in the habit of evading the object and substantial obligations of the treaty without any positive infraction of the letter. Although no articles besides earth-oil, teak, and precious stones were declared to be royal monopolies, and although the King used to assert that every trader was at liberty to buy whatever he wanted, the real fact was that all purchases had to be made from the King himself or from his authorized agents.

The King was by far the largest dealer in produce in his dominions, and, until his dealings were concluded, none of his subjects were in a position to transact business with private traders; moreover, an attempt was made to force all dealers in imports to sell their goods to the royal brokers, from whom alone, it was pretended, the King's subjects were at liberty to purchase what they required. The merchants of Rangoon complained frequently and strenuously against the persistent and systematic disregard of the terms of the treaty by the King, and strong remonstrances upon the evasion of its clauses were left as a legacy with the kingdom to the young King.

There had also been several violent outrages committed on British subjects in Mandalay during the last few months of King

Mindon's reign. An aëronaut, Colonel Wyndham, who was preparing a balloon for a show ascent in Mandalay, was barbarously ill-treated; two dhobies, British subjects, were arrested for going about at night without a lantern, and put in the stocks, which were afterwards raised so that the victims had to support the whole weight of their bodies on their hands placed behind their backs to avoid dislocation of their ankles; a captain of one of the Irrawaddy Flotilla steamers was put in the stocks for two hours in the rain, because he had inadvertently walked across a part of the river embankment which was considered sacred; finally, in the first month of the King's reign 30 passengers were forcibly removed from one of the Flotilla Company's steamers without any written authority shown.

The Indian Government thought the accession of a new king, a young king, one whose position might be supposed to be so unstable at home as to make him anxious to be on the most amicable terms with foreign governments, a favourable opportunity to urge a re-adjustment of relations. Accordingly the Resident was instructed to adopt a firm attitude and to state plainly that the British Government would be prepared to act for the protection of British rights and subjects with entire disregard for the interests of the new Government of Burma. Mr. Shaw, the Resident, accordingly acted with vigour. He pressed for redress and intimated to the Ministers that the general recognition and support of the new King by the Government of India would be proportioned in degree to his adoption of a new and friendly policy, and especially to the degree of access which was allowed to Her Majesty's representative, and to the consideration of his position and influence. He met with a certain measure of success. The torturers of the dhobies were sentenced to ten stripes each and to the restitution of twice the sum extorted from their luckless victims. The captain of the Gateway, who had put Captain Doyle in the stocks, was degraded from his post and sentenced to imprisonment, and a notice was set up at the Criminal Court that the police were not to ill-treat Europeans who were subjects of a friendly government. Nothing, however, was done in the matter of the "Royal-money-bought servants" forcibly taken from the steamer *Yankeentaung*.

Possibly the King may have been led to believe that the British Government favoured the Nyaung Yan Prince, then a refugee in Calcutta. He may have thought that the Indian Government wsihed to provoke a rupture, and for this reason he may have thought it well to remove all possible chances of conspiracy within his own dominions. However that may be, he suddenly resolved

to do what he could to put an end to chances of civil war. A special prison was in process of construction for the captive members of the Royal Family and was well on towards completion, when suddenly, and apparently without the knowledge of the majority of the Ministers, the Royal prisoners to the number of 80 were brutally put to death inside the palace on the 15th, 16th, and 17th February 1879. Details of the massacre from Burmese sources are given in the previous chapter. The whole was carried out by the personal followers of the King, and the alarm among the officials and the people of Mandalay was to the full as great as the horror excited in Burma and India. The public and forcible remonstrance of the British Resident against the barbarous execution of his own relatives by the King seems, notwithstanding Thibaw's English education, to have taken him by surprise. Such executions were the usual accompaniments of a change of sovereignty in Burma, and especially so when the number of Royal Princes was large and the succession had not been previously arranged. In a semi-civilized country like Burma the measure at one time was absolutely necessary for the peace of the country, and the murdering of a number of Princes was thought no more of than the thinning out of a litter of puppies or kittens. King Mindôn left 30 sons behind him. Thibaw was the youngest practicable successor, and there was probably much more real fear than defiance in the massacres. Jealousy was the Queen Supayalat's chief characteristic, and her suspicions and fancies were probably more responsible for the murder of the Queens and Princesses than any idea of public policy.

Until King Thibaw's accession there had been no European Resident in the Burmese capital at the time of a change of kings. Communications in the old times had been slow and difficult and those put out of the way, as no doubt some always were, had been much less numerous. When King Thibaw succeeded there was a telegraph line between Mandalay and Rangoon; trading steamers came and left several times in each week, and King Mindôn's sons were numerous beyond precedent. The outburst of horror and indignation which the massacres caused, very probably therefore astonished the King as much as it alarmed him. This is shown by his answer to Mr. Shaw's remonstrance in a letter sent by the *Kinwun Mingyi* under the King's instructions to explain "the clearing and keeping by matter" (the killing and imprisoning), which action, it was pointed out, "was taken in consideration of the past and the future, only when there should exist a cause for disturbance."

The *Kinwun Mingyi's* letter, dated the 20th February 1879, to the Resident at Mandalay ran as follows:—

"Having received and carefully perused Resident's letter, dated 19th February 1879, the Minister intimates that the royal dominions of Burma being governed by a distinct independent crowned head, should there be reason to fear a disturbance in the country, it is usual for it to perform such acts as, according to its own views as to advantages or evils in connexion with church and State interests, it has a right to perform according to the custom of the State.

"Should there be a matter which will bring on a disturbance in the country, it is not proper to pay attention to whether the action to be taken thereon will be the subject of censure and blame, but it is proper to act only according to the interests of church and State.

"For the above two reasons, having in mind only the interests of church and State, this business has been done according to custom. This is intimated in conformity with the Grand Friendship, for Resident to note."

Indignation among Englishmen at the state of affairs in Mandalay and fear, as well as resentment, in the minds of the King and his courtiers combined to render imminent a breach of the friendly relations between the two countries, and a considerable military and naval force assembled in Rangoon in the spring of 1879, while the King made a show of warlike preparations and held several "reviews" of his troops, in the shape of marches round the city walls. Seven of the Shan Chiefs were called on to supply levies, guns were mounted in the Sagaing and Shwegyetyet forts, new officers were appointed to the army, and the whole force received a month's pay in advance. All this, however, was merely due to the excitement of the King at his own barbarities, and his alarm at the possible consequences of his disregard of the remonstrances of the British Government, and as time passed on immediate apprehension of war gradually passed away. Neverthless, the tension continued; attacks were made by coolies and others on Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers; a Madrassi merchant was practically flogged to death in prison and the *personnel* of the British Residency was insulted on several occasions. Mr. Shaw died of heart-disease in June 1879 and, after his appointment had been filled for a short time by an officiating Resident, the whole British Agency, staff and establishment, was formally withdrawn from Mandalay early in October 1879. The Indian Government notified its right to appoint another Resident at Mandalay whenever it saw fit to do so, but as long as the Burmese Government continued to exist no fresh agent was appointed.

The King almost immediately despatched the Myaunghla *Wundauk* as an Ambassader with a letter and presents to the Governor-General of India, but as this Envoy was not accredited with any

powers he was not permitted to proceed beyond Thayetmyo. He was in fact merely the bearer of a letter complaining of the removal of the British Agency from Mandalay and expressing vaguely a desire that friendship should be maintained and that commerce should continue. A translation of the letter is given as a sample of the style of the royal correspondence. It is dated the seventh of the waxing moon of *Tazaungmôn* 1241 B.E. (21st October 1879, about a fortnight after the withdrawal of the Political Agency).

"The Burmese Sovereign of the Rising Sun, who rules over the country of Thunaparanta and the country of Tambadeepa (Thunaparanta—the *Aurea regio* of Ptolemy—'all countries to the north of Ava;' Tambadeepa='all countries to the south of Ava'), with all the other great dominions and countries and all the umbrella-bearing Chiefs of the east, whose glory is exceeding great and excellent, the Master of the King Elephant *Saddan*, the Lord of many white elephants, the Lord of life, the eminently just ruler, writes, O excellent English Viceroy, who rulest over the many great countries and nations of India!

"Writes—

"At a time when in accordance with the firm and established Grand Royal Friendship, which has continuously existed between these two great dominions and countries, the Burmese and English Empires, from royal father to son, from royal grandfather to royal grandson, and from royal great-grandfather to royal great-grandson, for a very long period of time, the merchants and common people were buying and selling, trading and trafficking, and coming and going in peace and quietness, the English Political Officer at the Royal Gem City of Mandalay, and three other Officers with their escort and establishment, without any special reason, suddenly and precipitately quitted the Royal Gem City of Mandalay, and in consequence the merchants and common people who live within both Empires have become uneasy in their hearts and minds, and their trading and trafficking have been interrupted and ruined.

"Therefore, as a testimony to make manifest the excellent royal desire that instead of this interruption and ruin of the buying and selling, trading and trafficking of the merchants and common people living in both Empires, the merchants and common people without injury to their profit or business, and with contented and happy hearts and minds may continue to trade, and go and come, as they have always traded and gone and come in times past, and that between the two great dominions and countries the State of Royal Grand Friendship may by friendly and peaceable means be especially strengthened and established, the *Wundauk* Myoza of Myaunghla, Thirimahagyawdinraja, has been appointed first Ambassador; the Secretary, Mintintheiddiraja, second Ambassador; the Assistant Secretary, Nemyomintinraja, third Ambassador, and they have been sent and despatched with a Royal Letter and Gifts.

"When the Royal Ambassadors and officials arrive it will be manifest that the King is particularly anxious to maintain, by friendly and peaceable means, continuous Royal Grand Friendship between the Burmese Empire and the Empire of the English Ruler, those two great dominions and countries.

"The Sovereign of the Rising Sun, the excellent Burmese Ruler, believes and expects that, in the same way as he himself desires that the merchants and common people of both Empires should be especially happy and prosperous, so the Viceroy will have regard to the interests and the business of merchants and common people, and will well and duly receive the Ambassadors and officials who are sent."

There was reason to believe that the *Wundauk* was sent as much as a spy as in any more creditable capacity. He never got beyond Thayetmyo, though in February 1880 he submitted a draft outline of a new treaty, which was, however, negatived without discussion, and he took back an answer to the effect that the Viceroy had been seriously dissatisfied with the position and treatment of the British Resident at Mandalay, which had been altogether inconsistent with professions of friendship and with the exchange of diplomatic courtesies. In such circumstances, it appeared incongruous and premature to send a complimentary mission to Calcutta, or to assume, as the King did, that the mission could be received in a friendly and honourable manner in Calcutta by the Government of India, whose representative had been treated with habitual discourtesy in Mandalay.

The *Wundauk*, who had a fancied resemblance to the Pope and was therefore known in British Burma as *Pio Nono*, returned with this message to his master, was disgraced, and shortly afterwards died.

An embassy visited Simla in 1882, but the attempt to re-establish cordial relations did not even result in a semblance of a return to a satisfactory footing. The King abruptly recalled his envoy while negotiations were going on, and there was no real restoration of confidence or good feeling as long as Thibaw remained King. There were scuffles on board the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers; a mail steamer from Mandalay had its starting gear taken away and was detained for the greater part of a day, while the Captain was confined on the plea that the safety of the steamer might be endangered by an abortive attempt which the Nyaung Ôk Prince, escaped from Calcutta, made to start a rising against the King on the Thayetmyo borders. The Nyaung Ôk Prince's escapade was a very awkward circumstance, and the Burmese undoubtedly firmly believed that we were to blame for his proceedings. A formal request was actually made by the Mandalay Ministers for the extradition of the Prince and his followers on a charge of dacoity. This was refused on the ground that international law and custom forbade the delivery of political offenders. A claim for compensation for damage done to the extent of Rs. 55,800 was also made, but was rejected, and the Burmese Government was referred to the Civil Courts. It was seriously considered

whether the British Government should not formally withdraw from the Treaties of 1862 and 1867, and this course was only not resorted to because the Government of India was loath to precipitate the crisis which was inevitable. Matters gradually drifted from bad to worse. British subjects, travellers and traders from Lower Burma, were subjected to insolence and violence by local officials in Upper Burma. Representations made to the King's Government were often absolutely without result as far as redress was concerned, and what redress was obtained was always unsatisfactory. In contravention of the express terms of the Treaty of 1867 monopolies were created to the detriment of the trade of both England and Burma, with great resulting derangement of the commerce and revenue of British Burma. In Upper Burma the weakness and corruption of the Government resulted in the complete disorganizing of the country. Bands of dacoits preyed at will on the people. There were risings in the Shan States and raids on the King's lowland territories north of Mandalay. The elements of disorder on the Lower Burma frontier steadily increased and became a standing menace to the peace of the British provinces. The Taingda *Atwinwun* and the *Shwetaik Mingyi* were admittedly in collusion with bands of dacoits, shared their profits, and prevented their arrest. A force of about 1,500 men ravaged almost undisturbed north of Mandalay. The Sagaing district was so infested with dacoits, and these marauders were so bold, that they sent a formal challenge to the King's troops to come to fight at Myinmu. The *Wun* of Sale was attacked in his own Court in broad daylight by dacoits and narrowly escaped with his life. Magwe was plundered and set fire to, and the *myothugyi* murdered. Bhamo was captured and held by a handful of Chinese marauders. The Shan States were involved in a confused civil war, which did not cease till after the British occupation. At the same time the Burmese showed a marked and persistent anxiety to enter into alliances with foreign powers, in such a manner and to such an extent as to give ground for apprehension that grave political trouble might be the ultimate consequence.

The Indian Government was unrepresented at Mandalay, but representatives of Italy and France were welcomed, while the King's Government contested the demarcation of Manipur and threatened to pull down the boundary pillars and a stockade erected by Colonel Johnston. Two separate Burmese Embassies were sent to Europe, one under the guise of a merely commercial mission for the purpose of contracting new and, if possible, close alliances with sundry European powers. Neither of these missions visited England or showed any desire to win the friendship of the repre-

sentatives of the British Government residing at the Courts to which the Burmese Envoys were accredited. Monsieur Ferry admitted to Lord Lyons that it was quite true that the Burmese desired to throw themselves into the arms of France, but said that the Republic had no intention of forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Burma, or any alliance whatever of a special character. The Burmese had asked for a secret treaty and particularly had demanded facilities for procuring arms, but to all such requests the French Government had turned a deaf ear.

Meanwhile another massacre in Mandalay, disguised under the name of a jail outbreak, roused the horror of all and the fears of the Rangoon merchants that trade would be ruined. The term jail outbreak seems to have been a concession to European sentimentality. The massacre was really due to fears of a supposed intrigue carried on in the interests of the Myingun Prince, who had escaped from his place of detention at Benares and made his way first to Chandernagore and then to Pondicherry. To get rid of the few remaining members of the Royal Family and to scare conspirators, a pretended escape from jail was arranged and between 200 and 300 persons, including two Princes and many women and children of rank, were shot and cut down with *das*, and the details of the massacre were as horrible in every way as those of 1879.

Early in the following year the King pushed still farther his negociations with France. Two heads of agreement were formally drawn up. The first provided for the construction of a railway between Mandalay and the British frontier at Toungoo at the joint expense of the French Government and a company to be formed for the purpose.

The capital was to be two and a half millions sterling, the line was to be completed in seven years, and the concession was to last for seventy, at the end of which period the railway was to become the property of the Burmese Government. Interest was fixed at the high rate of 90 per cent. per annum and its payment was secured by the hypothecation of the river customs and earth-oil dues of the kingdom.

The second document gave the terms for the establishment by the French Government and a company of a bank with a capital of two and a half crores of rupees. Loans were to be made to the Burmese King at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum, and other loans at 18 per cent. The bank was to issue notes, and to have the management of the ruby mines and the monopoly of pickled tea, and was to be administered by a Syndicate of French and Burmese officials.

Both these agreements are believed to have been actually concluded and signed in Mandalay and were to be taken by the Thangyet *Wundauk*, who spoke French fluently, to Paris for completion there. If they had been ratified, the French Government or a Syndicate, on which the French Government would have been represented, must have acquired full control over the principal sources of revenue of Upper Burma, the river-borne trade, the only railway line in the King's dominions, and the only route open for traffic from British ports to Western China.

These consequences must have been disastrous to British interests in Lower Burma, and a strong remonstrance was in course of preparation by the Government of India, when a still more direct cause of complaint arose in the treatment by the Burmese Government of the Bomby Burma Trading Corporation, a company of merchants, chiefly British subjects, who had extensive dealings in Upper Burma. The Corporation had been working the Ningyan teak forests under three separate contracts: the contract of 1880, by which the Corporation undertook to pay the King for all timber extracted from the forests at fixed rates per log; the contract of 1882, by which the Corporation undertook to pay a lump-sum of one lakh annually for the right to extract the inferior and undersized timber (*i.e.*, unsound timber and timber under $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in girth and 18 feet in length), which they were entitled to reject under the lease of 1881; and, thirdly, the contract of 1883, by which the Corporation undertook to pay a lump-sum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs annually from October 1884 for all superior timber, and one lakh annually for all inferior timber, extracted from the forests. The Burmese Government confused the contracts together, counted thousands of logs twice over, accused the Corporation of bribing the Governor of Ningyan (now Pyinmana), endeavoured to persuade the Corporation's foresters to come to give false evidence in Mandalay, tried the case without giving the Corporation proper opportunities for defence, issued judgment ordering the Corporation to pay to the King, by way of duty and fine, sums aggregating over 23 lakhs of rupees, and to the foresters sums aggregating about five lakhs of rupees, and professed to have based their decision entirely on figures obtained from the British Forest office in Toungoo. All logs contained in these lists were considered to be full-sized, no account was taken of the lump-sum contracts, and the money totals were wrongly added up to the extent of Rs. 60,000 in the King's favour. The King was asked by the Chief Commissioner to refer the matter to impartial adjudication and to refrain in the meantime from taking final action against the Corporation. A letter was sent in reply refusing to entertain any proposal for arbitration and stating indirectly that on

no account whatever would there be suspension of the order passed in the case. At the same time it appeared that the French Consul in Mandalay had offered to take up the contracts for the Ningyan forests. It may be specially emphasized that the British Government was careful not to assert that the fine imposed was unjust. There is little doubt that the Burmese had some causes of complaint against the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, but these were not commensurate with the fine imposed. The rupture occurred because the Burmese refused to allow any enquiry as to the justness of the fine.

Under these circumstances, the Government of India resolved to take this opportunity to place future relations with King Thibaw upon a more satisfactory basis. Accordingly the Chief Commissioner was instructed to send to the King of Burma an ultimatum containing three demands, which were briefly as follows:—

"(1) That an Envoy from the Viceroy and Governor-General should be suitably received at Mandalay and that the dispute with the Bombay Burma Corporation should be settled in communication with him.

"(2) That all action against the Trading Corporation should be suspended until the Envoy arrived.

"(3) That for the future a diplomatic agent from the Viceroy should be allowed to reside at Mandalay, with proper securities for his safety, and should receive becoming treatment at the hands of the Burmese Government."

Failing the acceptance of these demands, it was announced that the British Government would take the settlement of the matter into its own hands, without any further attempt to prolong fruitless negotiations, and it was added that the Burmese Government would in future be required to regulate the external relations of the country in accordance with the advice of the Government of India and to afford facilities for opening up British trade with China. These latter demands did not, however, form an essential part of the ultimatum, but were left to be explained by the British Agent after his arrival in Mandalay. Nothing more than a general acquiescence in the principle of these two requirements was asked for.

A letter embodying these terms was despatched by special steamer to Mandalay on the 22nd October 1885, the Burmese Government was informed that a reply must be received not later than the 10th November and that, unless the three conditions laid down were accepted without reserve, the Indian Government would deal with the matter as it thought fit. In view of the possible refusal by the Burmese Government of the terms offered, preparations were

made for the despatch to Rangoon of a military force of 10,000 men. On the 9th November a reply amounting to an unconditional refusal of the terms was received in Rangoon. It ran as follows :—

"Minister (for Foreign Affairs) has received the letter, dated the 22nd October 1885, corresponding with 14th waxing *Thadingyut* 1247, sent by the Chief Commissioner's Secretary, Symes The contents of the letter have been considered by the Ministers and nobles constituting the Burmese Government in full Council, and this is their reply to the several points contained in it—

"(1) The judgment passed against the Bombay Burma Company decreeing the payment of a fine in connexion with their forest case was not passed by the Burmese Government in an arbitrary manner. In consideration of the fact that they (the defendants) were of English race, the records of an English Forest office were taken as a basis and the judgment was passed in accordance with the laws of the State on the merits of the case. This has already been intimated in previous letters to the Chief Commissioner.

2. "His Majesty (titles) was informed that under a judgment passed in this manner against the Bombay Burma Company a sum of 23 lakhs and upwards, including the punishment for excess exportation of timber, had to be levied from them and paid into the Royal Treasury, and His Majesty was pleased to say that, although the judgment was one passed in conformity with the laws of the State, yet, taking into consideration the fact that the Bombay Burma Company had served for many years working the Toungoo forests and paying revenue, and that they would continue to serve hereafter for the mutual benefit of both countries ; that if the Bombay Burma Company presented a petition on the subject of the money decreed in the judgment against them, he would be pleased to look after and assist foreign merchants so that they should not suffer any hardships. Therefore, with reference to the first and second points of letter No. 438, regarding the Bombay Burma Company's forest case, the need for discussion or negotiation between the two Governments is at an end.

"3. With reference to the appointment of a Diplomatic Agent, the Burmese Government, through their wish to maintain friendly relations between the two countries, did not act in such a way as to restrict or put to hardship the British Agent formerly stationed at Mandalay, and yet he left of his own accord, and there has been no Agent since. If the British Government wish in future to re-establish an Agent, he will be permitted reside and come in and go out as in former times. With reference to the second point in the fifth paragraph of the letter, respecting assistance be given for the promotion of British trade with China, the friendly relations between two countries are based on assistance to be rendered for the increase of trade and of exports and imports from one country to the other. If, therefore, merchants and traders, whether of English or other race, ask the Burmese Government to endeavour to facilitate trade and the increase of exports and imports with China, they will be assisted in conformity with the customs of the land.

"4. With reference to the first point in the fifth paragraph of the letter about the future regulation of the foreign relations of Burma, the Chief Commissioner is informed that the internal and external affairs of an inde-

pendent separate State are regulated and controlled in accordance with the customs and laws of that State. Friendly relations with France, Italy, and other States have been, are being, and will be maintained. Therefore, in determining the question whether or not it is proper that one Government alone should make any such claim, the Burmese Government can follow the joint decision of the three States, France, Germany, and Italy, who are friends of both Governments, and Minister is confident that the British Government will be of the same mind as the Burmese Government on this point."

This letter was unconditional enough in its refusal of the terms of the ultimatum and it was followed by open defiance. On the 7th November, three days after the Burmese Minister's letter had been written, and two days before it had been received by the Chief Commissioner, King Thibaw issued the following proclamation:—

"To all town and village thugyis, Heads of cavalry, Heads of the *daings*, Shield-bearers, Heads of jails, Heads of gold and silver revenues, Mine-workers, Settlement Officers, Heads of forests, and to all Royal subjects and inhabitants of the Royal Empire.

"Those heretics, the English *kala* barbarians, having most harshly made demands calculated to bring about the injury and destruction of our religion, the violation of our national traditions and customs, and the degradation of our race, are making a show and preparation as if about to wage war with our State. They have been replied to in conformity with the usages of great nations and in words which are just and regular. If, notwithstanding, these heretic *kalas* should come and in any way attempt to molest or disturb the State, His Majesty, who is watchful that the interests of our religion and our State shall not suffer, will himself march forth with his Generals, Captains, and Lieutenants, with large forces of infantry, artillery, elephanterie, and cavalry, by land and by water, and with the might of his army will efface these heretic *kalas* and conquer and annex their country. All Royal subjects, the people of the country, are enjoined that they are not to be alarmed or disturbed on account of the hostility of these heretic *kalas*, and they are not to avoid them by quitting the country.

"They are to continue to carry on their occupations as usual in a peaceful and ordinary manner; the local officials are to be watchful, each in his own town or village, that it is free from thefts, dacoities, and other crime; the Royal troops to be sent forth will not be collected and banded together as formerly by forcibly pressing into service all such as can be obtained, but the Royal troops who are now already banded into regiments in Mandalay will be sent forth to attack, destroy, and annex. The local officials shall not forcibly impress into service any one who may not wish to serve. To uphold the religion, to uphold the national honour, to uphold the country's interests, will bring about threefold good: good of our religion, good of our master, and good of ourselves, and will gain for us the notable result of placing us in the path to the celestial regions and to *nebban*, the eternal rest. Whoever, therefore, is willing to join and serve zealously will be assisted by His Majesty with royal rewards and royal money, and be made to serve in the capacity for which he may

be fit. Loyal officials are to make enquires for volunteers and others who may wish to serve, and are to submit lists of them to their respective Provincial Governments.

"Order of the Ministers of the *Hlutdaw* (names follow). On the 7th November 1895, Burmese date recorded by the Wetmasut *Wundauk-daw*. Issued by Secretary Mahamintin-minhla-sithu."

On the 3rd December King Thibaw, the queens, and the Queen mother with their retinue left Mandalay prisoners on board the steamer *Thooriah*, and on the 10th of the same month the King left Rangoon for Madras, whence he was sent to Ranipet, and afterwards to the old Portuguese fort of Ratnagiri on the Western Coast of India. The march on Mandalay hardly deserved the name of a war. The pace of the expeditionary force was determined rather by the question of transport than by the resistance or evolutions of the enemy. The frontier was crossed on the 14th November 1885. There was a slight brush when Minhla was captured on the 17th; Pagan on the 23rd and Myingyan on the 25th were occupied by force of arriving there, and before Ava was reached an Envoy from the Burmese Court came down the river and, after some negotiation, the unconditional surrender of the capital and of the Royal Family was arranged. The collapse of the kingdom and dynasty was dramatic in its suddenness.

Our losses were very slight: at the taking of Minhla Lieutenant R. A. T. Drury and three sepoys were killed and Major MacNeill and Lieutenants Young, Wilkinson, and Sillery were wounded, besides 23 sepoys. At Myingyan much firing on the part of the Burmese resulted in the wounding of two men of the Naval Brigade.

From the military point of view the scheme, so far as the capture of Mandalay and the deportation of King Thibaw were concerned, was an unqualified success. The normal state of the Burmese was one of utter unpreparedness and their army at the time of the invasion probably did not exceed 15,000. Immediate vigorous action was therefore as certain of success as the event proved. The only rapid line of advance was up the river over a distance of 300 miles. The river was easily defensible by small numbers, on comparatively short notice, if the right course were adopted. The channel could have been obstructed and the river barred to the advance of the fleet and, if this had been done, there would have been a complete check, and arrangements for land transport would have implied weeks and perhaps months of delay. The Burmese knew this and had made some preparations to block the river, both close to the frontier and at Ava, but they were too late. The British Military preparations were complete and the *coup* was brought off with the most absolute success. National

resistance was utterly paralysed and, if the deportation of King Thibaw had been followed up at once by the disarmament of the Burmese army and the occupation of the country, so as to secure law and order, it is probable that the last Burmese war would have been as cheap in money, expense, and in expense of human life as its beginning promised. But two causes prevented this. In the first place the expeditionary force was much too small to occupy Upper Burma and, secondly, the question of the future of the country was not decided on for some considerable time. The result was that local resistance had time to be organized. The Burmese army was left practically intact both in numbers and in armament, but it had no one to guide it and, worse still, no means of support. Consequently the several detachments scattered over the country were left to shift for themselves and commenced supporting themselves at the expense of the inhabitants of their immediate neighbourhood. That was the ordinary course of things with a Burmese army and it naturally in the end led to professional dacoity.

General Prendergast's flotilla reached Mandalay on the morning of the 28th November, the 14th day after the crossing of the frontier. Great numbers of people lined the bank to gaze on the arrival of the British force, but no Minister, or official of any kind, made his appearance. The *Kinwun Mingyi* was sent for, but had not arrived up to half past one o'clock, so the troops, who had been disembarked in the meantime, set out for the palace, 4 miles distant. With bands playing and colours flying they marched through the suburbs and surrounded the city walls. Colonel Sladen and General Prendergast, with an escort, rode in at the Eastern gate of the palace, and the Political Officer sought out the King and received his complete submission. Thibaw surrendered everything—his country, his treasures, himself—to the British, and only begged that his life might be spared, and that he might be allowed to live in Mandalay, which was the only place in the world that he knew, for he had probably never been 5 miles beyond its limits in all his life.

This formal surrender was made in the presence of the military force in a summer-house (afterwards converted into the Mandalay Gymkhana) in the palace gardens, outside the *Hmannandaw*. He sat on a carpet in the verandah, dressed in a plain white jacket and wearing a waist-cloth and turban chequered white and pink. The whole body of Ministers crouched on the ground to his right. The British Officers with the British flag were in a group to his left—the place of honour with the Chinese and Indo-Chinese—but

also on the ground. Twenty paces in front were drawn up the long line of British soldiers. The queens and a few servants were stationed behind the King. The sun was low in the sky as Colonel Sladen and the General went up to the King. General Prendergast shook hands with His Majesty, the first person who had ever gone through such a ceremony with a Burmese monarch. The King was asked whether he was ready to leave the palace, and said that he was. He begged that he might have a steamer to himself and that Colonel Sladen would accompany him. The steamer was ready for him, though the Political Officer's company was an impossibility, but how to get King Thibaw to the steamer was a more immediate question. An elephant was likely to be scared by the troops; three miles walk was a thing the King had never undertaken in all his life. Finally a dhooli was suggested and accepted by the King in ignorance of what such a conveyance might be. He, however, showed no signs of being in a hurry to go and asked for ten minutes to prepare himself for departure. He asked who would follow him and the Taingda *Mingyi* immediately volunteered to go and so did another official. The *Kinwun Mingyi* said he would also go, when he was directly asked by the King, but showed no great pleasure at being asked. Still the King lingered, and it was not till Colonel Sladen and two Staff Officers entered the summer-house and stood over him that he rose from his carpet. Colonel Sladen helped the ladies down and the two Staff Officers placed themselves one on each side of the King, a new experience which urged him into going down the steps. A procession was then formed, headed by the General, behind whom came the British flags and the Staff. The Taingda *Mingyi* followed in their wake and then under four white umbrellas, clasping the hands of his two wives, one on either side, came the deposed King. The Queen-mother followed and then came a mass of attendants carrying the royal baggage, followed up by the British troops.

At the Hall of Audience a short halt was made and then the party descended the broad steps lined by troops and passed across the esplanade to the *taga-ni*. At this gate, once open only to the Royal Family and to the highest Ministers of State, now thrown wide to all the world, King Thibaw paused and took his last look at the palace spire paling in the last rays of the setting sun. The next moment he was confronted by the dhooli prepared for him. Into this he point blank refused to get and eventually was jolted down in a bullock carriage. Two regiments of Native Infantry led. Then came a screw gun battery, followed by the King shaded by white umbrellas and guarded by fixed bayonets and succeeded by a European regiment. Bands clashed, regimental colours fluttered

Burmese women wept by the roadside, and so the King was taken away and the Alaungpaya dynasty ended.

Immediately after the occupation of Mandalay, a provisional administration was constituted. All the members of the *Hlutdaw*, the great Council of State, professed themselves willing to continue to take part in the Government. They were therefore retained in office, under the guidance of the late Sir Edward Sladen, and the control of General (now Sir Harry) Prendergast. Theoretically there was to be no breach of continuity. The State Council was to continue to discharge all its functions and all Civil Officers, whether British or Burmese, were to work under its direction. The Council began by issuing proclamations to this effect and ordering Burmese officials to continue in the regular performance of their duties.

On the 15th December the Chief Commissioner, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Bernard, arrived at Mandalay and assumed charge of the civil administration. On his way to Mandalay he visited Minhla, Pagan, and Myingyan, where Civil Officers and British garrisons had been placed to restore confidence among the people, to receive the submission of the local authorities, and to pacify the surrounding country. Soon after the Chief Commissioner's arrival at Mandalay it was decided that these three districts, including the subdivision of Taungdwingyi, on the eastern frontier of Lower Burma, should be administered by the Civil Officers already stationed there, in direct subordination to the Chief Commissioner without reference to the *Hlutdaw*. The town and district of Mandalay were also removed from the control of the Council and placed under a Deputy Commissioner, who received orders from Colonel Sladen, acting in subordination to the Chief Commissioner, without the Council's intervention. The only Minister of importance removed from office was the Taingda *Mingyi*. He was credited with much of the maladministration of Thibaw's reign, had a chief hand in the massacres, and was believed to be very hostile to British interests, and was therefore deported to Cuttack.

On the 1st January 1886, by proclamation of the Viceroy, Upper Burma was declared to be part of Her Majesty's dominions and placed under the direct administration of the Governor-General. The shape which the settlement of Upper Burma should take was not at that time finally decided. In February Lord Dufferin visited Mandalay himself, examined all points of the problem as to the destiny of the newly acquired province, and consulted with all those whose advice was entitled to consideration. As a result of this investigation, it was finally decided to incorporate Upper Burma in British India and this was effected by command of Her Majesty

with reference to the Statute XXI and XXII Victoria, Cap. 106. From the 1st March 1886 Upper Burma, with the exception of the Shan States, was constituted a scheduled district under the Statute XXXIII Victoria, Cap. III, and during that month the *Hlutdaw* ceased to exist as a Council of State and to exercise any executive or administrative functions. A few of the Burmese Ministers, however, were retained as advisers to the Chief Commissioner in matters connected with the late Government.

Simultaneously with the advance on Mandalay operations had been undertaken on the Thayetmyo and Toungoo frontiers. The columns met with complete success and hardly noticeable resistance, but a great part of the country remained unoccupied or unvisited. The first division of the new province was into 12 districts placed in the charge of Civil Officers. These were—

Mandalay.	Myingyan.	Kyauksè.
Katha.	Minbu.	Sagaing.
Ava.	Bhamo.	Pagan.
Chindwin.	Shwebo.	Ningyan.

To these Ye-u and Yamèthin were soon added, and later in the year the number of districts was increased to 17 by the constitution of the districts of Taungdwingyi, Meiktila, and the Ruby Mines. At this number they have remained, but there have been many changes. Ava district was early included in Sagaing. The Chindwin was divided into the Upper and Lower districts. Pagan, together with the portion of Myingyan west of the Irrawaddy, formed the new district of Pakôkku. The new district of Myitkyina was separated from Bhamo, Shwebo included Ye-u as a subdivision. Ningyan first changed its name to Pyinmana and then became a subdivision of Yamèthin. Taungdwingyi changed its name to Magwe. The boundaries of the original districts could not at first be closely defined, but they were taken to correspond as far as possible with the old civil divisions of Burmese times. For some time the Deputy Commissioners worked directly under the orders of the Chief Commissioner, but in June 1886 a Commissioner was appointed to the remote districts of Pyinmana and Yamèthin, and in August and September of the same year the remainder of the province was divided into three Commissionerships. These were the Northern, Central, Southern, and Eastern, which ten years later, after a good deal of shifting of headquarters and of passing of districts from one division to another, had their names changed to the Mandalay, Sagaing, Minbu, and Meiktila divisions.

PLATE III.



Photo,-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

SAWBWA OF LOI LÔNG TAWNG PENG AND WIVES.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST YEAR AFTER THE ANNEXATION.

THE instructions to the Upper Burma Field Force were to occupy Mandalay and to dethrone King Thibaw. The expedition was therefore not a regular invasion of the country and nothing was settled as to the future administration of the kingdom. Provisionally, administrative and executive powers were given to General Prendergast as commanding the army of occupation; in other words, the country was under martial law, as a temporary measure, after we had actually taken over the government of the country. Unfortunately, the changes of Ministry at home in 1885 and 1886 and the unsettled state of politics prevented the Home Government from at once entering into the subject and deciding the future of Upper Burma without delay. Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma, arrived in Mandalay on the 15th December 1885, and one step in advance was made when he took over the administration of the country from General Prendergast. From that date, in name at all events, the whole country ceased to be administered by martial law. Consequent on the Chief Commissioner's arrival in Mandalay, the following proclamation was issued at Calcutta by order of the Viceroy on the 1st January 1886:—

"By command of the Queen-Empress, it is hereby notified that the territories formerly governed by King Thibaw will no longer be under his rule, but have become part of Her Majesty's dominions, and will, during Her Majesty's pleasure, be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General may from time to time appoint."

Civilians were thus ordered to assist in the pacification of the country, but still the final form in which it was to be administered was not decided on. There were four methods possible for the re-establishment of order and government in the kingdom of Burma. It might have been declared a buffer State. Under this arrangement the Alaungpaya dynasty would have remained on the throne; the ruling Prince like the Amir of Afghainstan, would have been perfectly independent in matters of internal administration, and all that we should have required would have been the right to supervise his external relations. In fact, he would have become what King Thibaw would have remained if he had accepted our original proposals, an autocratic

though confederated sovereign. The shadowy claims of other nations, however, rendered this a contrivance of more than doubtful utility. The next alternative was that of maintaining Upper Burma as a fully protected State, with a native dynasty and native officials, but under a British Resident, who should exercise a certain control over the internal administration, as well as over its relations with foreign powers. Upper Burma would thus have assumed the status of many of the Native States in India Proper. But the character of Burmese Princes, with their lofty conceptions of superiority to all created beings, would have made it necessary to maintain such a ruler as a mere puppet. A puppet king of the Burmese type would have proved a very expensive, troublesome, and contumacious fiction. Moreover, there were only two Princes of the Royal House who were available. The Nyaung Ôk, who was in Bengal, was unpopular in Burma and was of a character unsatisfactory in every way. He would have been a most refractory puppet. The other was the Myingun Prince, then in Pondicherry. He fulfilled all the conditions of royal descent in both father and mother and his abilities were at any rate respectable. But the chief event of his life, while he was at large, was that he tried to kill his father, Mindôn Min, and succeeded in killing his uncle, the *Eingshemin*.

The only remaining alternative to annexation was to set up a grandson of King Mindôn, such as a minor son of the late Nyaung Yan Prince, with British Officers to administer the State in his name and on his behalf, until he should come of age, perhaps 15 years later; but it was at once apparent that this would have imposed all the trouble, anxiety, and cost of a British occupation, without securing any corresponding advantages in the present, while we should have committed ourselves in the future to a probable disappointment.

Consequently nothing but annexation remained. It was the only course which could secure the peace and prosperity of Upper Burma and of our own imperial and commercial interests. From the 1st of March therefore Upper Burma was incorporated in British India by command of Her Majesty and, with the exception of the Shan States, was constituted a scheduled district under Statute XXXIII Victoria, Cap. 3.

For over three months therefore the government of the country remained purely provisional and was vested first in General Prendergast, then in Mr. Bernard, and then in Lord Dufferin up to the 1st of March 1886. During this time our efforts were directed rather to check the prevailing and increasing lawlessness than to stamp it out, and in any case General Prendergast's force, which numbered

about 10,500 men only, was quite inadequate to occupy a country covering 75,000 square miles. Experience had proved that it was not enough to attack and disperse the dacoit bands; if they were to be prevented from re-assembling, the affected country had to be closely occupied. It was evident therefore that large reinforcements were necessary, but by this time the season in which extensive operations could be undertaken was nearly over. Two months of hot weather, April and May, remained; after that the rains commenced and that was no time to commence active operations with new troops in a country where a great part was impenetrable jungle, and even in the more thickly populated districts no proper roads or bridges existed, and the numerous rivers and streams overflowed and flooded large tracts for weeks at a time. There was no regular organized enemy in the field against whom operations could be directed, and therefore there was no particular object in requiring the concentration of large masses of troops, but the country generally was overrun by armed bands. Practically throughout the rains of 1886 the dacoits were not sought out and attacked by us, but were only being driven off when their attitude was threatening.

The extension of British influence and the reduction to order of parts of districts remote from headquarters were therefore only gradually effected. The very suddenness of the overthrow of the Burmese King militated against the peace of the country. Bands of men ordered out for the defence of the kingdom had hardly been raised before the King himself was deported. These bands became rebels almost as soon as they fancied themselves to be soldiers. They had assembled to fight for their King, but before they could fight there was no king left to fight for, and their very gathering together constituted them, according to their notions, rebels, and already liable to punishment by the new Government. In the greater part of the country there was no one to disarm them; those met at Ava and Mandalay were unfortunately not disarmed and formally disbanded. The *ahmudan*, equally with the levies, therefore, readily gathered round malcontent Princes, or persons calling themselves Princes, such as the Myinzaing Prince; the so-called Chaunggwa Princes, Saw Yan Naing (or Teik Tin Dôk) and Saw Yan Paing; Maung (or Teik Tin) Hmat, a cousin of King Thibaw's; the Limbin Prince in the Shan States; the Kyun Nyo Mintha, a pretender who was very soon killed by another armed band in Sagaing; the Kyimyindaing Prince, an Upper Burma impostor; the Shwegyobyu Prince, who had been a vaccinator in Lower Burma; and charlatans and adventurers who went by the names of Buddha Yaza, Thinka Yaza, Dhamma Yaza, or Setkya Mintha.

Ex-officials who fancied they were defending their country met with an equally easily secured following, such as Hkan Hlaing, former Myoza of Mohlaing; Kyaw Gaung, ex-*Wun* of Talôk-myo; the *Lè Wun* of Yamèthin; the Theingôn Thugyi; the *Windawhmu* U Paung; Maung Gyi; Myat Hmon; *Bo* Swè and Shwe Yan; and many others whose names for a time made a stir. Monks too, who claimed to be defending the national faith, were no less successful; such were U Ôktama, U Parama, the Mayanchaung *pôngyi*, and a long list of *pôngyi bos*. By far the greater number, however, joined the dacoit leaders who were already at the head of bands and had been preying on the country for years before King Thibaw's fall. Of these leaders, who eventually drew to them all the men in arms, and converted what were at first rebels or fancied patriots into dacoits, who were enemies of the public peace and of the country at large, rather than directly of the British Government, the most prominent were Hla U, who persistently eluded attack and held his own on the borders of Ye-u, Sagaing, Shwebo, and the Chindwin districts; Bo Po Tôk, who had been the Taingda *Mingyi's* jackal and freebooter in Ava and for long paid him a handsome revenue; Maung Cho in the Pagan neighbourhood; Nga To and Nga Yaing in the islands of the Irrawaddy above Mandalay and Nga Zeya in the hilly country north of the capital; Kyaw Zaw in the Kyauksè district and the outskirts of the Shan States; Yan Nyun, who had been a *Myingaung* in the Myingyan district; and many others of more or less note. In addition to the bands already assembled when the news of the annexation arrived and all semblance of obedience to headquarters disappeared, whether to the *Hlutdaw* during the *interregnum*, or, from 1st January 1886, to the British Government, every little group of villages elected its own *bo* to protect it from its neighbours, or to attack them. The greater number acted quite independently of each other in resistance to the British. They preyed on villages which had submitted to us and on rival *bos'* villages with perfect impartiality and, except some few, who made speedy submission, became the perpetually renewed dacoit leaders, whom it took three years to suppress.

A connected history of the operations is an impossibility, but some sort of record seems due to those who lost their lives in the settlement of the country. It cannot be anything but disjointed and it must be taken year by year and district by district.

Upper Burma, exclusive of the Shan States, may be regarded as consisting of four parts, which roughly correspond with the present administrative divisions The first is the valley of the Irrawaddy above its junction with the Chindwin; the second is the basin of the Chindwin; the third is the valley of the Sittang with the uplands of

Meiktila and Kyauksè; and the fourth the basin of the Irrawaddy from the mouth of the Chindwin to the boundary with Lower Burma. Inside these divisions the same dacoit bands operated year after year and there was therefore a certain amount of continuity. Regard will be had to this as far as possible in the narrative of events. The Shan States, which proved the eventual refuge of those leaders who escaped, will be treated of separately.

Mandalay.

Mandalay itself naturally claims first notice. Immediately after the occupation, the town, with as much of the surrounding district as could be controlled from the capital, was placed in charge of the late Mr. T. F. Fforde, District Superintendent of Police, assisted in the administration of the town by two *Myowuns* (U Pe Si, now a C.I.E., and the Nyaungyan *Wundauk*) who had long been connected with the local Government of Mandalay, and from the first loyally aided the British Officers under whom they were placed. For a short time the State Council under Colonel Sladen's presidency exercised control over the Mandalay officials. But towards the end of December 1885 the capital and adjacent districts were removed from the charge of the *Hlutdaw* and placed directly under Colonel Sladen. Early in January Colonel C. H. E. Adamson assumed charge of the whole district. The introduction of order in the city and town was no light task. Under the Royal Government the population of the city and much of the population of the town consisted of officials, hangers-on of the Court, and soldiers. The great majority of these were thrown out of employment by the change in the form of the administration, and, as a natural consequence, many elements of disorder existed and much intrigue was secretly carried on. Dacoities and robberies, which had been frequent in the time of the Burmese Government, continued to be committed. But by degrees the police of the town were able to detect and break up many gangs of robbers and to reduce the place to order. The hot months of March and April were marked by the occurrence of destructive fires in the town and in the walled city, now called Fort Dufferin. Some of these, no doubt, were the work of incendiaries, but many were certainly accidental, and Mandalay was always noted for its great fires, which was not surprising in a town almost entirely built of mat-houses with thatch roofs. About 800 houses out of a total of 5,800 within the city walls were burnt in 1886, and between 2,000 and 2,500 out of a total of 24,000 in the town outside. In April occurred the only attempt at an organized outbreak. Some 30 or 40 persons, who professed to be adherents of the Myingun Prince, were concerned in it. In the early morning they rushed a police-station, cut down

two or three of the policemen, killed a harmless European Apothecary who was walking to the hospital, and set fire to some houses in the city, while confederates fired others outside the city wall. The dacoits fled immediately before the troops and police, and it was only later that some of the ringleaders were caught and punished. Apart from the destruction of property, which was considerable, and the loss of life, the affair was only noteworthy as showing the daring of the dacoits, for Mandalay at the time was held by some 1,000 troops with several outlying detachments.

The early fall of rain at the end of April stopped fires, and from that time the town was steadily reduced to a state of order. This was tested severely by a disaster in August. The Irrawaddy rose to a height greater than had been known for 60 years and burst through the embankment which had been built by King Mindôn. All the lowlying parts of the town were flooded and some lives were lost, while many people were rendered absolutely destitute. Nevertheless, there were no disturbances, and relief distributions and relief works did much to secure the good-will of the population. Responsible headmen were appointed over small sections of the town and did much to ensure the maintenance of order and a detailed survey of the town was begun, as well as the improvement of the roads. Nevertheless, beyond the limits of the town and suburbs Mandalay district was almost entirely in the hands of three or four dacoit leaders, who had large followings and acted to some extent in concert. The territorial limits of each leader's jurisdiction were defined and respected the one by the other. The villages were made to pay black-mail, and disobedience of orders, or attempts to help the Government, were severely punished. These leaders professed to be acting under the authority of the Myingun Prince (then a refugee in the French settlement of Pondicherry), and were kept together by a relative of that Prince, a person who styled himself the *Bayingan* or viceroy, and went from one to the other, giving them information and arranging combinations between them. Early in January Messrs. Walker, Calogreedy, and Mabert, gentleman employed in the forests, determined to return to their work. They were attacked at Paleik, 24 miles from Mandalay and after four hours' resistance were killed. Mr. Grey of the Bombay Burma Corporation, who was with them, was taken prisoner to the Myinzaing Prince's camp at Zibingyi. This was found deserted on the 10th January, and near the camp Mr. Grey's mutilated body was found. On the march to Zibingyi Captain Lloyd, R.E., and two men of the Hampshires were severely wounded at Htônbo.

In June the Lamaing post commanded by Captain J. E. Preston was attacked by a party of Shan dacoits, a few of whom got inside the post, killed a jemadar and a sepoy, and wounded Captain Preston. They were driven out by the camp followers.

Bhamo.

Bhamo was occupied without opposition in December 1885 and the civil administration was at once organized. Trade soon began to revive and the Kachins of the nearer hills tendered their submission. A small force marched to Mogaung in the northern part of the district in February 1886. It met with no opposition, and the people received the party with professions of loyalty and remained quiet after the troops were withdrawn. It was held by the Burman Myoôk, who had enlisted men of his own and had defended himself against attacks made on him by the Wuntho *Sawbwa*. He collected the revenue nominally for the British Government, but represented that most of it was required for the maintenance of his forces. The only signs of future trouble were some dacoities by the Kachins of Katran on villages in the plain and an attack on Bhamo itself in November by a band of dacoits. The latter attack was easily defeated, but before the assailants fled they had killed three men and burnt some buildings near the town gate. The Kachins were not so easily settled with. Two punitive expeditions were sent against Katran. The first met with stubborn resistance and returned without reaching Katran at all. The second, despatched in May, was withdrawn before reaching the village of the Chief, by the advice of the Political Officer, who considered that sufficient punishment had been inflicted and was desirous of not being drawn too near the Chinese frontier, the line of which was not then known.

Katha.

The Katha district, which comes next to Bhamo, was established with headquarters at first at Tigyaing, but soon moved to Katha. A considerable portion of the year was directed to the maintenance of peace in the immediate neighbourhood of the post, but some of the local officials, the *Wuns* of Myadaung, Moda, and the Shweashegyaung, early gave in their adherence and did good service. The district was, however, less disturbed by organized bands of dacoits than most, and the chief source of disorder was the Wuntho *Sawbwa*, whose attitude was extremely doubtful, if not hostile. His State occupied the high country between the Upper Irrawaddy and Upper Chindwin and commanded the districts adjacent to both these rivers. The *Sawbwa* and his father known as the Mogaung *Wun*, and one of the most faithful servants of Mindôn Min, refused to come in, and a number of raids took place on the border, the result of feuds between the *Sawbwa*

and the local officials of the townships and circles adjoining Wuntho. In this way he harassed the outlying area of the Shweashegyaung and burnt the town of Mawnaing. But it was thought these were personal matters rather than directed against the British Government. The efforts of Government were directed to conciliate the *Sawbwa* and treat him as a friend. He was to be left in undisturbed possession of all the rights and privileges he had hitherto enjoyed and to be allowed to carry on the internal administration of his State without any change. Nevertheless, he did not respond to these advances, he declined to meet the Deputy Commissioner or to pay the revenue as formerly demanded by the Burmese Government, and was inclined to treat the Deputy Commissioner's letters with very scant courtesy.

Ruby Mines.

Möng Leng (Mohlaing), Möng Mit (Momeik), and the Ruby Mines were practically left to themselves as far as any attempt at occupation was concerned until December 1886, when a column under General Stewart marched up to Mogôk. Some slight opposition was met with from persons who had been formerly interested in the ruby trade, but it was easily overcome and the district was not afterwards disturbed. There were rival claimants for the *Sawbwa*ships of Möng Leng (Mohlaing) and Möng Mit, *quasi*-Shan States with very few Shans in them. Hkam Leng (or Kan Hlaing) had a fair title to the chieftainship of Möng Leng. Shortly after the annexation he visited a British officer, who somewhat hastily addressed him as Chief of both States. Hkam Leng accepted this as settling the question, and went to Möng Mit to assume the *Sawbwa*ship. The people would have nothing to do with him and drove him out. He then applied to British officers to place him in power and, when this was not done, commenced to make raids on Möng Mit territory and gradually drifted into open hostility to the British troops.

Shwebo.

Shwebo was noted in Burmese history for the warlike character of its inhabitants and as the starting place of many insurrectionary movements. It was here that Alaungpaya was born and with the aid of the Shwebo people he established his dynasty. King Mindôn also began the rebellion which placed him on the throne from Shwebo, and the rising of the Padein Prince against him took its beginning here, though not with the same success. The nature of the country, which extends from the Irrawaddy to the Mu river was very favourable to the movements of robber-gangs; vast tracts of uncultivated forest afforded secure hiding places, from which the bands could issue to attack unprotected villages. The establishment of the district began with a rising.

Early in December 1885, Teiktin Hmat and Teiktin Thein, cousins of King Thibaw, effected their escape from Mandalay and raised a party of rebels at Shwebo. A column was sent against them and before the end of the month a permanent post was established in Shwebo town, which was taken by assault from the rebels. The whole country was swarming with hostile bands and the whole year was taken up with action against strong coalitions of them. The former Burmese Commissioner, *Bo* Byin, the *Kayaingwun* and his son, Maung Tun, from the first readily submitted and raised companies of loyal villagers to co-operate with the troops. On the other side, besides the royal pretenders who died within the year, were the noted dacoit leaders, Hla U who maintained himself persistently on the southern border, Pyan Gyi, Nga Yaing, and Aung Myat. All of these were brought to action several times and suffered considerable loss, but were by no means done with. In Ye-u, now a subdivision of Shwebo, but at that time a separate district, the same conditions prevailed and practically the same bands had to be contended with. In an action at Sabènatha near Tantabin, on the 9th November 1886, Lieutenant Balfour of the South Yorkshires was killed and Mr. Rey, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was severely wounded before the dacoits were driven off. The establishment of posts at Tantabin, Nabeikgyi, and Myagôn did a good deal to extend the settled area and to encourage the people to refuse support to the dacoits. But the disarmament of the country which was begun in May was much more effectual.

Sagaing.

The fort at Sagaing was occupied as early as the 14th December 1885, but regular administration was not introduced till some time later. It remained for over two years one of the most turbulent districts in the province. Before the end of December the dacoits established themselves in some strength in a pagoda no great distance from the fort, and in the taking of this on the 28th December Lieutenant Cockeram was killed and Lieutenant Lye wounded. On the 9th January Surgeon Heath was shot dead and Lieutenant Armstrong of the Hampshires was mortally wounded while they were walking from the Sagaing fort to the steamer, a distance of less than a mile. Parties from the fort and the steamer hastened up and four dacoits were killed, but the remainder, some of whom were mounted, made good their escape. Throughout January 1886 military operations were continued, and it was not till February that the district was formally constituted. The principal dacoit leader was Hla U, who in March dominated the country round Myinmu to the south of Sagaing at the mouth of the Mu river. Active operations were carried on all through that month and indeed throughout the rains;

but though the dacoits were more than once defeated with some loss, no notable leaders were captured and the defeated bands collected again as soon as the attacking party withdrew. At the end of April Myinmu itself was attacked, but the assailants were beaten off without difficulty, though Captain Badgeley, R.E., was severely wounded. Besides Hla U the chief leaders were Min O and Tha Pwe. The last named was killed at Pethugyi pagoda in August, but Sagaing district, beyond the posts at Sagaing and Myinmu and at Samôn, Magyizauk, and Ondaw, remained practically in the hands of the robber bands. The leaders here were mostly old established dacoits and they instituted a very effective system of terrorism. Village headmen who refused obedience and neglected to pay blackmail, and especially those who had submitted to the British Government, were ruthlessly murdered.

Ava.

Ava, which was then a separate district, was equally harassed by dacoits, but the establishment of a number of posts strong enough to hold their own and to send out columns when required, did much to bring it into hand and to establish a satisfactory process of settlement. British troops marched through it in December, and in January 1886 the late Mr. R. H. Pilcher took charge as Deputy Commissioner. The central parts of the district were then much disturbed by bands, who professed to be under the leadership of the "Chaunggwa Princes" and of the Kyimyindaing.

These Chaunggwa Princes, Teikyin Yan Naing and Teit-tin Yan Baing, are grand-children of the Mekkhara Prince and so of the royal blood. The Kyimyindaing was a mere impostor and had been flogged in Burmese times for misdemeanours. He soon moved south to Meiktila and Yamèthin, but the fighting leader of the Chaunggwa Princes, Shwe Yan, gave a good deal of trouble. He seems to have been a professional robber-chief. Towards the end of January a post was established at Myotha on the road from Ava to Myingyan and operations were carried on with some effect during February and March, when a military post was placed at Myinthè between Myotha and Ava. Myinthè in December had forced a cavalry detachment to retire. In January it was burnt, but Captain Clements, of the South Wales Borderers, was wounded close by a few days later, while the telegraph line was being repaired. In April ineffective attacks were made by the dacoits on the posts at Myotha and Myinthè, some villages were burnt, and a bridge partly destroyed in the immediate neighbourhood of the post at Ava. Immediate active operations had the best results. A post of Gurkhas was established at Chaunggwa and Shwe Yan was compelled to retire to the jungles on the borders of the Pan-

laung stream and afterwards ceased to be formidable. Later in the year the Myinthè post was taken over by the military police and the troops were moved to Ngazun in the south-west of Ava, which had continued to be disturbed. The effect of the establishment of this post and of expeditions undertaken against dacoit villagers between Ngazun and Myotha and in conjunction with troops from Myingyan against dacoits on the borders of the two districts was apparent in the improvement of that part of the country. A combined expedition was also undertaken from Ava and Kyauksè posts against Shwe Yan. The dacoits succeeded in escaping, but a combination which was being attempted was broken up and Shwe Yan was confined to the wild country in the valleys of the Samôn and Panlaung rivers, which formed a safe shelter, the more so because it was a place where the boundaries of districts and the divisions of civil and military commands rendered operations against them resultless without previous arrangement, which, at that period, in the defective state of communications, required some considerable time. From this centre many raids were made in all directions, but nevertheless revenue amounting to over £3,700 was collected in 1886 in the Ava district.

Kyauksè

The Myinzaing Prince was the only active rebel of the Burmese Royal Family who was of any real importance. He was a son of Mindôn Min and had escaped massacre by King Thibaw, partly on account of his tender years and partly because, as the son of one of the minor queens, he was sufficiently inconspicuous to be easily hidden away by his friends. At the time of the annexation he was 17 years of age. He was no doubt led into opposition to the British Government by the hopes of some influential *ex*-officials of the Burmese Government, most prominent among whom perhaps was the *Anauk Windawhmu*, U Paung. The record of the Kyauksè district during the early part of 1886 is a history of the gradual suppression of the Myinzaing Prince's rebellion. He fled to this district, probably the richest in Upper Burma, when he was driven out of Zibingyi to the east of Mandalay in January. He was soon followed up to Kyauksè and then moved on to Yakhainggyi some 23 miles to the south-east. A permanent post was established at Kyauksè early in February and immediately afterwards the Prince was driven from Yakhainggyi. In March Mr. R. H. Pilcher came from Ava to take charge of the Kyauksè district and remained there till his death in October. When he arrived the situation was as bad as it was even in Sagaing. It had been for three months the prey of dacoits and rebels, who held their own even within a few miles of the post at Kyauksè. The first measure was to keep open and protect

the communications with Mandalay along the road to the Myit-ngè. This was done by the establishment of posts at Paleik and Talôksu. In May a post was formed at Yewun, south of Kyauksè, with the effect of pacifying the whole of the intervening country and two months later the process of settlement was extended by the establishment of another post at Kumè to the south of Yewun, where a lance-corporal and Captain Wilbraham of the Somersetshires were killed and seven were wounded. These onward movements had had the effect some time before of forcing the Myinzaing Prince to retire to Ywangan, one of the small Myelat States at the head of the Natteik pass. Here the Prince died of fever in August. His personal following had for some months been greatly reduced, but in various parts of the country rebel and dacoit leaders professed to be fighting in his name and for his interests. Although he at no time headed anything like a national movement, yet the fact that he was really a legitimate member of the house of Alaungpaya must have rendered him always an important potential centre of disaffection. His death therefore removed a possible source of future danger and it broke up the most powerful combination in this part of the province. As soon as the Prince died, his followers quarrelled over the division of the property, killed the *Ngwegunhmu* (a short time before made titular Myoza) of Ywangan, who had afforded them an asylum, and dispersed. Those who were rebels, as distinguished from mere robbers, scattered themselves over the Shan States, and the dacoit portion of the gang joined themselves on to the various marauding gangs in the plains. The main portion of the Kyauksè plain was, however, quieted by the establishment of the post of Wundwin in the Meiktila district on the 1st of September. This completed the chain of posts from Mandalay to Pyinmana and confined the dacoits to the foot hills of the Shan plateau and to the jungles along the Samôn and Panlaung rivers, where, however, they maintained themselves for some considerable time, and made periodical raids on peaceful villages.

Chindwin.

Chindwin, as it at first existed as a single district, was an enormous charge. It included the whole of the valley on both sides of the Chindwin river and extended northwards for 500 or 600 miles until it was lost in the ranges of hills separating Burma from Assam, over-lapping the territories of the petty Western Shan potentates, the *Sawbwa* of Kale and the *Sawbwa* of Hsawng Hsup (Thaung-thut). In November 1885, the Burmese authorities of the Chindwin had made prisoners of seven English gentlemen, who were residing there in the employ of the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation. Of these,

three (Messrs. Robert Allen, Roberts, and Moncur) were murdered on the launch *Chindwin* by a *thandawzin* as soon as the news of the occupation of Mandalay arrived. Two others, Messrs. C. Outram and G. Calogreedy, arrived safely in Mandalay, while Messrs. Hill, Ross, Bates, and O. Ruckstahl were protected by the *Wun* of Mingyin and sent by him to Mandalay. The *Wun* was rewarded at the time and afterwards rendered loyal service to the British Government. Other Europeans Messrs. Morgan, Bretto, and T. Ruckstahl, were also held captive at Kindat, farther up the river. Towards the end of December a force was despatched from Mandalay to rescue these Kindat captives. But the prompt action of Colonel Johnstone, C.S.I., Political Agent at Manipur, who marched on Kindat with 50 sepoys and a Manipuri contingent, and arrived there on Christmas day, forestalled the arrival of the Mandalay column. The troops returned to Mandalay, and it was at first proposed to divide the Chindwin valley into two districts, placing the Manipur Agent in charge of the upper part, with headquarters at Kindat, and constituting the Lower Chindwin area a district under a separate Deputy Commissioner, with headquarters at Alôn. The plan, however, was found to be impracticable. Colonel Johnstone went back to Manipur by way of Tammu, which is 64 miles from Manipur, over jungle-clad hills rising to 5,000 feet, but on the outbreak of disturbances between Tammu and Kindat he returned. He attacked a body of rebels in a strong position at Pantha, about 18 miles from Tammu, and drove them out, but was himself severely wounded. He was succeeded as Agent and as Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin by Major Trotter. In May 1886, Major Trotter attempted to march from Tammu to Kindat to effect a junction with a force which was to come up the river from Alôn. He was attacked at Pantha near Tammu and received a wound, from the effects of which he afterwards died. He was succeeded for a time by Major Hailes, who commanded at Tammu and was severely wounded in an action on the 19th June at Chanyôn, 3 miles from Tammu. In July the whole of the Chindwin country was placed under the control of a Deputy Commissioner whose headquarters were at Alôn. Meanwhile, early in February, when it was thought the Manipur Political Agent could control the upper portion, arrangements had been made for administering Lower Chindwin district and a Deputy Commissioner was established at Alôn. His attention was for some time devoted to the settlement of the country in the neighbourhood of that post. In April the garrison intended for the occupation of the whole district arrived and preparations were made for an advance on Mingin and Kindat in order to meet the Tam-

mu force at the latter place in the middle of May. Mingin was occupied on he 20th April, but difficulties of transport delayed the advance to Kindat, which was not occupied till the 10th June. No resistance was met with at Kindat, but the force had a trifling skirmish with dacoits at Balet on the river-bank. The advance from Tammu was for the time abandoned, and the country between the Chindwin and Manipur was left untouched till towards the end of the rains. The Tammu forcc, which had been considerably strengthened, then took the field and gained signal successes over strong bodies of dacoits, notably on the 10th October, when Captain Stevens attacked and drove the enemy from their strongly stockaded position at Chanyôn, where Major Hailes had been wounded. The whole of the Kubo valley was thus reduced to order. As regards the part of the district adjacent to the Chindwin river the following results had been attained by the end of August. The Chindwin Military police levy, over 500 strong, arrived in July and was soon distributed in posts in the Alôn subdivision, which included the part of the district towards the mouth of the river. The part on the east bank of the river was in fairly good order, though Hla U gave much trouble and occupied the country to the north-east of the police posts. On the west of the river the Pagyi township was still uncontrolled and much of it was in the hands of a pretender known as the Shwegyobyu Prince. North of Alôn, but little progress had been made in the settlement of the country, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the river. The feudatory State of Kale, on the right bank below Kindat, was disturbed by internal dissensions, but showed no signs of hostility to the British Government. North of Kindat, the Deputy Commissioner, who steamed up and explored the river for 150 miles above Kindat, visited the *Sawbwa* of Hsawng Hsup and was well received. The *Sawbwa* had his State in good order and required no assistance. Although he was allied with and akin to the *Sawbwa* of Wuntho, he did not adopt the attitude of that Chief. The Deputy Commissioner also received the submission of a Burmese *Wun* of the country lying between the Chindwin river and Mogaung. No posts, however, were established north of Kindat, where the country was thinly inhabited and did not promise much revenue. Nevertheless, except along the river and in the Alôn subdivision, little was effected in the way of settlement and the Alôn force was continually employed in the pursuit of Hla U and his followers. In October Mr. Gleeson, Assistant Commissioner at Mingin, was treacherously killed at a village some miles above his headquarters, where he had gone with a small escort to instal a new headman, and not long afterwards the *Wun* of Kanni, who had given many proofs of loyalty, was also murder-

ed by dacoits at Myogyi, whither he had gone with five men to persuade them to disperse. The brother of the *Wun* was appointed in his place and punitive expeditions dispersed the gangs who had murdered the *Wun* and Mr. Gleeson, but the country round Mingin and Mawkadaw remained in a very disturbed state, and a pretender, who called himself Buddha Yaza, attacked one of our posts and gathered round him various leaders from Yaw and Alôn. Just as the troops were advancing against him, the pretender fell into the hands of the Kale *Sawbwa*, who arrested him and sent him to the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel F. D. Raikes. The Kale *Sawbwa* himself had, however, not yet made formal submission, but much was hoped from the mark of distinction which was conferred on the *Sawbwa* of Hsawng Hsup on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee. In the Lower Chindwin the Pagyi and Pakhangyi tracts were much disturbed and the character of the country (inaccessible forests with consequent malaria) made it difficult to reduce. *Bo* To, the younger brother of the murdered Kanni *Wun*, did much good work in the country to the south of Mingin, but was defeated by a band at Kale. Trade went on on the river, but boats were obliged to take a guard, or to go under convoy of a steam-launch.

Myingyan.

On the opposite side of the Irrawaddy river the Myingyan district had been constituted as the expeditionary force moved up the river to Mandalay. The old Burmese administrative divisions were at first adopted and Myingyan and Pagan, which for some time was a separate district, extended in somewhat haphazard fashion for a great way across the river.

Both have greatly changed in their composition since then and continued to do so until Pagan became a subdivision of Myingyan and the new district of Pakôkku was formed out of the portions of Myingyan and Pagan on the right bank of the river. At first Myingyan included part of the present district of Meiktila and also Pakôkku, which was early transferred to Pagan. In Myingyan, or Talôkmyo as the Burmese very frequently called it, the local officials soon submitted and the settlement of the country in the immediate neighbourhood was speedily accomplished. Early in January 1886, the *Kayaingwun*, the Burmese local Governor, gave in his adhesion to the British Government and continued to serve for about six months. He then absconded and joined a rebel *soi-disant* Prince, the Shwegyobyu, in Pahkangyi on the west of the Irrawaddy. A column marched through this part of the country with temporary success and civil officials were established in Pahkangyi, and for a time there seemed reason to hope that the

township would become settled. But the small posts at Pakôkku and Yetagyo were during the rainy season unable to act in the interior. The military post at Myaing gave some protection to the country, but the Shwegyobyu pretender still had a great following and really dominated Pahkangyi and Pagyi to the exclusion of civil administration. He did not, however, act much on the offensive. It was not till a post was established at Pahkangyi itself that the Shwegyobyu's power was broken and then he himself suddenly disappeared. On the eastern bank dacoit leaders, partizans of Saw Yan Naing and his brother, for some time disturbed the peace of the eastern and northern parts of the district and the local official in charge of the Welaung tract southwards towards Pagan held out throughout the whole of 1886. The early establishment of posts in Sameikkyôn and Natogyi contributed a great deal to the settlement of the northern and eastern parts of the district, and a combined movement from Myingyan and Ava put an end to the operations of a leader who called himself Thinkayaza. Along the river trade went on undisturbed and arrangements were made for the building of bazaars at Myingyan and Pakôkku.

Pagan.

The Pagan district as it was constituted in November 1886, on the passage of the expeditionary force to Mandalay, included on the left bank of the river, the whole country from the Myingyan district on the north to the limits of the Taungdwingyi subdivision on the south, taking in the Pin and Mahlaing townships on the south and south-east. It nominally also included the whole of the Yaw country on the right bank of the river, stretching beyond Gangaw up to the hills which separate Burma from Chittagong.

Subsequently Mahlaing and the country to the east and south-east were made over to the later formed district of Meiktila and later still in the year the Pin township was made over to Taungdwingyi, now the Magwe district. The great asylum of the dacoits of this neighbourhood was the Pôppa hill, whence they made raids on the Myingyan, Pagan, and Meiktila districts. It is a remarkable, isolated peak about 4,500 feet high and is believed to be an extinct volcano. The hill itself is abrupt and conical in shape, but it throws out spurs in all directions and is thickly covered with forest growth while the sub-features are a tangle of scrub-jungle and ravines. In the hollows, however, there is a good deal of cultivated land which escapes the eye of a person merely travelling through. This region for long remained a favourite haunt of dacoits, and most of the villages were inhabited by cattle-lifters and receivers of stolen property, who naturally would furnish no information. The cattle were kept in large pens, or enclosures, in the jungle and were only

let out to be watered, and that only when they could be carefully guarded so that they should not stray back to their former owners. At least one prominent dacoit leader remained at large in this neighbourhood till ten years after the annexation.

The Pagan local officials submitted early to Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Eyre, the Deputy Commissioner, but before long dacoits under a leader named Maung Cho in the east of the district near Sè, and under the Kyimyindaing Prince and his adherents in the south-east near Mahlaing, began to give trouble. Active steps were taken to break up these gatherings. In January Maung Cho was successfully attacked, but not subdued. In February a post was established at Kyaukpadaung south of Pagan for the purpose of supporting the local Burmese official who then and later did conspicuously good service. A considerable dacoit gathering in the neighbourhood was at the same time dispersed. The following month a force marched from Pagan south-east through Mahlaing, Meiktila, and Yindaw to Yamèthin, encountering the followers of the Kyimyindaing Prince on the way and scattering them with some loss. A Civil Officer was posted at Mahlaing and a military post was left at Meiktila, which was made over to Yamèthin district. In June the formation of a post at Sè, to the south-east of Pagan, in the country where Maung Cho had again gathered his followers, served to diminish his influence, but everywhere the result was much the same. The area disturbed was gradually restricted, but the leaders remained at large and their bands dispersed before the troops, only to gather again on their departure. Early in July an attack was made on Pin, which had been successfully held till then by the loyal thugyi without assistance from Government. A force was sent to drive out the dacoits and their leaders surrendered without resistance. A great deal had thus been done towards reducing the left bank to order, and this part of the district was thus somewhat more in hand than many others, but on the west bank of the river little could be effected. There only a narrow strip of country was held in the immediate vicinity of the posts at Myitgyi and Pakôkku. Beyond that the country was practically uncontrolled. Early in the year the Deputy Commissioner had entered into communications with the local officials of the Yaw country, an extensive inland tract peopled partly by Burmese and partly by indigenous tribes. In the time of the Burmese Government the people of Yaw seem to have enjoyed some approach to local autonomy under their own officials. The leading men proposed to submit, but it was impossible to establish posts, so the despatch of a force was postponed, though communications were kept up with the chief local men throughout the year. The whole of

this wild tract therefore remained open to the dacoits and rebels until early in 1887.

Minbu.

The Minbu district at first consisted of the country on the north of the old frontier line on both sides of the Irrawaddy between the Arakan hills and the continuation of the Pegu Yoma. It extended on the north to the borders of the Yaw country and on the left bank of the river as far as the Pin township of Pagan. The Taungdwingyi subdivision, which later became a separate district and later still changed its name to Magwe, comprised the whole of the eastern part of the Minbu district. The Deputy Commissioner of Minbu, however, never had time to exercise any control over this subdivision, and it practically from the beginning was separately administered. The Minbu (at first called Minhla) district was constituted under the charge of the late Mr. R. Phayre immediately after the occupation of the town of Minhla in November 1885. The Deputy Commissioner at once began to invite the submission of the local officials and succeeded in inducing many of them to take service under the new Government. By the 15th December almost all the officials on the right bank had submitted and there was every promise of a speedy settlement of the district. Outposts were established at various suitable places and small columns were sent out as occasion demanded to break up dacoit gatherings. The garrison left at Minhla was supported by a small force from Thayetmyo, which was operating in Taungzin, the western part of the Minbu district bordering on the Arakan hills. Enquiries concerning revenue matters were at once instituted by the Deputy Commissioner, and within a month from the date of the occupation of Minhla £1,000 of revenue were paid in. The earth-oil wells at Yenangyaung, which had yielded a considerable revenue to the royal Government, were held to be within the Minbu district, and early in January arrangements were made for the resumption of work and the realization of revenue. In spite of the peaceful appearance of the greater part of the district, there were, however, indications of future trouble. Maung Swè, the hereditary thugyi of Mindat, had declined to submit and was holding out in the Taungzin township. This man, who afterwards became very notorious as *Bo* Swè, had long been known to the authorities of the Lower Province district of Thayetmyo. For many years he had been a constant source of annoyance owing to the support and encouragement afforded by him to dacoits on the frontier. More than once he had been recalled to Mandalay at the representation of the British Government, but had again and again been permitted to return. At the time of the outbreak of hostilities he was sent down by the Mandalay

authorities to his former jurisdiction on account of his known hostility to the English. Early in the year, and as long as the Thayetmyo frontier force occupied posts in Taungzin, Maung Swè, though at times giving indications of hostile intentions, was comparatively powerless. It was not till after the withdrawal of the Thayetmyo troops that he made head and gathered a formidable following.

In the latter part of February an insurrection broke out in the Legaing township on the Môn creek and the post of Sagu was attacked and burnt. This rising was promptly suppressed by the military authorities and the dacoits were driven to the hills. The leader of the rising was found to be a *pôngyi* named Ôktama, who soon became as much noted as *Bo* Swè and gave to the full as much serious trouble. In March U Ôktama fomented serious disturbances in Salin and Sale, but the rebels were again dispersed by the troops acting in conjunction with Mr. Phayre. About this time the headquarters of the district were transferred from Minhla to Minbu. Revenue continued to come in steadily notwithstanding these disturbances, and in the first fortnight of April as much as £2,000 were realized. Early in the same month the transfer of part of the Minbu district to Thayetmyo was provisionally effected. The transfer was made for the sake of administrative convenience and with the view of obliterating the old border line between Upper and Lower Burma. The final transfer under legislative sanction was obtained later.

At the close of April *Bo* Swè occupied much of the country to the west of Minbu and Minhla. He was attacked in the middle of May and forced to retreat to Ngapè, a strong position due west of Minbu, commanding the An pass over the Arakan hills. But at the close of the same month the whole western part of the district was in a ferment and dacoit bands were active on the Salin and Môn creeks and in the Sale and Yenangyaung townships. Early in June great encouragement was given to the disaffected by the death of Mr. Phayre, who was killed in action near Padein, south of Ngapè. At the time when Mr. Phayre was killed Rs. 1,000 had been offered for the capture of *Bo* Swè, who in turn had offered Rs. 500 for the head of Mr. Phayre. Out of this he made great capital with his adherents. Mr. Phayre had arrived at Padein on the 7th June and found the dacoits in a strong position inside a walled pagoda. He established himself in another pagoda 200 yards distant and was fired at all night, during which time the dacoits received large reinforcements. On the 8th Mr. Phayre, with ten sepoys and ten police, attempted to carry the dacoits' position by direct attack.

They were within 20 yards of the pagoda when Mr. Phayre fell struck by three bullets. The number of the dacoits was estimated at 700. The dacoits were encountered in strength at Salin, where Captain Dunsford was killed on the 12th June, and at Ngapè, where a stubbornly contested action was fought on the 19th of the same month, when we had six killed and 23 wounded, among them Lieutenant E. P. Williams of the Liverpools. Ngapè was then occupied in strength, but the extreme unhealthiness of the climate necessitated the withdrawal of the garrison at the end of July. At the same time Salin was attacked by Ôktama. The dacoits were repulsed and finally driven off by reinforcements under Captain Atkinson, who however was killed just as the engagement ended. Ngapè was re-occupied by *Bo* Swè as soon as it was evacuated by the garrison, and by the end of August the whole of the western part of the district was in the hands of the rebels and nothing remained to us but a narrow strip along the river-bank. The rains and the deadly season which succeeds them in the water-logged country at the foot of the Yoma, reeking with malaria, which is fatal to those who have not inherited constitutions fitted to resist it, prevented extended operations being undertaken before the end of the year. A contingent of the Naval Brigade kept the river-bank clear and suppressed the river pirates, and the An Pass, which is almost the only practicable route through the hills into Arakan was held by a detachment of Gurkha police. But in the later months of 1886 U Ôktama practically held the whole of the north of Minbu, while *Bo* Swè was supreme in the south. These two had the strongest organization and the most systematic method of pillaging the country of any of the dacoit leaders, but their success was greatly aided by the dense jungle, which could only be threaded by narrow forest paths, and by the pestilential airs. The names of Tainda, Myothit, Ngapè, and Sidôktaya became evilly notorious from the deaths which occurred there. The robber-chiefs knew this well. Their headquarters were secure at the foot of the hills, and raids and incursions thence were easy to places far beyond the jungle tract. U Ôktama in fact established his authority right up to the river-bank. But early in 1887 *Bo* Swè, though he was still formidable, ceased to be a danger, at any rate to established posts. Captain Golightly, with his mounted infantry, hunted him with untiring zeal, and more than once, especially when a party of Gurkha police joined in the chase, he barely escaped with his life. Nevertheless, his orders were acknowledged and his gangs were fed and recruited secretly by the villagers of the Myothit and Minhla townships. U Ôktama was not pressed nearly so hard, and his authority not only remained but actually continued to grow. Nevertheless, the revenue

collected in Minbu up to the end of August 1886 amounted to about £12,500.

Taungdwingyi.

Soon after the Expeditionary Force crossed the frontier and the Minhla or Minbu district was formed, it was found necessary for the protection of the eastern part of the Thayetmyo district to advance a column towards Taungdwingyi, an important town north of the Myedè subdivision and the nominal headquarters of the subdivision. On the 30th November 1885 it encountered a considerable body of the enemy at Thitkôk-kwin and on the 2nd December inflicted a decisive defeat on them at Nyadaw. Taungdwingyi itself was occupied without further opposition ten days later and Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Raikes, Deputy Commissioner of Thayetmyo, who had accompanied the column, at once set to work to organize the civil administration. Soon afterwards he returned to Thayetmyo, leaving Taungdwingyi in charge of an Assistant Commissioner. Later in the year the Pin township was taken from Pagan and, with this addition, Taungdwingyi was created a district and is now known by the name of Magwe. Arrangements were made to carry on the administration with the aid of local officials who had submitted and to raise and train a force of local police. The severe loss inflicted on the insurgents in December kept the district quiet for some time, but later disturbances broke out in several places, though they were rather in the nature of raids than of risings. Nevertheless, Lieutenant Parsons, the Assistant Commissioner, was severely wounded in the Myedè township and Lieutenant Churchill of the Royal Scots Fusiliers at the assault on Thaikyansan. The Myobin Thugyi who created trouble in February was promptly dealt with, but later there were sporadic dacoities, and in August a few houses were burnt in Taungdwingyi itself. The chief leader was Min Yaung, who had a large following and could boast of ponies and elephants. He kept the country somewhat disturbed, but most of his raids were directed to the south and extended occasionally a long way into the Thayetmyo district. The Magwe township, later the headquarters, which lies on the river-bank, alone enjoyed complete peace. This was due to the influence of the Burman official, who had accepted service under us and for a time apparently loyally fulfilled his engagement.

Pyinmana.

A column started from Toungoo to occupy Nyingyan on the 24th November 1885. The country was found in a somewhat unsettled condition, but no organized opposition was encountered and the town of Ningyan was reached during the first week in December. This place and the district, throughout 1886, were known by the name of Ningyan,

but later the old Burmese name of Pyinmana was adopted and has been finally retained even since the district has become a subdivision of Yamèthin. Villages near Pyinmana were early occupied and at the end of 1885 the district was believed to be rapidly settling down. But the peacefulness was only the deceitful quiet of indecision. Early in January 1886 the country towards the north began to be disturbed by the *Lè Wun* and the Theingôn thugyi, *ex*-officials from the Yamèthin neighbourhood, and their counsels eventually prevailed. From the first many of the local *Wuns* did not submit and were replaced by Myoôks, who raised and drilled local police. In February the limits of the district were roughly defined, and it was separated from the Yamèthin district on the north. Towards the end of April, however, large bands of dacoits gathered together and soon controlled all the country except in the neighbourhood of our posts. The chief leaders, besides the *Lè Wun*, were the pretended Princes Buddha and Thiha Yaza and the Kyimyindaing. Throughout the rains, in spite of frequent military movements and the establishment of numerous posts on the chief lines of communication, these gangs remained unbroken enough to undertake the offensive. Communications were constantly interrupted, launches on the river between Sinthewa near Pyinmana and Toungoo were attacked and dacoities were committed and houses burnt not only in outlying villages, but even in the town of Pyinmana itself, part of which was actually for a time in the hands of the rebels. Lieutenant Shubrick of the Somersetshires was killed in the village of Kwingyi near Thayagôn, 6 miles from Pyinmana, while breakfasting after having destroyed some surrounding villages. The garrison of the district was much weakened by sickness, and the nature of the country under the Shan hills and the climate, which are practically the same as the Minbu *terai* under the Arakan Yoma, entirely prevented the undertaking of any sustained military operations and the town was threatened on all sides. Large reinforcements at the end of the year and the energetic guidance of General Lockhart broke up the control of the leaders and kept the various gangs always on the move leaving them no rest, night or day. The most successful of the expeditions was on the 12th November 1886, when the camp of the Kyimyindaing Prince was surprised at dawn. The so-called Prince himself narrowly escaped capture and his wife was unfortunately shot dead in the first volley. On our side Lieutenant Eckersley of the Somersets was killed. This action at once reduced the pressure on Pyinmana, but the danger of the Yamèthin road had greatly increased. The dense bamboo and *kaing* grass jungles at Kanhla greatly favoured the dacoits. In October they captured a convoy of 17

carts and on the 13th November attacked a party of Madras troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson, who was severely wounded in the neck, besides which there were 11 other casualties. On the 17th of the same month, however, a column drove them from their rifle-pits at Kanhla, but with the loss of Lieutenant Greenwood of the 16th Madras Infantry killed. Buddha Yaza's camp was broken up shortly afterwards by Colonel Beale of the Queen's, the dacoit leader barely escaping on an elephant and losing several *jingals*. Other actions soon cleared the trunk road and ensured the safety of convoys from the dacoits. But the hills afforded them a temporary refuge and there were still large bands to be dealt with, Buddha Yaza in particular giving much trouble. As might be expected, little revenue was collected; the total realizations up to the end of August amounted to not quite £2,000.

Yamèthin.

The Yamèthin district at first included Meiktila and extended as far as the borders of Kyauksè, but in October Meiktila was cut off from it and with some parts of Pagan and Myingyan districts became a separate charge. Yamèthin town was occupied by a force from Pyinmana after some opposition on the 18th February 1886. From the first the greater part of the district was in a disturbed state, the principal gatherings being those under the adventurers Buddha and Thiha Yaza, the Kyimyindaing *soi-disant* Prince, the *Lè Wun* the Theingôn thugyi, and the Myinzaing Prince's leaders, U Paung and Maung Gyi. The posts at Meiktila, Mahlaing, Yindaw, and Wundwin introduced order in their immediate neighbourhood and to some extent on the roads between them, though in April Lieutenant Forbes of the 11th Bengal Infantry in charge of a stores escort was killed not far from where Thazi station now is, but the record of the greater part of the year was merely an account of dacoities and of expeditions, more or less temporarily successful, but never decisively so, on account of the elusive character of the dacoits who sometimes even ventured to attack the smaller posts such as Yindaw. At the end of the rains the garrison was strongly reinforced and undertook active operations with considerable success against the more important bands. The amount of revenue collected up to the end of November was over £3,500.

Meiktila.

The history of Meiktila for 1886 was practically that of Yamèthin. The garrison was engaged with the Yamèthin dacoits on the one side and with those of Kyauksè on the other, while particular leaders, such as Myat Hmôn, Maung Gyi, and Maung Lat, were the local troublers of the peace. These men had been adherents of the Myinzaing till his death and afterwards fought for their own hand. Over and over

again they collected their men in the Hmaw-aing foot hills east of Wundwin to be as often driven out. They took refuge in the hills of Yengan and Lawksawk when hard pressed and came down again when our troops had retired. But the district was more in hand than any of its neighbours, except Ava and Western Myingyan, and Htun E, a former Burmese cavalry officer, rendered valuable service with a strong force of horse and foot which he raised and maintained at his own expense.

The whole of 1886 was thus devoted to the gradual extension of British influence by means of military operations. The plan on which these were conducted was the gradual advancement of outposts, the dispersing of the large bands of dacoits, and the pacification of the country covered by military stations. In this process 180 or more encounters, of more or less importance, were fought. In few of these did the dacoits offer any strenuous resistance and in hardly any did our troops fail in accomplishing their immediate purpose. The total number of those killed in action, or who died of their wounds from the 17th November 1885 to the 31st October 1886 was officers 11, men 80: total 91.

Military details.

The average number of troops employed in Upper Burma during the year was about 14,000. In December 1886 the number had risen to 25,000. It was the dense nature of the jungle through which they had often to pass, the want of roads and facilities of communication, the unfavourable and in many places, the deadly nature of the climate, which rendered this number of men necessary and prevented them from accomplishing more. Where loss of life occurred it was usually in bush-fighting, where the dacoits had the immense advantage of an intimate knowledge of the country. The climate was more deadly than the dacoits' bullets. From the 17th November 1885 to the 31st October 1886 the regimental returns showed—

	Died from disease.	Invalided.
Officers	11	76
Men (British and sepoys)... ...	919	1,956
Total ...	930	2,032

The total number of posts held in Upper Burma on the 1st December 1886 by British troops was 99, and at the same time there were in almost every district moveable columns operating separately or in combination.

The command of the Expeditionary Force sent against Mandalay was entrusted to Major-General (now Sir Harry) Prendergast, V.C.,

under whom were Brigadier-General White, V.C.,C.B., Brigadier-General Norman, C.B., and Brigadier-General Forde. On the 1st April 1886 Sir Harry Prendergast vacated the command of the Upper Burma Field Force and was succeeded by Major-General (now Sir George) White, V.C. In September His Excellency Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, assumed command of the forces in Burma, but died very shortly after his arrival. Early in November His Excellency Sir Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, arrived in Burma and established his headquarters in Mandalay. With the opening of the year 1887 energetic action began and the tide began to turn. The number of posts held by troops was rapidly increased to 141. The Officers Commanding these posts and the parties in the field had acquired a knowledge of the country in which they were working. The constant pursuit by cavalry and mounted infantry was beginning to tell and the dacoits, both leaders and followers, were beginning to find themselves safe nowhere. Nevertheless, of police there were as yet hardly any, and District Officers were dependent on military escorts and were not able to move about their districts freely.

The necessity of supplementing the work done by the troops and providing permanently for the civil administrations engaged the attention of Sir Charles Bernard as soon as annexation was determined on. In February 1886 proposals were framed and submitted to the Government of India for the enlistment of two military police levies each to consist of 561 officers and men, and of 2,200 military police to be recruited in Northern India. In addition to these it was proposed to raise a small force of Burmese police for detective and purely police work. The two levies were speedily formed and consisted of men who had already received military training. Both were in the province by the beginning of July. One was told off for service in the Mandalay district, with the intention that it should eventually take up the posts required for the protection of the Shan border; the other was sent for service in the Chindwin valley. The military police began to arrive somewhat later and were for the most part untrained men. These had all to be drilled and disciplined at Mandalay and other headquarter stations before being sent to outposts, or on active service. The local police were raised by District Officers as occasion required and as circumstances permitted, and received such training as the local officers could supply. The men of the levies did good service in the Mandalay, Sagaing, and Chindwin districts; but the Mandalay levy suffered severely from the effects of the climate of Kywet-hnapa, an outpost on the Myit-

ngè in the Mandalay district. The rest of the military police hardly became ready for active service during the year.

As the situation and the circumstances of the province became more thoroughly realized, and as the extent of territory under administration increased, it became evident that the numbers of the police force would have to be considerably augmented. Two fresh levies therefore were raised in the end of the year. One of these, from Northern India, was devoted to the protection of the railway line from Toungoo to Mandalay, during and after its construction. The other which was recruited from Gurkhas and other hill-tribesmen was sent to Bhamo for service about Mogaung. Finally it was determined to enlist a total police force of 16,000, of which 9,000 were to be recruited from India and 7,000 from Burma, with the intention that in time the foreign and local police were each to consist of 8,000 men. The whole of the force was subjected to military drill and discipline and was enrolled for service for three years. For each district a separate battalion was to be formed consisting of a fixed number of foreign and local police, under the command of a military officer for the purposes of training and discipline, and under the orders of the local Police officers for ordinary police work.

Disarmament.

Perhaps the most important step for the permanent pacification of the province was the disarmament of the people. Orders were issued for the disarmament of the whole population, but practically what was required was a re-distribution of arms under proper safeguards. Firearms were collected and branded with distinctive marks and numbers. In the case of dacoit leaders and their followers, or of rebel villages, the surrender of a certain number of firearms was made a condition of the grant of pardon. Persons of proved loyalty were allowed to retain their arms, after they had been numbered, under the special license of the Deputy Commissioner, subject to the condition that the holders lived in a village which was defensible and possessed a fixed minimum number of arms, so as to be capable of self-protection. It was found that the possession by a village of one or two muskets only was a source of danger and a temptation to dacoits, whereas the possession by loyal house-holders of a moderately large supply afforded them means of self-defence. Except in special cases, such as that of foresters working in parties of some strength, in remote parts of the country, licenses to carry firearms were not granted. The licenses issued only authorized the holders to possess arms for self-protection.

The process was begun in the Taungdwingyi, Myingyan, and Shwebo districts, and then extended to Ye-u and Sagaing, and in the end of 1886 was prescribed for general adoption.

Although this policy of disarmament was thus early begun and was soon extended to Lower Burma as well as to the new province, the process was a slow one and the final form of the license to possess arms and ammunition was not determined till May 1888, after many alterations. Licenses were granted under the Indian Arms Act of 1878 and covered only the persons and arms named in them, unless it was specially certified to cover retainers of the holder. The license is voided every 31st of March and extends only to the particular district or place named. No one is allowed to own firearms or ammunition who does not live in a village which contains at least 50 houses and has at least nine other license-holders. The village itself must be well fenced or stockaded, so as to prevent its being rushed and the ground without the fence is to be kept clear of jungle or cover for the space of 50 yards. Each license-holder engages to act as a special constable, and to resist dacoits whenever the village is attacked and to pursue them when called upon by a competent authority, such as the headman of the village, or Civil, Police, or Military Officers not under the rank of a Myoôk or head constable. The license-holder cannot carry his firearm beyond the boundaries of his own village, unless in the pursuit of dacoits, and, if he leaves his village for the night, has to deposit his gun with the village headman until his return. When acting under authority beyond the boundaries of his own village the license-holder wears a uniform or badge supplied to him at cost price by the District Superintendent of Police. The gun must be produced for inspection whenever required by an officer not under the rank of a Myoôk or head constable, or a Jemadar of Military Police. The amount of ammunition allowed and to be exhibited on requisition is $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of powder, 50 caps, and a proportionate quantity of bullets or buckshot, and this ammunition is procured only from the District Superintendent of Police. If the license-holder lends, loses, or in any way parts with his gun, his license and those of all other license-holders in his village are cancelled and the arms are confiscated. These licenses are liable to be withdrawn at any time at the discretion of the Government. Further, the number of licenses in each district was fixed by the Chief Commissioner and could not be increased without his sanction.

The policy adopted was thus not that of depriving loyal and courageous people of their means of protection, if they had shown themselves able and willing to use their arms in their own defence. It was a measure for depriving dacoits and outlaws of the means of obtaining arms and for concentrating in defensible positions the weapons which were allowed to remain in the hands of the people. The wisdom of the policy was abundantly proved by its results.

Whenever a district was disarmed, dacoit bands either disappeared or surrendered and the people settled down to peace and order. In some places the wildness of the country or other local causes delayed the process, but everywhere eventually the result was the same, and the people by degrees grew to understand that they would be held responsible and would be punished for failure to assist the authorities in keeping the peace.

Ye-u was one of the districts in which disarmament was earliest introduced and the results there are typical of what came about later in all the districts. Already in 1887 the number of guns collected was 1,088, including five *jingals*, of which 148 were captured in action. The greater number of these were destroyed, only the better-class arms being retained to be re-issued to friendly and well-disposed villages. One hundred and ninety-two licenses to possess guns had been granted and the minimum then allowed to villages was five and the only village which was allowed 20 was that of Madinbin, the native village of Maung Aung Gyi, the Nabêkgyi Myoôk, who was loyal from the very first. There was no instance in which licensed guns fell into the hands of dacoits, and in several instances villagers used their weapons with good effect against dacoits. The result was apparent in the list of dacoit *bos* and dacoits who surrendered or were captured. These belonged chiefly to the gangs of Hla U, Nga Mya, and Nga Mye Gyi. The number of leaders who surrendered was 96 and of ordinary dacoits 474; those who were captured were 19 leaders and 197 of their followers. Of those who surrendered more than half were branded as professional dacoits in Burmese times. Those who surrendered were released on bail, the *bos* on Rs. 500 and the ordinary dacoits on from Rs. 400 to Rs. 200, according to their importance. Some of these were men of considerable prominence, notably the Ngaya *Bo*, Hpo Wa, who was one of Hla U's two senior chiefs, and Nga Maing, his first cousin. Other *bogyôks* were Nga Te, Nga Thaw, Tha Aung, Nga Thè, and Nga Teit. Many of them and of their followers took office under the British Government as *thugyis*, *thwethaukgyis*, *gaungs*, and the like, and most served with zeal and fidelity, while a few endangered life and property in the British service. Tha Aung in particular was murdered by his former companions. Twenty-six of those who surrendered were *yè*, the paid bravoes who formed Hla U's body-guard and were the most daring in their attacks. Of the captured *bos*, only three were executed—Nga Taw, the head of the Kawthandi gang; Nga Mya Mya, the head of the northern Tabayin gang; and Nga Teit, one of Hla U's most prominent lieutenants. The rest were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging up to transportation for life. The Deputy Commissioner's

report ends as follows: "The general result of our action, military "and civil, against dacoits is that there is not a single dacoit leader "of the first class left to oppose us. Nga Mya was captured by the "friendlies, sentenced, and shot; Hla U killed by his own confeder-"ates; Hantha shot in action by the 3rd Hyderabad Contingent "Cavalry; and Nga Mye Gyi killed while resisting his arrest by the "Burman police under Myoôk Po Thein. All the remaining import-"ant leaders have been captured and punished, or have surrendered, "and are now on bail leading peaceful and quiet lives, and in many in-"stances furthering the interests of that very Government which "they so determinedly opposed. The few leaders that are still out "are men of no influence and have no following. The country is "being thoroughly scoured by Burman mounted police under the "guidance of the several Myoôks, and captures of individual and of "entire gangs of dacoits are almost of daily occurrence. The dis-"trict is perfectly quiet from end to end, and old Burmans who know "the country admit that they have never known it so free from "crime and life and property more secure."

CHAPTER V.

FINAL PACIFICATION.

IN 1887 the Military force available was about 32,000 men, with two Major-Generals Commanding Divisions and six Brigadier-Generals, in addition to the fairly drilled and disciplined Military Police. With this force it was possible to carry out vigorous and combined offensive operations with a number of small flying columns. Sir Herbert Macpherson, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was to have commanded the whole of the Upper Burma Field Force, but he died within a short time of his arrival in the country and almost before the season's operations had commenced. Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in Chief of the Troops in India, took his place. The plan adopted was that special operations were to be undertaken against the more formidable bands of dacoits and the general occupation of the country was to radiate from the already established posts. Whenever police were available, they were to relieve the troops in the occupation of the intermediate posts, with well kept up communications between them all and constant and systematic patrols. Outside these lines of posts the chief military operations were undertaken, and inside them the Civil Officers, supported by the troops and pôlice, directed their attention to the settlement of the country.

This had very immediate results. At first the organized bands had been numbered by hundreds and even thousands, and in 1886 regularly organized columns went out against these. It was seldom possible to bring them to an engagement, and all that could ordinarily be done was to disperse them and drive them off. This process was now repeated with the addition that the gangs were allowed to settle nowhere. Generally speaking, it may be said that during 1886 the struggle was with large and powerful gangs that occasionally made a stand, or were so numerous that they could not all get off the ground before the British column fell on them. The sympathy of the people was then largely with them and Government had little authority outside its posts, or beyond the neighbourhood of its columns, while as soon as these retired the dacoits gathered together again.

During 1887 the large bands were broken up and their place was taken by smaller gangs. These had still a strong hold on certain

villages, but many other villages had begun to submit. In these the dacoit leaders tried to maintain their influence by terrorism, plain brigandage, torture, and murder. It was a year in most districts of hardly any open fighting, of many violent crimes, of endless pursuit of ever-concealed outlaws. To say the truth the outlaws with their means of getting early intelligence of the movement of troops and their system of terrorism maintained themselves little, if at all reduced in numbers. But sustained action and dogged persistence in spite of disappointments had their inevitable result in the end. The leaders were one by one killed, captured, driven into isolation, and flight beyond the frontier, or were forced to surrender. The gangs steadily decreased in number and strength; they received less and less accession of men, and consequently less support and protection from the villagers, as their numbers became reduced to the original nucleus of confirmed bad characters, and public feeling became more and more enlisted on the side of law and order. Within two years a great part of Upper Burma was as free from trouble as the Lower Provinces. Some districts, where wide tracts of uncultivated forest, miles of water-logged country, reeking with malaria, or confused tangles of scrub-jungle and ravines offered the dacoits safe retreats, were not reduced to order for a year or two longer, but the result was the same everywhere and, when the armed bands were done with, there was actually much less crime in Upper than in Lower Burma.

But this was not effected without very great toil and considerable loss of life. The advance on and the taking of Mandalay were the merest trifle, little more than an object lesson in military movements and instructive manœuvres for the subsidiary departments, compared with the work of the pacification. That was a perpetual record of acts of gallantry which passed unnoticed because they were so constant; of endless marches by night and by day, through dense jungle, where paths could hardly be traced, over paths which were so deep in mud that men could hardly march over them and animals stuck fast, over stretches where no water was to be found and nothing grew but thorn-bushes, over hills where there were no paths at all; and with all this but rarely the chance of an engagement to cheer the men, stockades found empty, villages deserted, camps evacuated, endless disappointments, and yet everywhere the probability of an ambuscade in every clump of trees, at any turn of the road, from each stream bed, line of rocks, or ravine. The difficulties were also greatly increased by the fact that by far the greater portion of the country was absolutely unknown and that for long it was difficult to get competent guides, in some cases owing to the want of goodwill on the part of the inhabitants, but far too often because of the treat-

ment the guides afterwards met with at the hands of the dacoits or their friends. Many were murdered, others had their ears cropped off, the more lucky only had their cattle stolen and their houses burnt. It is impossible to give a connected history of such a campaign, because it consisted of entirely disconnected incidents and yet it called for constant individual courage and unflagging endurance with no such cheering incidents as the charge of a Zulu impi, or the storming of a position stubbornly held. It is the fashion to call the Burman a coward, but the accusation is not fair. He would have been a fool if he had accepted battle with flintlocks and Brown Besses to oppose against case shot and machine guns. The character of the country made it impossible to launch masses armed with *da* and spear against British companies, and the only alternative to this was ambushes. The dacoit fired off his gun and then ran to some place a couple of miles off where he could find time to load it again without being disturbed. This was undoubtedly his proper course, but it made operations very arduous. Moreover, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole population was in sympathy, in one way or another, with the dacoits, though this did not necessarily imply any personal aversion to British authority. The Burman, though he cannot be described as warlike in the ordinary sense of the term, has a traditional and deep-rooted love of desultory fighting, raiding, gang-robbery, and similar kinds of excitement. Villages had long-standing feuds with villages, and many young peasants, otherwise respectable, spent a season or two as dacoits without in any way losing their reputation with their fellow-villagers. If there were any under native rule who had scruples about engaging in dacoity pure and simple, they had always plenty of opportunity for leading a very similar mode of life as partisans of one of the numerous pretenders to the throne, one or more of whom were every now and again in open revolt against the *de facto* sovereign. As the monarchy was hereditary only in the sense of being confined to the members of the Alaungpaya family, each scion of the royal line considered himself justified in raising the banner of insurrection if he imagined that he had a fair chance of success, and he could generally plead in justification of his conduct that his successful rival on the throne had endeavoured to put him and all his near male relations to death. These various elements of anarchy no king of Burma, not even King Mindôn, who was generally loved and respected, was ever able to suppress. Sometimes a sovereign of unusual energy obtained comparative tranquillity for a short period by executing or imprisoning all his more formidable rivals, and by employing energetic leaders who could break up the larger gangs of dacoits, but such periods of tranquillity seldom lasted long, be-

cause the efforts to organize a regular army and an efficient police were always neutralized by the incapacity of the officials and the obstinate repugnance of the people to all kinds of discipline. This had been the ordinary state of the country, and in King Thibaw's time these ordinary evils were rather more pronounced than usual. In his reign the authority of the Government latterly did not extend much beyond the district of Mandalay and the immediate neighbourhood of the main routes of communication, and, even within this limited area, there was an increasing amount of anarchy and maladministration. Not a few of the Ministers were in league with the dacoit leaders, who roamed about Thibaw's dominions and occasionally, like *Bo* Shwe, disturbed the peace of the British frontier districts. All this existed before Mandalay was taken, and the situation was aggravated by our easy and rapid success in the advance on the capital, and still more by the delay which followed in determining what was to be done with the country. The history of the pacification of Pegu was much the same. It was less than quarter the area and with less than one-third of the population of Upper Burma, excluding the Shan States; it was far more accessible and, although our efforts were supported by a very large military force, by local levies, and by gun-boats which could operate in the net-work of tidal streams, forming the Irrawaddy delta, yet at the end of the first year of the occupation broad districts were still in the hands of insurgents and robber chiefs. At the end of the second year large bands of robbers and rebels were still at large and great tracts remained into which British influence had not extended. During the third year parts of the country were still much disturbed and British officers could not move about without an escort; occasional reverses befell our troops and large rewards for the apprehension of robber leaders were offered in vain. One notable guerilla chief, for whose capture a reward of over Rs. 20,000 was offered, dominated and harried the Tharrawaddy district for several years and finally retired to Mandalay, where his descendants now live in prosperity. It was not until 1861, or eight years after the annexation, that the province entered fairly on peace and contentment. With greater difficulties and fewer advantages, Upper Burma was pacified in half that time.

The situation which met us when annexation had been determined on was this—When the local authorities beyond the reach of our earlier posts found that they were not supported or controlled by any central authority from Mandalay, they either commenced to rule their districts themselves, or they were frightened off by local dacoit leaders or rivals and made the best of their way to the nearest British station. There was naturally a good deal of compe-

tition among the upstart rulers, and each one set about strengthening his position and extending his influence as far as he could. Professional dacoits naturally formed a strong nucleus of such bands and, when we came in contact with them, compromised the character of all the rest. The usual plan adopted was to send round orders to different villages to provide a certain number of guns and a certain number of men who were to rendezvous at a named spot. This order was generally accompanied by a demand for money. In this way in populous districts huge bands were collected in a very short time and the villages that had refused to comply with the orders were promptly attacked, for even later it was very seldom that the dacoits attacked our troops. It often happened that one dacoit *bo* would summon a village that had supplied men or arms to another *bo*, and such incidents established a feud between the two bands. It was very rarely that two neighbouring dacoit bands were on friendly terms with each other, but this was in no sense an assistance to our troops. These were regarded at first certainly as opposition bands starting opposition *bos* in their districts. To starve one another and our troops out they exercised a complete terrorism. The village that refused to help them or the village that assisted any other band, whether British or Burmese, was burned and plundered on the first opportunity; and they maintained their authority against that of the British by exerting this terrorism on the country, rather than by fighting the troops. A band of from a couple of hundred to perhaps 4,000 would collect with a certain object. When that was accomplished they dispersed. If they were attacked by our troops, they almost invariably melted away. They had no intention of fighting us and never stood unless they were forced to. If they were lucky and killed one or two soldiers, their prestige increased; if they were unlucky and lost some men themselves, these victims were considered fools for not getting out of the way of the soldiers and the remainder re-assembled the next time they were summoned, not in the least degree demoralized. The villagers for long would give our troops not the very least assistance or information for a variety of reasons. At first undoubtedly they did not care to do it; as often as not they would not, because the bands opposed to us were composed of themselves, their friends, and their relatives; and again they had no particular desire to be rid of their local leader. They knew him and they knew the lengths he would go, and many of these *bos* ruled with discretion and moderation where they were supported and not thwarted. Moreover, it was found that assistance could not with justice be accepted, even if proffered from villagers who did not live under the immediate protection,

or within easy striking distance, of an established military post. Unless they were afterwards protected, punishment by the dacoits was certain to follow aid or information given to our columns.

The general procedure of a band of dacoits was to approach the village to be dacoited soon after dark. When they got close they began to fire off their guns. Usually the villagers bolted and then the dacoits ransacked the houses and burnt them when they left. If the dacoit fire was replied to, they made off, unless their band was large, or they set the village on fire by throwing disks of burning oiled rope on the thatch roofs. The people then seized their valuables and made off with them and were looted by the dacoits as they went. As a rule dacoits did not attack villages which they found alert and awake; hence it was a very common custom for the villagers to fire off their guns in the air from time to time during the night, and, when there was any disturbance in a village at night, all the inhabitants rattled their bamboos to show that they were awake.

Every village surrounded itself with impenetrable hedges of prickly-pear, or with matted lines of dry brambles and thorns which could not be rushed and were very difficult to cut a way through. Behind this hedge there often stood a sort of *miradors*, look-out posts, or crow's nests, placed at intervals all round. Any village that was thriving, or that was worth dacoiting, could be told at once by the appearance of its defences; but this was no guide in the early years of the occupation as to its character, since for a long time the most thriving villages were the headquarters of the different gangs of dacoits, and later they often supplied food to the robber bands camped in the jungle near at hand. A favourite site for a camp, when our flying columns had rendered the villages no longer safe, was in the dry bed of a nullah, or in a dense expanse of *kaing* grass. In such places when a fire was kindled, they fanned it with a circular piece of wicker-work called a *ban*, in order to prevent the smoke from ascending. This was not so necessary in forest jungle.

As regards the atrocities committed by the dacoits, they were very seldom wanton. There were many instances of the most barbarous and inhumane practices, but these were exceptional cases for the extortion of evidence, or to find where treasure was buried; on such occasions they spared neither age nor sex. The cases of crucifixion, of which so much was heard, were not what we understand by the term. A man was tied to the frame-work to be killed occasionally, but usually he was killed before he was crucified. Any man who was killed while out dacoiting was tied up on a crucifix by the villagers, and so were thieves who had been executed and any

objectionable person who met his death by violence. The body was always ripped up after death, which gave the appearance of cruelty. What torture there was, assumed the form of spread-eagling the victim in the sun, crushing the limbs between bamboos, or suspension head downwards in the stocks ; and to that the villagers were accustomed for non-payment of revenue. Crucified persons were not buried, and in consequence crucifixes, old and new, occupied and unoccupied, were seen all over the country and were constantly met with, for they were usually set up in conspicuous places, at cross-roads or outside villages. But they were by no means always or indeed usually traceable to the dacoits.

The inordinate national vanity, which forms so prominent a trait in the Burmese character, leads them to the deepest admiration for a person of royal blood, and thus the survivors of the palace massacres had followers almost thrust upon them, while adventurers found it very easy to gull the population, which they did all the more easily because the strictest Court ceremonies were maintained in their bands ; ministers were appointed ; royal orders were issued, scratched in proper form on tapering palmyra leaves ; proclamations were issued stamped with lion, or rabbit, or peacock seals ; huts in which the leaders lived were called temporary palaces and the bands royal armies. If there was no gold and silver plate, then they ate off plantain leaves, for royalty alone should eat off such a leaf.

The country in which these bands were hunted down was by no means easy and it had, broadly speaking, three different characteristics, each of which had special difficulties. These physical features were the lowlying alluvial tracts, the sandy and comparatively speaking dry tracts, and the hilly and jungly tracts. The alluvial tracts, of which the country round Mandalay or Kyauksè is typical, are extensively irrigated and almost exclusively under rice crops. From February to May they are hard and dry and are traversable in any direction ; for the rest of the year they are either under cultivation, or they become swamps and are only just practicable for transport animals, so that rapid movements are out of the question Trees and patches of jungle everywhere confined the view to a few hundred yards. Except in the dry season, mounted men could not operate and infantry lost sight and touch of the flying enemy in a very short time. It was in this sort of country that the largest dacoit bands collected, numbering in the earlier days as many as 3,000 or 4,000. The temporary auxiliaries easily vanished, when attacked, into the numerous villages and the nucleus of professional robbers had retreats in dense jungle, the locality of which was only learnt after repeated disappointments.

The sandy tracts are found in the country between the Panlang and the Irrawaddy and generally midway between the greater rivers—the Irrawaddy, the Chindwin, and the Mu. Inside these there were always stretches of swampy cultivation, but except for these the country was practicable all the year round. The water, however, is often brackish for miles at a stretch; the vegetation is thorny scrub jungle in bushes or patches, with no shelter for the greater part of the day, and maize and millet and palmyra palm sugar were what the bulk of the people lived on and were the only supplies available. In such tracts the gangs seldom numbered more than 200 or 300, but the one band ranged over a very wide area.

The hilly and jungly tracts were those in which the dacoits held out longest. Such were the country between Minbu and Thayetmyo and the terai at the foot of the Shan Hills and the Arakan and Chin Hills. Here pursuit was impossible. The tracts are narrow and tortuous and admirably adapted for ambuscades. Except by the regular paths, there were hardly any means of approach; the jungle malaria was fatal to our troops; a column could only penetrate the jungle and move on. The villages are small and far between; they are generally compact and surrounded by dense impenetrable jungle. The paths were either just broad enough for a cart, or very narrow, and, where they led through jungle, were overhung with brambles and thorny creepers. A good deal of the dry grass and underwood is burned in March, but as soon as the rains commence the whole once more becomes impassable.

Unmade cart tracks were found almost everywhere. In the sandy tracts they were open all the year round, but in the alluvial districts carts could not ply from June till November. None of the roads were anything but lines cleared of tree growth. They were never made and rarely tended and the wheels of the country carts cut ruts a foot and eighteen inches deep and that ordinarily only on one side of the road at a time, so that no wheeled conveyances, except country carts, could go over them. Columns could never advance along cart tracks on a broader front than infantry fours and along pack tracks only in single file. It was not surprising therefore that the earlier columns were compared by the Burmese to a buffalo forcing his way through elephant grass. The reeds (and the dacoits) closed up again immediately after the passage. Unless a gang was come up with before it dispersed, it was quite impossible to do anything, and in a populous or jungly district the biggest band would completely melt away in 20 minutes. As the dacoits so rarely stood and when attacked disappeared so quickly, columns composed entirely of in-

fantry operated at a great disadvantage. They would have to march for five or six hours, pushing on as fast as they could and making a circuit over unfrequented paths and in the end had to go in straight for the position, for if they halted a moment the dacoits would have vanished. To follow them up for long was impossible, for the gang spread in every direction; they were slightly clad, fresh, knew the country, and could keep out of sight in patches of jungle and villages; therefore in the second year's operations great use was made of cavalry and mounted infantry. They could surprise the bands by their rapid movements, they could outstrip spies and when they came upon a gang they kept them in sight and in touch so that some punishment was always inflicted and the dispersal was the more complete and alarming. It was only in the hills and in dense jungle that the mounted infantry could not operate, and it was only there that serious opposition existed after the cold weather of 1887. Even in such places they were able to effect much by the distances which they could cover.

At the beginning of 1887 the administration of the Upper and Lower Provinces was practically distinct, although both were nominally under the Chief Commissioner. A special Commissioner, Mr. Hodgkinson, was stationed in Rangoon and controlled the lower province, while the Chief Commissioner remained almost entirely in Mandalay. The Secretariat for Upper Burma was located in Mandalay and was distinct from that of Lower Burma. After the spring of 1887 great changes for the better took place and much progress was made in the introduction of order and settled administration. In May therefore, when Mr. Hodgkinson's services were required elsewhere, the Chief Commissioner assumed the immediate control of both parts of the province. For a time it was found necessary to continue the system of administering Upper Burma with a Secretariat in Mandalay and Lower Burma with a Secretariat in Rangoon. But as soon as possible this arrangement, which had many inconveniences, was abandoned, and from the latter part of 1887 the combined Secretariat establishment was stationed at the headquarters of Government in Rangoon. At the beginning of the year the Upper and Lower Burma Medical establishments were amalgamated and somewhat later a similar reform was introduced in Public Works administration. A later administrative change of much importance was the appointment of a Financial Commissioner and later still the Police Departments of Upper and Lower Burma were united under one Inspector-General, so that all branches of the public service in both divisions of the province were united under the several departmental heads.

This was made possible by the systematic operations which have been outlined above. The Mandalay district was reduced to order with conspicuous success. The dacoit leaders who throughout 1886, and for some time during the year 1887, practically administered large parts of the district, were either captured, driven out, or had surrendered. The town of Mandalay itself, which necessarily was the centre of any political intrigue or discontent that might exist, remained undisturbed by any serious outbreak after April 1886. Since the beginning of 1887 it has been as free from serious crime as any town in India. A Municipality was established, and the Committee, which comprised representatives of all classes of the community, set vigorously to work. Many good roads were made, the principal quarters were well lighted, and a very large number of substantial masonry houses were erected. In the beginning of 1887 the condition of the district was very far from being as satisfactory as that of the town. The south-eastern portion about Pyinulwin was troubled by the Setkya pretender, who was reported in August 1887 to have a permanent following of 200 men and to be able to call out 300 more when required. In an attack on one of his positions Lieutenant Darrah, Assistant Commissioner at Maymyo, was killed. Nga To and Nga Yaing held the islands of the Irrawaddy and were harboured and supported by the villages near the river-bank on the borders of Mandalay, Shwebo, and Sagaing. Nga To was especially active and in 1888 burnt a village almost under the walls of Mandalay. Nga Zeya held the tract of country known as Yegi-Kyabin to the north and north-east of the district. Among many minor leaders may be mentioned Nga Pan Gaing, Nga Lan, Nga Thein, Nga Tha Aung, Nga Tha Maung, Nga Aung Min, and Nga Lu. The whole district outside the walls of Mandalay was more or less under the influence of these leaders, who levied contributions on the villages in the tracts which they dominated. By steady perseverance, and without demanding more than occasional assistance from the troops, the district was freed from all these leaders. Three were killed, seven were captured, and 25 surrendered. The Setkya pretender was driven first into Kyauksè district and then into the Shan States. He was captured there and sent to Kyauksè, where he was tried and executed. Nga Yaing's gang was dispersed and he himself was captured and executed at Shwebo. Nga Zeya, at one time the most formidable of all, was driven out of the district and, after taking refuge for some time on the borders of Tawng Peng and Möng Mit, moved into Chinese territory. Nga To, the last of the leaders who gave serious trouble, was hotly pursued in the early months of

Operations in districts in 1887-88.

Mandalay.

1889 and every member of his gang was either killed, captured, or compelled to surrender, though Nga To himself escaped. The only source of trouble who remained was Kyaw Zaw, one of the Setkya pretender's lieutenants, who hung about in the hills on the borders of the Pyinulwin subdvivision and Kyauksè. What crimes there were were the acts of local criminals and not of standing bands. Survey operations were begun and regular methods of administration everywhere introduced. In the open season thousands of pack-bullocks and pedlars carrying loads began to come down from the Shan States and from China. The Municipal returns showed that the trade by the Hsipaw route had doubled. In 1887-88, 13,300 pack-bullocks with merchandise valued at Rs. 4,56,518 entered Mandalay. In 1888-89 the number of laden bullocks was 27,170, and the value of the goods Rs. 7,30,279. The town and district of Mandalay had not been so peaceful and secure since the time of Mindôn Min, and dacoity and cattle-lifting had never been so rare. In some instances dacoit leaders of note accepted service under Government and did good work in assisting to maintain order. The revenue collections in 1887-88 amounted to £82,326 as compared with £39,072 in the previous year.

Bhamo.

The Bhamo district remained fairly quiet and in fact was only disturbed, except in the Mogaung subdivision, by occasional raids of Kachins from the hills. Operations against the Kachin tribesmen are dealt with separately. It is therefore only necessary to say here that in some instances reprisals were inflicted by punitive expeditions sent to destroy the mountain fastnesses of the raiders, while in others negotiations for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction were successfully conducted. In one case mounted infantry from Bhamo, under Captain Couchman, pursued the marauders, came up with them before they reached the hills, and inflicted signal chastisement. It was believed that most of these raids were planned or suggested by the adherents of Saw Yan Naing, the son of the Metkaya Prince, and by Hkam Leng, the claimant of Möng Leng and Möng Mit, who escaped from custody at Katha. Possibly they also were responsible for the appearance on the Mole stream, north-east of Bhamo, of a band chiefly composed of deserters from the Chinese army and Chinese outlaws generally. These were, however, very promptly dispersed.

The Ponkan Kachins, who defied our authority successfully in 1886, and afterwards raided within a few miles of Bhamo itself, also it is supposed, in collusion with Hkam Leng, were punished and compelled to make terms, and this was accomplished almost without opposition. A military force under General Wolseley occupied the principal village of the tribe and remained there long enough to

make it evident that the Government intended to compel complete submission. The Kachins complied with the terms imposed upon them, which included the restoration of captives, the payment of a moderate indemnity, and the surrender of a number of guns.

The Mogaung subdivision had been visited, but it practically remained beyond the limits of our control until December 1889, when a strong force of troops and military police marched up from a point on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, a little above Bhamo. The Jade Mines lie to the north-west of Mogaung and are a valuable source of revenue, besides affording occupation to many Chinese and other traders. A strong police post was established in Mogaung and the mines and the great lake (Indawgyi) to the south-west of the Jade Mines were visited. The tact and good management of Major Adamson, who was the Civil Officer in charge of the expedition, induced the Kachin *Sawbwas*, who dominate the tract in which the jade mines are situated, to tender their submission. But for the treachery of the Burmese Myoôk, Maung Po Saw, who had been in charge of Mogaung since the annexation, but fled when the town was occupied by the military police, the expedition would have attained its object without meeting opposition. But Maung Po Saw succeeded in inspiring some of the Kachin tribes with distrust and the column was fired on several times on its march back to Mogaung. The troops returned to Bhamo and the Gurkha Military Police levy had so much trouble with the Kachin tribesmen that, though they maintained all their positions and inflicted two severe defeats on Maung Po Saw and his chief lieutenant *Bo* Ti, notably when in May 1888 they made a determined attack on the town and stockade of Mogaung, a mixed force of police and troops marched up again in the spring of 1889. They operated in the hills from February to May, with the result that about 100 Kachin villages tendered their submission and entered on friendly relations with the local officers, while posts were established at important points. The *ex*-Myoôk Po Saw and his lieutenant *Bo* Ti disappeared, and a military police post was established at Kamaing on the principal route to the Jade Mines, with the result that traders could move about with perfect freedom. No pains were spared to conciliate the Kachins and to show them that, while we would not pass over without punishment any outrages committed by them, we had no intention of interfering with their customs or subjecting them to needless restraint. The Chinese, who are an important element of the community in the town of Bhamo, and are the chief traders in the district, throughout behaved well. The trade routes to China, which had been practically closed for ten years owing to disputes with the Kachins, who had to be propitiated

before a caravan could pass, was now opened under an agreement concluded with the traders and Kachins and the former serious impediments were believed to have disappeared. In 1887-88 the Bhamo revenue amounted to £9,251 as compared with £7,797 in the previous year.

Katha.

In the Katha district (still at that time called Myadaung) progress was made in district administration and in the maintenance of order. There were only a few sporadic dacoities of a not very serious type in the south of the district. This part of the country had been sparsely populated since the rebellion of the Padein Prince in 1866 and had from that time borne a bad reputation. In 1887 it was disarmed and the establishment of police posts in suitable positions did much to restore confidence. The revenue of the district rose from £3,150 in 1886-87 to £19,514 in the following year. The neighbouring so-called Shan State of Wuntho caused some anxiety. Early in the year 1887, after being pressed by a force which occupied the capital of the State, and after prolonged negotiations, the *Sawbwa* tendered his submission, agreed to pay the revenue demanded, and accepted the essential clauses of the terms offered to him. On the whole he acted up to the terms of his agreement, but, though he furnished escorts to British officers travelling for long distances through his territory, he would not receive them himself in a befitting manner and, though he complied with orders sent to him by the Deputy Commissioner, he would not go to visit him. The result was a good deal of trouble in the Kawlin subdivision. While the Wuntho people were allowed to possess arms practically without restraint, it was difficult to insist on the complete disarmament of Kawlin. In consequence of this, dacoity by organized bands did not altogether cease. Moreover, gangs from Wuntho occasionally raided in Katha. The *Sawbwa* on demand either gave up the raiders or made compensation for injuries inflicted by them, and once or twice he co-operated with officers of the Katha district in dealing with dacoit gangs on the borders and was even said to have punished local officials who were in the habit of harbouring dacoits. His attitude was therefore not wholly unsatisfactory and a survey party carried a reconnaisance for the Mu Valley Railway right through the State of Wuntho in 1888 and was assisted by the local officials under the *Sawbwa's* orders. Nevertheless, in the latter part of 1889 special operations had to be undertaken for the thorough settling of the Kawlin subdivision and the adjacent parts of the Shwebo district, where *Bo* Nga Thaing remained at large. Every effort was made to induce Kham Leng, the pretender to the *Sawbwaship* of the joint territories of Möng Leng and Möng Mit, to submit peacefully to British supremacy.

He was told that his claim to Möng Leng would be acknowledged and that his past hostility would be forgotten, but he preferred to remain irreconcileable. He was therefore expelled and the Möng Leng territory was partitioned between Möng Mit and Bhamo district. Hkam Leng then threw in his lot with the rebel Prince Saw Yan Naing. In 1887 Katha was enlarged by the addition of some of the riverain circles of the Ruby Mines district and so became conterminous on the left bank of the Irrawaddy with the Shan State of Möng Mit. Notwithstanding the post at Mabein on the Shweli river, the followers of Saw Yan Naing and Hkam Leng, who were established in the hills to the east of Möng Mit, made a series of inroads on this part of the district, but these were annoying rather than serious.

Shwebo.

The Shwebo district had always been noted for the turbulence and lawlessness of its inhabitants and for the first year or more the struggle remained one with bands of dacoits of formidable numbers and many of them dating from King Thibaw's time. The nature of the country was very favourable to their movements and wide jungle tracts afforded them safe retreats, while they were troublesome even along the river, where Lieutenant C. B. Macdonald of H. M. S. *Ranger* was killed in attacking some dacoits at the village of Shagwe above Sheinmaga in January 1887. There had been an exodus from the district dating from 1882 and it did not cease until the end of 1887. After that, however, families began to come back from Lower Burma. Gradually these bands were broken up and most of the formidable leaders were either killed or captured. Nga Yaing and Nga To, who had also given trouble in the Mandalay district, haunted the south of Shwebo. Nga Yaing was arrested by a local Burmese official, but Nga To managed to escape arrest. The bands of both were completely destroyed and this completed the pacification of the south of the district, where the people now ventured to defend themselves and to trust the District Officers when they had news of dacoit movements. The leaders, Nga Aga and Nga Thôn, were driven from the centre to the north of the district, where also was the *Bo*, Kyauk Lôn. There they found safety in the dense forests, but their power of offence had almost completely gone. Over £20,000 was collected as revenue in Shwebo in 1887-88, more than double the amount obtained in the previous year.

Ruby Mines.

The Ruby Mines district remained quiet and undisturbed for about two years after its first occupation. Then troubles fell upon it from outside, the result of the vigorous action of the troops in the plains which drove the robber leaders into the hills. Towards the end of 1888 it was

reported that the capital of Möng Mit was threatened by a large gathering under Saw Yan Naing, who had established his head-quarters at Man Pon, three days' march to the north-east. In consequence of these reports a small detachment of troops was stationed at Möng Mit; and after an unfortunate encounter in which, owing to insufficient information, a handful of troops suffered a reverse a considerable body of dacoits which had advanced towards Möng Mit was attacked and defeated with heavy loss. These disturbances, however, affected the rest of Möng Mit and the Ruby Mines district, the garrison of which had been weakened by the withdrawal of part of a Gurkha regiment for the Chin expedition. Twinngè is an important village of 300 houses on the bank of the Irrawaddy, at that time included in the State of Möng Mit; it was attacked and burned by a gang under Nga Maung of Twinngè, one of the lieutenants of Hkam Leng noticed above. Another man of the same name, known as *Heng* Nga Maung of Möng Long, formerly in charge of the southern portion of that State, and other minor dacoits from the same neighbourhood threatened the district and caused a strong feeling of insecurity. On the Tawng Peng border Nga Zeya, the noted robber chief who had been driven out of the Mandalay district, was reported to have a considerable following. A good many dacoities were committed in the district and the road from Thabeikkyin to Mogôk became very unsafe, during the rains, when it was haunted by the two Nga Maungs and one Paw Kwe, an *ex*-official of Mogôk and a man of great local influence.

The military garrison was therefore strengthened and the command of all the troops and police was placed in the hands of Colonel Cochrane of the Hampshire Regiment. Under his orders an attack was made on Saw Yan Naing's stronghold at Man Pôn and his gathering was dispersed. At the same time steps were taken to strike at the root of the evil by improving the administration of the neighbouring States. The *Sawbwa* of Hsipaw was ordered to reform the administration of Möng Long, a more competent ruler was established in Möng Mit, and the *Sawbwa* of Tawng Peng was enjoined to keep order on his border. The military garrison was strengthened by the substitution of Gurkha for Madras troops, and the result was that the disturbances were reduced to sporadic petty dacoities. The commencement of operations by the Ruby Mines Company no doubt had excited the apprehensions and the ill-will of the resident miners, who had hitherto held a monopoly of the working of the mines.

Ye-u.

Ye-u at this time was a separate district and on the whole was fairly quiet, though there were occasional recrudescences of crime when dacoit leaders were

driven from neighbouring turbulent districts to take shelter in the extensive forests which cover many parts of it. In July 1887 a somewhat serious rising took place in the Hmaw forest, an extensive tract which was a traditional gathering place of dacoits and other outlaws. The movement was headed by two pretender Princes, variously called the Lègaing Princes, the Umedat and Padaing Princes, Maung Maung Te and Min O. The gathering was promptly dispersed by a combined movement of troops from the Chindwin and Ye-u districts. One of the leaders died of fever and the other disappeared for a time, to be arrested about a year later in the Lower Chindwin district, where he was trying to foment a rising, and was executed as a rebel. Later in the year 1887 an outbreak of dacoity, of a less serious nature, under Nyo U, one of Hla U's lieutenants, was also satisfactorily dealt with. Notwithstanding these disturbances, the revenue increased largely and various minor irrigation works were taken in hand with excellent results. Confidence in our rule was especially shown by the re-establishment of the ancient town of Tabayin, which had been burnt shortly after our occupation of Mandalay, and was now re-built under the superintendence of some loyal monks, who among other improvements arranged for the construction of a police-station at the expense of the new settlers. The civil police in Ye-u were almost entirely recruited in the district itself and did very good work under a locally appointed Myoôk, Maung Aung Gyi. In the end of 1888 only four dacoit leaders were known to be at large and eight had been killed. The neighbourhood of Wuntho on the north was in Ye-u, as in Katha, the cause of what dacoity still existed. The revenue, which in 1886-87 had been £6,875, rose in the following year to £16,581.

Sagaing.

In the beginning of 1887 Sagaing and Ava, which were then separate districts but were amalgamated within the year, were practically held by dacoit bands, who levied contributions on the villages and kept the country side in submission to them by terrorism. Most vigorous efforts were made to capture Hla U. Four columns operated in the triangle between the Irrawaddy and the Chindwin. Several camps were surprised and Hla U was pursued for miles by mounted parties, but always escaped and always re-appeared. Eventually he was killed by one of his own followers, *Bo* Ton Baing. *Bo* Ton Baing disturbed the Chief's slumber by a gambling wrangle and Hla U fired his rifle over the head of the disputants. Ton Baing resented this interference with his pleasures and murdered the despotic robber chief in his sleep. This was in April 1887.

This seemed to promise the breaking up of the band, but his lieutenants, among whom the chief were Nyo U, Nyo Pu, and Min O,

remained and after a slight appearance of calm, and notwithstanding that numerous bodies of troops were in continual pursuit of them, they steadily gathered strength and the people remained as little inclined as ever to put their trust in us. On the Ava side the country was more disburbed than it had been since the beginning of 1886. One leader, Shwe Yan, sallied out of the difficult country on the borders of Ava and Kyauksè and defied the efforts of the local officials and in one engagement killed two of our officers, Lieutenant Williamson and Mr. O'Dowda, Assistant Superintendent of Police. Another leader, *Bo* Tôk, was equally troublesome on the borders of Myingyan and Ava, and another, Shwe Yan, disturbed the south-west of the district. Throughout all 1887 there was little improvement on the state of affairs in 1886. Special measures were therefore begun in the early months of 1888 for the systematic reduction of the district by Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Symons, assisted by Mr. Fforde, Mr. G. M. S. Carter (both now dead), Lieutenant Browning, and other Civil Officers. It had been found impossible to make any way by the methods employed up to then. The troops marched for days and never saw the dacoits, who nevertheless continued to levy taxes from the villagers and to murder village officials and whoever was suspected of aiding the Government. The boldness of these gangs is exemplified by the fact that Myinmu, where there was a military and police garrison, was twice attacked and partly burnt in April and May 1888. Full use was therefore made of the Village Regulation. Villages which fed the gangs were removed or fined. The relatives of the dacoits, who arranged supplies for them and furnished them with information, both as to the movements of our parties and as to who were friends of the Government and therefore to be assassinated, were removed until the dacoits surrendered or were captured. The process was slow, but it was effectual.

The dacoits had no rest in the forests and no refuge in the villages, while clemency was freely extended to all except the most heinous offenders.

By the end of 1888, 26 leaders, among whom the chief were Nyo U, Nyo Pu, Shwe Yan, and *Bo* Tôk had been killed and 26, including Min O and Nga Sawbwa, captured, one of them so far afield as the Pegu district, and seven surrendered. Most of the followers of these *bos* also surrendered and almost all of these were allowed to return to their homes on furnishing security for their good behaviour. The whole district was at the same time thoroughly disarmed and the result was that both Ava and Sagaing were for the first time for many years at peace, and what dacoit leaders remained at large were engaged rather in endeavouring to

save themselves than in planning crimes. Since then the district has given no trouble.

Chindwin.

Throughout 1887 the valley of the Chindwin continued to be administered as one district. But it had from the first been intended to divide this vast tract into two jurisdictions and this was carried into effect in January 1888. The Lower Chindwin remained quiet until October 1887, when a serious outbreak occurred in Pagyi, the south-western portion of the district bordering on the Yaw country. The rising was headed by the so-called Shwegyobyu Prince. This man, who at the time of the annexation was employed as a vaccinator in the Thayetmyo district of Lower Burma, held during 1886 a position at Kanlè, between the Pagan, Myingyan, and Chindwin districts. He remained here undisturbed for some time and, when he was driven out, corrupted Maung Tha Gyi and other honorary head constables in Pagyi. Mr. Morrison, the Deputy Commissioner, was wounded in an attempt to capture Maung Tha Gyi, and a few days afterwards an attack was made on the Shwegyobyu at Chinbyit, 12 miles north of Mintaingbin. The dacoit outposts fired off their guns to announce the approach of the British force, and Major Kennedy of the Hyderabad Contingent, with Captain Beville, the Assistant Commissioner, galloped on 3 miles to the *kyaungs*, where the main body was, with 30 mounted infantry. There was a stubborn fight and both Major Kennedy and Captain Beville were killed, while two sepoys were wounded. The dacoits, however, left 40 dead and Maung Tha Gyi and several *bos* were killed. This effectually put an end to disturbances for nearly a year, but the elements of mischief were not entirely removed. The country is exceedingly malarious, and it was not thought right to maintain police posts in the Shitywagyaung tract, which is the part of the Western Pagyi township adjacent to Yaw, where the disturbances occurred. Towards the end of 1888, as a consequence, another attempt was made to excite a rising, but the ring-leader, a *pseudo*-Prince, was arrested, tried, and executed. Military police were sent to Shitywagyaung, and the dacoits and disaffected persons moved westward towards Gangaw and caused serious disorder in the Yaw country. The rising was not promptly and effectually dealt with by the troops at Gangaw and the adjacent posts, and reinforcements had to be sent. The Yaw country was then settled without much difficulty, and the great majority of the persons who had taken part in the rising were allowed to return to their homes. But some of the Pagyi dacoits, under the leadership of a noted local robber called Saga, had been driven back to the Lower Chindwin district and immediately began to give trouble. A military police post was therefore

established at Seiktaung in the Shityawgyaung country and a special officer was deputed to bring this tract into order. The result was as satisfactory here as in Sagaing. The operations resulted in the death of *Bo* Saga, who was hunted down by a party under the Myoôk of Western Pagyi, Maung Po O, a nephew of the Kinwun Mingyi. Upon this most of the gang surrendered and gave up their guns. Fifty dacoits leaders had been killed or captured, or had surrendered in eighteen months and the five who remained were reported as equally troubling Sagaing and Ye-u, a sufficient proof that they had no definite headquarters and had therefore ceased to be a serious danger.

A great part of the Upper Chindwin district still remained practically unknown and unvisited. The district itself was not much disturbed by ordinary dacoity. There was an outbreak in the Mingin subdivision caused by the gang of *Bo* Saga mentioned above, but they were defeated and dispersed. The Kale *Sawbwa* submitted to the Deputy Commissioner and, though he did not show much zeal or intelligence, yet he obeyed orders. In 1887 the Chins began to give trouble. A large body of them descended on Kale from the hills and carried the *Sawbwa* off as a prisoner, but afterwards allowed him to return when he had promised to support the Shwegyobyu pretender. The Chins disappeared before our troops could reach them, and, though military and police posts were established in Kale to guard against further disturbance, serious raids were committed by Chins of the Siyin and Sagyilain tribes on the Kabaw Valley and on other villages in the Kale State. The Siyins and Kanhaws were severely punished during the open season 1888-89, but this was not permanently effective and further action was necessary which is described in a later chapter.

On the east of the Chindwin river a dacoit leader named *Bo* Lè continued to hold out, though in 1889 he was attacked and his camp destroyed. This was partly due to the fact that the country between the Chindwin river and the jade mines of Mogaung still remained unvisited, while Wuntho remained a comparatively safe retreat and there *Bo* Lè took refuge. The revenue of the Upper Chindwin, which in 1886-87 was £1,497, had in the following year increased to £7,586.

Kyauksè.

After the death of the Myinzaing Mintha the Kyauksè district was for many months comparatively free from internal disturbance, but in the early part of 1887 it was subject to incursions from dacoits, who found a refuge in the small Shan State of Maw on the south-east border of the district. In April 1887 a military expedition visited Maw and dis-

persed the dacoits, who, however, united again for a short time under a leader, who plagiarized the title of Buddha Yaza. He was, however, very soon put down. In the end of 1887 a more troublesome person appeared in Maw in the shape of a pretender, who called himself the Setkya Mintha. He came from the Mandalay district and gathered most of the scattered dacoits round him in Maw. Troops were sent against him and they were loyally supported by the *Ngwegunhmu* of the small State, who bore the Burmese title of *Shwedabo* (colonel of an infantry regiment). The Setkya Mintha disappeared into the hills to the east and remained in obscurity for some time, but in the latter part of the rains of 1888 he again collected a following and committed serious dacoities in the Kyauksè district. He made a stand in a strong position in the hills and was not driven out without difficulty and some loss to the police, but, when he fled into the hills to the east, he was captured and handed over by the loyal *Sawbwa* of Lawk Sawk and after trial was executed. Another noted leader, Myat Hmôn, who, with Maung Gyi, had surrendered and afterwards absconded in 1887, again surrendered with his followers towards the end of 1888 and, after furnishing security, was allowed to go and live quietly in his own village. The only dacoit leader left was Kyaw Zaw, one of the Setkya pretender's lieutenants, who haunted for a time the difficult and wild hills to the north-east, on the borders of Kyauksè and Mandalay, but had soon to move northwards through the Northern Shan States and eventually joined the small party which collected round the disaffected Prince Saw Yan Naing. Already in 1889 it was found possible to effect a considerable reduction in the military police force of the district, a sure sign of tranquillity.

Myingyan.

The Myingyan district was disturbed mostly on its borders during 1887: towards Ava by *Bo* Tôk and towards Pagan by *Bo* Cho. The part of the district towards Meiktila was also not free from trouble until Lieutenant Tinley of the 2nd Bombay Lancers killed Tôk Gyaw in May between Yindaw and Meiktila. In other parts of the district the dacoities were of a comparatively unimportant nature. A rising, which might have been formidable, was suppressed at the outset by the capture of the leader, a real or pretended member of the Burmese Royal Family. *Bo* Tôk was killed early in 1888 by a detachment of the Rifle Brigade under Major Sir Bartle Frere, and his death relieved the northern part of the district. But *Bo* Cho remained at large and another leader, Yan Nyun, a man of much local influence and an *ex-official*, also infested the western part of the district and committed dacoities attended with circum-

stances of much atrocity. Captain Hastings carried out a very successful series of operations, and full use was made of the Village Regulation, but the very difficult country in the neighbourhood of Pôppa hill enabled 14 leaders to escape arrest, though their gangs were reduced to altogether insignificant numbers. Between 1887 and 1889, 17 dacoit chiefs were killed in action, 16 were captured, and 18 surrendered. In 1887-88 the revenue of the district rose to £41,887, compared with £27,388 in the previous year.

The Pagan district ceased to exist under that name in 1888. The boundaries with Myingyan were revised, with the result that Myingyan took all the country to the east, while Pagan, under the name of Pakôkku, lay exclusively west of the Irrawaddy. During 1887 the Pôppa hill jungles gave much trouble and a police post was attacked by dacoits, with the result that a special officer was put on duty for its settlement. A partial settlement of the Yaw country was effected early in 1887, but the country was not thoroughly explored and opened up, and in the end of the year the Shwegyobyu's adherents, Ya Kut, one of the most influential of the local officials, and a dacoit leader named Tha Do, who came from Minbu in the south, overran this tract. In the following open season energetic measures were taken. Tha Do was killed and Ya Kut arrested by loyal villagers, tried, and shot, and a local militia was raised among the people to undertake their own protection. The Chins on the hills above Yaw threatened to give trouble and attempts were made to secure their submission, but with no more success than was experienced in the Chindwin district. The rest of the district was disturbed a good deal by local dacoities, but none of the gangs were of any strength, and the military police, who here, as elsewhere, were beginning to learn their work, were quite able to deal with them, the more so since the people began to give regular information and themselves on more than one occasion beat off dacoits. In Pagan the revenue, which for the first year had been only £10,835, rose in the following year to £42,095.

Pakôkku.

In Minbu at the beginning of 1887 *Bo* Swè held the south and the *pôngyi* Ôktama the north. The former was the more dangerous and aggressive and, as soon as the weather permitted, a general advance was made on him from the river. The different columns met with the slightest possible opposition, though in skirmishes with outposts and rear-guards Lieutenant Radclyffe of the Rifle Brigade and Lieutenant Poole of the Liverpools were wounded, but the large bands were thus finally broken up and the dacoits were forced out of the villages under the eastern slopes of the Arakan hills which

Minbu.

had been their headquarters up till then. The upper portions of the Môn, the Ki, and the Man rivers were cleared and the bands were driven, some into the slopes of the Arakan Yoma, and others, broken up into bands of 10 or 20, into the central and lower ranges of hills. These bands were then hunted without cessation by the mounted infantry and cavalry under Captain Golightly, Lieutenants Westlake and Armytage, and others. They were safe neither in the jungle, nor high up on the Arakan hills. Their camps were surprised, guns, ponies, and arms seized, and the leaders were soon fugitives, with none but their personal attendants. *Bo* Swè was hunted from the district altogether and in October 1887 was killed with 10 of his men near Milangôn in the Thayetmyo district by a party under Major Harvey of the South Wales Borderers. The south of the district was thus got into hand and remained fairly peaceful after April 1887. But there were other leaders, Byaing Gyi, Nga Hmaw, Tha Do, Tha Tu, besides Ôktama and Ôktaya, another monk, his principal lieutenant. These had not been left at peace by the troops, but in the north the influence of Ôktama was deeply rooted, the people through fear or sympathy were entirely on his side, and for months but little impression was made on his position. In April, Salin and Sinbyugyun were attacked, and throughout the rains of 1887 the Salin subdivision was disturbed by constant dacoities. Captain Rendle of the 8th Madras Infantry was killed in an attack made on Sidôktaya in September 1887. The active operations of the following open season were not much more successful, and in April 1888, therefore, a resolute effort was made to break Ôktama's power. He and his leading followers were formally proclaimed as rebels and declared beyond the hope of pardon, while a promise of amnesty was held out to all minor offenders who surrendered with their arms by a fixed date. At the same time military and police operations were actively pressed, the Village Regulation was enforced for the punishment of passive sympathisers with the rebels, and people who displayed courage and loyalty were rewarded for their services. One thousand two hundred and four persons took advantage of the promise of amnesty and surrendered on the terms offered to them and Ôktama's power seemed to be finally broken. But there were still spasmodic efforts made, and in the end of 1888 the Burman police post at Sagu was vigorously attacked. Gradually, however, systematic vigilance and pursuit prevailed. Tun Zan was killed by his own followers in December 1888, Nga Hmaw was killed in January 1889 and most of his followers surrendered, and Tha Tu was captured in April. In June 1889 Ôktama was captured by a Burman Myoôk. He had no more than one follower with him. His chief leader, Ôktaya, had been taken

only a few days before and Byaing Gyi, a leader who had given much trouble, was given up by his own men about the same time. The list of dacoit leaders killed, captured, or surrendered after April 1887 in the Minbu district made up a total of 106. At the end of 1889 only eight were known to be unaccounted for and they were all in hiding in the jungles along the old British border. The district had been almost the most troublesome in Upper Burma and much credit was due to the sustained efforts of the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Hartnoll, and his Assistants, Mr. Collins and Mr. Hertz. Assistance was given to villagers in repairing the weirs and water-channels on which the prosperity of part of the district depends, and advances were given for seed-grain and work provided for surrendered dacoits and others on the district roads. The revenue of Minbu in 1887-88 amounted to £61,449, a sum larger than that collected in any district, except Mandalay and much larger than the sum £36,411 collected in 1886-87, which was the largest for that year. On the left bank of the river, the Yenangyaung subdivision, which until 1888 formed part of Minbu, but was then transferred to Magwe, was somewhat disturbed, and more than one attack was made on the village of Yenangyaung itself, but one at least of these seems to have been of the old style of private warfare prevalent in Burmese times, rather than of disaffection to the British Government.

Magwe.

In 1887 Taungdwingyi, or Magwe as it was named after Yenangyaung was added in 1888, was much troubled by the influential rebel Min Yaung, who held the hilly tract between Taungdwingyi and Pyinmana. After a series of encounters he was at last come up with and killed in May 1887. After him Tôk Gyi disturbed the district from the same convenient shelter to the east and he was not captured till April 1888. The hilly character of some part of the country made it no doubt somewhat difficult to pacify, but the military police battalion of this district, which had been recruited in Bombay, was far below the efficiency of those in other parts of the country. As a consequence dacoit bands were allowed to gather strength and escaped unpunished, and in 1889 Magwe was the only district where dacoities on a large scale were of almost daily occurrence.

There were seven separate dacoit gangs under Nga Lè, Shwe Daik, Tin Baw, Bôk Yaw, Pago *Bo*, Paw Din, Na Ya, besides other less prominent leaders. In August 1888 a plan for a rising on behalf of a pretender styling himself the Shwe Kin Yo Prince was concerted on the borders of the Magwe township. *Bo* Lè and other leaders from Magwe, besides some of the Natmauk and Taungdwingyi

Chiefs, were concerned in this. The first overt act was committed in November, and almost immediately afterwards the dacoits received encouragement from their success in an encounter with a party of military police, which they repulsed with loss. After this the combined bands separated, some going to Yenangyaung, some to Pin, some to Taungdwingyi, and some to Natmauk, while some joined the bands of Tinbaw and Shwe Daik. In January the combined bands of these last two and Nga Lè successfully surprised a party of sepoys of the Myingyan military police, but were soon afterwards encountered and for a time dispersed by mounted infantry from Magwe. Desultory encounters, with varying fortunes, followed through March and April 1889, and in May Nga Lè was killed and his band destroyed by the mounted infantry. Meanwhile there were constant dacoities in Taungdwingyi subdivision, where the Village Regulation was injudiciously applied and the local native officers were unpopular.

In April a gang of over 100 dacoits attacked the village of Myothit and burnt the police post there. In May a large band under the leadership of Buddha Yaza assembled in the Pin township; gangs from all parts joined him and did much mischief before it was dispersed after repeated encounters. On the 1st June Mr. Dyson, Assistant Commissioner, was killed by a small body of dacoits, whom he attacked with police. The leader, Thaya, was afterwards killed and his band surrendered. The General Commanding the Myingyan district therefore soon after this assumed full control of the operations with the Civil and Police officers under his orders. General Symons strengthened the force of troops and military police and an offer of indemnity was made to all dacoits, except one or two specified leaders, who had not been actually concerned in murder. More than 150 men, principally in the Pin and Yenangyaung townships, availed themselves of the amnesty and surrendered. The offer of pardon originally made in June for one month was extended up to the end of September. Nevertheless, at the end of September the most disturbed portion of the district was the Taungdwingyi subdivision, where, except for the capture of Shwe Aung and his gang, but little headway had been made, while the Yomas, the hill country between the Eastern and Southern divisions, had not been touched, and in this remote and unknown tract various dacoit leaders had found a refuge. At the end of 1889 therefore Magwe remained a year behind the other districts of the upper province. Nevertheless, the revenue increased largely during 1887-88. It was £5,497 in 1887 and £26,716 in the following year. The headquarters were moved at the end of the year from Taungdwingyi to Magwe.

Meiktila.

In the early months of 1887 Meiktila district continued to be disturbed by a formidable combination of dacoits, who held a strong position at Hmaw-aing, and on the west by the powerful leader Tôk Gyaw. Combined operations against the Hmaw-aing dacoits were undertaken from Kyauksè and Meiktila, in which Lieutenant Reid of the 27th Punjab Infantry was wounded and severe loss was inflicted on the dacoits then and in a subsequent attack. As a result some of the principal leaders surrendered in May 1887, and in the same month Tôk Gyaw and many of his followers were killed by our troops. One of the Hmaw-aing Chiefs took service and afterwards did good work as a police officer, while of two others who took to flight after they had submitted, Myat Hmôn again submitted at Kyauksè and the other Maung Kala died of cholera, and the northern part of the district remained undisturbed. The south-west, however, bordering on Pagan, was constantly harassed by dacoits, who carried off large numbers of cattle. Many of these gangs were tracked and punished and in the district itself no large gangs and no leaders remained as early as the end of 1887. What dacoities occurred were of an entirely petty kind and the robbers usually came from the Pôppa and Wèlaung fastnesses. The re-results of effective disarmament were very conspicuous in Meiktila. The revenue, which was £4,114 in 1886-87, rose to £27,845 in the following year.

Yamèthin.

Yamèthin was in an equally satisfactory condition. It was only disturbed by broken bands from neighbouring districts and the dacoities were not of a serious type. Crime of this kind could not be put down till the Pôppa, Pin, and Yoma bands were finally broken up. From £9,481 in 1886-87 the revenue increased to £22,080 in the following year, and in 1889 the strength of the military police force was considerably reduced, with no loss of security to the people.

In Pyinmana great activity was displayed in 1887 by the troops and the police in thoroughly exploring the forests and clearing them of dacoits. The disarmament of the district was at the same time vigorously enforced and men of local influence greatly assisted our officers in the process. With the rains there was a partial recrudescence of disorder. Some troublesome gangs collected in the hills on the east of the Sittang river under the protection of the Karen Chief of Èthataung and of other local men. From these hills they committed raids on the plains and carried off elephants and buffaloes from the forests. In April 1888 a Burman police post, 6 miles from Pyinmana, was attacked and burned by a gang of 50 dacoits and in May a similar but outlying post at

Seikpyudaung was destroyed by a large gang. Between March and September large gangs of dacoits on three occasions attacked Karen guards in the forests, and in the first seven months of the year 143 violent crimes were reported. At the end of October 1888 there were in the district four large gangs of dacoits under Nga Hlauk and Tôk Gyi, Tha Hlaing, Nga Nan, and San Pe. In the beginning of 1889 the Village Regulation was enforced and villages which were known or reasonably believed to harbour dacoits were removed to the neighbourhood of police posts. At the end of February the combined bands of Tha Hlaing and San Pe were attacked and had broken up. The leaders retired to the petty Karen State of Bawgata in the hills and thence raided on the plains. The Deputy Commissioner followed them up with a party of military police. The Chief of Bawgata submitted and the dacoits fled east to the Möng Pai hills and ceased to be a danger. The other robber gangs were equally disposed of. From January to September 1889 17 dacoits were killed and 62 arrested, while 17 surrendered unconditionally. None remained at large, except those who were professional dacoits from Burmese times, or who had made clemency impossible by their crimes. The Bombay Burma Trading Corporation was able to extend its operations and increase its establishments far beyond any previously attempted area or strength.

Situation at the end of 1889.

By the end of the rains of 1889 all the large gangs of rebels that had so long opposed our troops in the plains had been completely broken up. The utter hopelessness of resistance in the open was realized and the establishment of a series of posts had driven the remnants of once powerful bands to take refuge in the inaccessible broken tracts which form so marked a feature of Upper Burma. In such places were now gathered the dacoit leaders from many districts. Buddha Yaza, Thiha Yaza, Shwe Daik, Tin Baw, Lugale Gyi, and Aungbaw were crowded into the hilly country of the Yomas lying between Magwe, Pyinmana, and Yamèthin. The wild country round Pôppa hill afforded shelter to Bo Cho, Shwe Hmôk, Thagyaw, Kangyi, Nga Hmôn, Nga Thaw, and Yan Nyun. What remained of the followers of the Setkya Mintha rallied round Kyaw Zaw in the jungles on the banks of the Myit-ngè. Saw Yan Naing, the last of King Mindôn's grandsons who held out against us, had retired to the Kachin hills lying between Möng Mit, Tawng Peng, and Hsen Wi. With him were now Hkam Leng, the pretender to the Möng Leng State, and *Bo* Zeya, the notorious Shan freebooter, who so long disturbed the Mandalay district. West of the Irrawaddy the situation was similar. In Minbu the sons of Bo Swè, Saw U, and Saw Pu

were wandering with a small following in the dense jungle at the foot of the Arakan Yoma, on the old frontier line. Further north the Shwegyobyu pretender, with Po Hmi and Nga The Kyi, the leaders of the Yaw rebellion, were fugitives in the Chin Hills. In Shwebo, Katha, and Ye-u the remnants of the scattered gangs of rebels had found refuge in the rugged country which adjoins the Wuntho State and, when hotly pursued, fled into Wuntho itself.

This altered condition of things changed the character of the operations in the plains. Large columns of troops were no longer required to scour the country and attack strong bands of rebels. The military garrison was considerably reduced at the same time that numerous military posts, which were before necessary to overawe the plain country, were withdrawn. The police posts had also been reduced. On the 1st April 1890 there were 173 military police posts against 192 on the same date in the preceding year. The police force thus set free was able to pursue the broken remnants of the different gangs and make a vigorous effort to stamp them out completely.

The troops in Upper Burma had ceased to be on the footing of a field force on the 1st April 1888 and the number of brigades was reduced from four to three, composed as follows :—

First Brigade—Headquarters, Mandalay, including the Ava and Sagaing commands.

Second Brigade—Headquarters, Myingyan, including the Pakôkku, Pagan, and Minbu commands.

Third Brigade.—Headquarters, Meiktila, including the Yamèthin and Pyinmana commands and the Northern and Southern Shan States columns.

In addition to these three brigades there were the following separate commands :—

Bhamo, with headquarters at Bhamo.
Ruby Mines, with headquarters at Bernardmyo.
Chindwin, with headquarters at Alôn.
Shwebo, with headquarters at Shwebo.

The aggregate strength of this force was 13,250 men. It was under the command of Sir George White, V.C., K.C.B. throughout the year. The strength of the Upper Burma garrison at the close of March 1889 was 11,335 men, of all arms.

On the 1st April 1889 the entire force in both Upper and Lower Burma was formed into the Burma District Command under Major-General B. L. Gordon, C.B., R.A., and distributed as follows :—

Mandalay district—Headquarters, Mandalay.
Bhamo Command—Headquarters, Bhamo.

Ruby Mines Command—Headquarters, Bernardmyo.
Shwebo Command—Headquarters, Shwebo.
Myingyan district—Headquarters, Myingyan.
Chin Field Force—Northern Division.
Chin Field Force—Southern Division.
Chindwin Command—Headquarters, Alôn.
The Meiktila Command was in the Rangoon district.

Military police.

The constitution and organization of the military police force remained unchanged, but the strength was largely increased. At the end of 1887 the sanctioned strength of all ranks was 17,515 and the actual strength 13,244. At the end of 1888 the sanctioned strength was 19,177 and the actual strength 17,880. The increase in the responsibilities falling on the force and in the area of the country brought under protection more than kept pace with the increase in strength. Five companies were added to the Mogaung Levy, which hitherto had only been strong enough to hold Mogaung itself and the communications with the Irrawaddy. Two levies, each of six companies, were raised for the Chin frontier and for the Shan States. The Chin frontier and the Yaw country had not up till then been held at all, while the small garrison in the Shan States was provided by the regular troops. As in the previous year, the force was distributed in battalions, one for each district in Upper Burma, one for the Kabaw Valley on the borders of Manipur, and one for the protection of the railway under construction from Toungoo to Mandalay. The number of officers was largely increased, so that there might be a Second-in-Command for every battalion, with a few Extra Assistant Commandants in the more arduous districts. In every district a moveable column was maintained and no new posts were permitted without the sanction of the Chief Commissioner. The minimum strength of a post was fixed at 40 rifles and the country patrols never consisted of less than 10 men. Thus every party was able to take effective action when opportunity offered. The conduct of the military police was good. In action they behaved uniformly well, and instances of special gallantry were as common as among the regular troops. The force lost in 1888-89 46 men killed in action and 76 wounded. In the entire force only 84 men were prosecuted on criminal charges, and some of these were cases of negligently allowing prisoners to escape.

Fair progress was made in the raising of civil police, but their regular organization was far from complete. They were recruited almost entirely from Upper Burmans, who had been unaccustomed to the discipline of a regular force, and the number of resignations, desertions, and punishments was in some places startlingly large.

In 1889-90 therefore the pacification of Upper Burma was finally completed and the last remnants of dacoit bands were disposed of. In the Mandalay district special operations completely broke up Kyaw Zaw's gang. Most of his followers surrendered and he himself joined Saw Yan Naing on the northern frontier of the Shan States, where a retreat into Chinese territory was always open. Nga To, the dacoit leader who had escaped capture in previous years, was taken by the police in the Sagaing district and District Officers were at last able to visit all parts of their charge without escorts.

Bhamo.

In the Mogaung subdivision of Bhamo the attitude of the Kachins was quite satisfactory. The road remained secure and, but for the local quarrels among the jade-mine and other traders themselves, there would have been no serious crime. The establishment of a military police post at Indawgyi, which was effected in May 1890, extended the area under our direct control, and in the same month the country to the west was explored for the first time and the Assistant Commissioners of Mogaung and Paungbyin met at Shwedwin on the Uyu river. East of the Irrawaddy the so-called *Mintha* Buddha Yaza, was captured by Bhamo villagers and died in prison. Hkam Leng caused some trouble. The village of Lwèsaing was burnt and other villagers were fined for having harboured him and thus most of the Upper Sinkan Kachins made submission. The only local dacoit leader of importance, Nga Hlaw Gyaw, who troubled the Shwegu subdivision early in the year, was killed by villagers. In October 1889 a serious dacoity was committed in the town of Bhamo itself, and for some months afterwards the country to the south-east was disturbed by a gang of dacoits, which was harboured by the Kachins and Palaungs of a village, Kyusaing, east of Bhamo. The burning of Kyusaing in May 1890 put an end to this, and other offending villages were fined. The efforts made to re-open the Ambassador's route to China were not attended with immediate success. The northern trade route, by way of the Taping river and Manaung, was not free from disturbance, and the Kachins made several attacks on caravans, but trade continued nevertheless.

Katha.

Katha remained open to raids by dacoit gangs from Wuntho and Möng Mit, but special operations under Lieutenant Macnabb, Assistant Commissioner, were completely successful in settling the troublesome subdivision of Kawlin, where Nga Kyauk Lôn, Nga Thaing, and Nga Aga had remained at large. Nine leaders and over 200 of the rank and file surrendered, or were killed or captured. The patience with

which the *Sawbwa* of Wuntho had been treated seemed at last to have had a result. He established, in compliance with orders, police posts on his borders; he made some efforts to arrest criminals; he met the Deputy Commissioner of Katha at Wuntho; and he sent his wife and son to Mandalay to pay a visit to the Commissioner. But he failed to arrest Nga Hmat, who in February attacked and burnt the village of Kainggyi near the Wuntho border, and Kainggyi had to be occupied by the military police, who kept Nga Hmat inside Wuntho, to which State he belonged. Two dacoities were committed in the district from Möng Mit also, but in both cases the dacoits were seized and convicted, and, though there were no military or police posts along this frontier, these were the only disturbances on the eastern side of Katha. The district itself was thus completely brought into order. Wuntho alone remained as a danger.

Ruby Mines.

The Ruby Mines district was a good deal troubled by gangs of robbers, which found a secure asylum in the waste tracts along its borders with Möng Mit and Möng Lông. During the year a large tract of country, formerly part of Möng Mit, was added to the Ruby Mines district, with the result that there was for a time an apparent large increase in the number of violent crimes. Many of these, however, were robberies on traders travelling on the main road from Mogôk to Thabeitkyin, which runs close along the borders of the district with Möng Lông. The maintenance of patrols on the road and the establishment of a military police post at Kin checked these, which were rather gang robberies than dacoities. Notwithstanding this, there was a great increase in the trade of the district and in the number of new settlers at Mogôk.

Shwebo.

Special operations in Shwebo were undertaken at the same time as in Katha with entirely successful results. Nga Kan Baw was driven west and captured by the Kanni *Wun* in the Lower Chindwin in February 1890. All the members of his gang surrendered and he himself was tried and sentenced to death. Nga Kyauk Lôn was killed by one of his own lieutenants in May 1890, and almost all his band thereupon surrendered. Nga Thôn, after suffering considerable loss, was eventually compelled to surrender with his gang and was sentenced to transportation in March 1890, and Nga Aga later gave himself up in the Ye-u district. Since then dacoity has entirely ceased in this turbulent district and the steady enforcement of the track law has done much to reduce the number of cattle-thefts and other minor offences, which always tended to increase with the suppression of violent crime. Sagaing had been finally

quieted in 1889 and in the succeeding year the number of offences classed as violent crimes did not reach a score and were of an insignificant character. Several noted leaders who had disappeared in previous years were brought to justice, some of them having been arrested in other districts.

Ye-u profited by the operations in Shwebo and Katha and the last two leaders of note, Yan Gyi Aung and Nga Aga, surrendered through the intermediation of the principal *pôngyi* in the district. All the rank and file of the dacoit gangs were permitted to live at large on security and under surveillance and, though the number of those who had formally surrendered was twelve hundred, the number of violent crimes was reduced to a merely nominal figure. In the year 1889 the number of violent crimes was 116. In 1890 this had been reduced to ten.

Chindwin.

It was only in 1889 that steps were taken to extend effective control over the interior of the Upper Chindwin district on the left bank of the Chindwin river. The existence of dacoit gangs in the wide tract of country between the Chindwin and the State of Wuntho and Ye-u was scarcely recognized because the country was not really under our administration. Nga Lè and other leaders lived there unmolested until now, when their bands were dispersed and they themselves found safety in Wuntho.

In the Lower Chindwin also the township of Kanni, which comprised about two-thirds of the whole district, was still administered by the *Wun* of Kanni, who maintained order with a force of irregular police. The obligations of the *Wun* to administer the township in accordance with the principles of Government adopted in other parts of the province were gradually made more strict, and the Deputy Commissioner's supervision more effective, and eventually the irregular force was replaced by regular police without disturbing the peacefulness of the administration. Except for cattle-theft, the district was always entirely free from crime and great progress was made towards final disarmament.

Myingyan and Pakôkku.

It was not till June 1890, after seven or eight months of active operations, that the country round Pôppa hill was finally pacified. In that period nine leaders, including the notorious Shwe Hmôk, were killed; eleven including Yan Bye were captured; and forty-three, among whom were Hla Gyaw, Nga Nwè, and Yan Nyun, surrendered. The surrender of Yan Nyun at the end of May may be said to have completed the pacification of the district. He was an official in Burmese times and commanded very great influence in

this part of the country, both on account of his rank and by his relentless terrorism. His surrender, trial, and sentence put an end to all the gangs. Bo Cho was not captured and remained at large for six years longer, but he entirely gave up dacoity and indeed had no more than six men with him.

Pakôkku, notwithstanding its neighbourhood to the Chin Hills, was undisturbed, and so was Minbu, where the special operations under Lieutenant Green were most successful. Saw U, son of Bo Swè, was killed, and his brother, Saw Pu, was captured. The only leaders of any name who remained at large were Tauk Ta and Kyetkyi, and they only escaped by discarding their following, most of whom surrendered and were allowed to return to their homes. Yamèthin, Meiktila, and Kyauksè were altogether free from disturbance, except for the raids of a few bad characters from the Shan Hills, who seldom went beyond cattle-lifting and belonged to no organized gang.

Magwe and Pyinmana.

The Magwe, Pyinmana, and Yamèthin police under the general control of Mr. Porter, Deputy Commissioner of Pyinmana, acted on a systematic plan against the Yoma gangs and drove them from hiding-place to hiding-place. In order to block the roads and prevent the escape of the dacoits, temporary military police posts were established in the immediate neighbourhood of the Yomas, four in Magwe and six in Pyinmana. The posts already existing in the Toungoo and Thayetmyo districts were strengthened and roads and tracks connecting the Pyinmana and Magwe districts were made. The policy of permitting the surrender of all but those who had been guilty of specially atrocious crimes was consistently pursued, and in three months 79 dacoits, of whom 17 were leaders of more or less importance, had been killed, or captured, or had surrendered. A large number of firearms had been seized, and at the end of May the Yomas had been brought under complete control. Meanwhile Mr. Todd-Naylor, the Deputy Commissioner of Magwe, had been engaged in the north of the district against the dacoit leaders Shwe Daik and Tin Baw, and he and Mr. Collins, Assistant Commissioner, succeeded in disposing of eight of their gang of 16 and in driving the rest out of the district to places where they had no influence. The result of these measures was that not only was Magwe freed from disorder, but also all its neighbours. The well-known leader, Lu Gale Gyi, was arrested as far away as Prome and the organized action taken against dacoits was perhaps more conspicuously successful in Magwe than anywhere else in the same period of time.

During the year the six separate military commands were abolished and the troops were distributed among the three districts of Rangoon, Mandalay, and Myingyan. At the end of March 1889, the whole force, including the Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force, numbered 15,608.

On the 1st January 1890 the actual strength of the military police was 18,618, and the Karen battalion, which had now grown to four companies, did very good work, especially in the Minbu and Magwe districts.

Military police.

From 1887 to 1889 the military posts in the interior of Upper Burma had been gradually replaced by military police posts. At the beginning of 1887 there were 142 posts held by troops and 56 held by military police; at the end of that year the numbers were 84 and 175 respectively; and at the beginning of 1889 the numbers were 41 posts held by troops and 192 by military police. Towards the end of 1889, when organized resistance to the Government had entirely collapsed, it was found possible to reduce the number of military police posts and to hold the posts still retained with smaller garrisons. A commencement was made of the system of concentrating at least half the strength of each battalion at headquarters, and reductions were made in several battalions. The Minbu, Pakôkku, Pyinmana, Yamèthin, and Kyauksè districts were all in such a satisfactory state towards the end of 1889 that they were able to afford considerable reductions in their battalions. It was decided to utilize the companies made available by these reductions in the formation of a strong and highly trained reserve. Another change in the organization of the military police was the amalgamation of two or more battalions with the object of reducing the strength and cost of the aggregate force. The first experiment was made in the Eastern or Meiktila division. The Kyauksè, Meiktila, and Yamèthin battalions, which aggregated 19 companies, were formed into a single joint battalion of 15 companies, and three of these companies were added to the Reserve battalion, while the fourth was struck off the the strength.

The number, conduct, and the permanency of the Upper Burma Civil Police greatly improved during this, practically, the second year of their existence.

1890. Final establishment of order.

In 1890, which was the last year of Sir Charles Crosthwaite's administration of Burma, it may be said that order was finally established in Upper Burma and the construction of the administrative system firmly set up. The Toungoo-Mandalay section of the railway

was opened to traffic and the passenger traffic was immediately very heavy. The Mu Valley railway was under construction. A cart-road was made from the plains to the Southern Shan States plateau, and another to the Northern Shan States, while a cart-road from Thabeikkyin on the Irrawaddy to the Ruby Mines was also opened. The irrigation system, which had fallen into great disrepair in King Thibaw's time, was carefully examined with a view to the repair of old works and the construction of new channels on a definite plan.

Wuntho rebellion.

The only tract in the Irrawaddy Valley which caused anxiety was the State of Wuntho. It was classed as a Shan State, but was never at any time on the same footing as the true Shan States and only escaped becoming an integral part of the Burmese Empire, like the neighbouring districts, through Burmese want of system. It had an area of about 2,400 square miles with 150,000 inhabitants, and lay midway between the Irrawaddy and Chindwin rivers. The *Sawbwa*, Maung Aung Myat, had succeeded his father as Chief in 1881, when the old man of his own accord gave up the direct administration. The ex-*Sawbwa* lived in the north of the State and was consistently ill-disposed to British authority. His son maintained an exasperating attitude of reserve and distrust and, while promising to arrest dacoits and maintain order within and on the borders of his territory, virtually allowed it to become a standing refuge for rebels and dacoit leaders. The steady advance of the railway and the fact that a census had been ordered, doubtless brought matters to a crisis, and, though the rising came as a rude surprise, it was no doubt well-planned, probably in correspondence with Manipur. In January 1891 a small column left Katha to account for Nga Hmat and Po Thein, two dacoits who had been giving trouble. Nga Hmat surrendered with 40 followers; but to get at Po Thein it was necessary to go through the northern portion of Wuntho, which was directly ruled by the old *Sawbwa*. The road to Po Thein's retreat at Mangyaung was blocked. Mounted orderlies were shot at and Banmauk fired into, and on the 15th February an attack was made on that post and, after some hours' resistance, the District Superintendent of Police and his party were forced to retire to Kainggyi. On the morning of the next day, at 3 A.M., the rebels on the south of the State broke into the military police stockade of Kawlin and set fire to various buildings to the north and west. Three of the military police and the compounder were killed immediately, but, by the light of the blazing buildings of the Subdivisional headquarters, the Subadar drove the enemy out of the stockade. At the same time the police post of Kyaukpintha was attacked

and both places were beleaguered for several days, while a number of frontier villages were burnt and looted. The railway buildings at Kyungôn to the south were burnt, the civil police station at Singôn to the east was destroyed, and a similar post at Ôkkan, towards Ye-u on the west, was also seized and burnt. The suddenness of the rising showed that it was concerted, and for a time it appeared as if the reinforcements hurried from all sides would not be in time. On the 19th February, however, Lieutenant Nisbet, with 100 of the 20th Madras Native Infantry from Katha, and Captain H. D'U. Keary, with Subadar Prakasa Roya and 29 sowars from Shwebo, arrived at Kawlin and at once turned the defence into an attack. Captain Keary charged the centre of the rebels and cleared them from the plain and drove the remnant of them up a stockaded hill. This hill, with his dismounted sowars and the Madras Infantry, he proceeded to attack from different sides. Both parties failed at the first attempt, but just at nightfall the dismounted sowars, under Prakasa Roya, after a severe hand-to-hand fight, carried the position and killed every man in it. Three sepoys were killed and six wounded in the attack on this position, which was inside a pagoda, flanked at the corners by rifle-pits and situated on the top of a very steep rocky hill, covered with thick undergrowth, except round the pagoda. On the following day Captain Keary and Mr. Kenny with the mounted men cleared the surrounding country of the enemy, destroying Pegôn, the rallying point for the rebels on the borders of Wuntho. On the 21st the troops arrived from Shwebo and a detachment of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry under Captain Custance from Tigyaing. That evening news came that the *Sawbwa* had stockaded himself at the Kyaingkwintaung on the road to Wuntho town. This the troops and military police under command of Captain T. A. H. Davies of the Devonshire Regiment proceeded to attack on the 22nd February. The stockade was in a *kyaung* in a strong position on a hill commanding the ford of the Daung-yu river, about half-way between Kawlin and Wuntho, which are some 9 miles apart. The Devonshires crossed the river under the fire of the enemy at about 200 yards range and attacked the hill from the south, while the mounted infantry under Captains Keary and Custance moved along the east bank to cut off the retreat. The position was carried by assault after an hour's fighting and the troopers cut off the enemy's retreat, killed 50, and wounded a large number, notwithstanding that the ground was full of *trous-de-loup*, dug as traps for them. The *Sawbwa's* pony was taken in the stockade. Our loss was three men of the Devonshires killed and 10 wounded and five sepoys wounded.

On the same day the military police from Ye-u came upon the enemy strongly stockaded at the Monan *kyaung* near Ôkkan.

After an engagement lasting several hours, the rebels were dislodged and driven off with a loss of 27 killed. Captain Hutchinson, the Commandant of the Ye-u battalion, received a severe wound, of which he died a few days afterwards, and one sepoy was killed and seven wounded.

These two actions practically crushed the rebellion. The rebels lost their best men, mostly pure Shans, in the engagements at and round Kawlin, and were thoroughly beaten and cowed and this in about a week from the beginning of the outbreak. The result was the somewhat unique feature that the expedition was completely successful before the expeditionary force had been regularly organized. Wuntho town was occupied without opposition on the 24th February. General Wolseley, C.B., Commanding the Mandalay district, had been appointed to the chief military and political charge of the operations and arrived in the town on the 26th February. An advance was then made across the hills to Pinlèbu, the *Sawbwa's* place of residence, 33 miles off. Their final position on the Mankin pass was turned on the 25th February and the stockaded village of Mankin was then shelled and the enemy fled and all armed resistance in Southern Wuntho came to an end.

The *Sawbwa* wrote offering to pay any reasonable fine the General might impose, and informing him that he had forbidden his people to offer any further resistance to our troops, but was told that until he surrendered in person no terms could be offered beyond the promise of his personal safety and the protection of his family and private property. The mounted force was sent northwards to cut off his retreat in that direction, but in the meantime the military police from Ye-u had pushed on from Ôkkan and the *Sawbwa* incontinently took to flight on the 27th February, leaving his palace and stockade burnt behind him. Captain Hodges and Captain Proud occupied the very strongly situated position at Pinlèbu the same afternoon, and General Wolseley found him in possession when he arrived on the morning of the 1st March. No trustworthy information was available as to the *Sawbwa's* line of retreat, but in any case want of transport and rations prevented an immediate pursuit.

While these events were taking place in the south a column had also been organized in the north under Colonel Macgregor, D.S.O., of the 1st Burma Regiment (10th Madras Infantry), with Mr. Martini, District Superintendent of Police, as Political Assistant. They marched from Katha against the old *Sawbwa* at Mansi. Before it advanced the military police of Katha at Kainggyi and elsewhere had had several encounters with the rebels, who had broken into the district in various places, plundering and burning vil-

lages, and had driven them off with loss. The advance party of the Northern column, after interchanging a few shots near Mawteik, shelled and took the village of Banmauk on the 27th February, and on the 1st March Mr. Prendergast of the Karen Battalion, attacked a stockade at Kyauktalôn, about 14 miles from Banmauk, and carried it, killing nine of the enemy, with only one Karen slightly wounded on his side. The old *Sawbwa* is said to have had a narrow escape on this occasion. Here, as at Kaingkwintaung, the ground was full of pits. This was the last occasion on which any opposition was offered to our troops throughout the expedition. The Northern column advanced to Mansi to find that the old *Sawbwa* had taken to flight. General Wolseley also arrived there from Wuntho on the 7th March and various parties were then sent through the country, thoroughly traversing it as far as the Chindwin. At the beginning of the outbreak the old *Sawbwa* sent out Bo Lè, a noted robber leader, to attack Maingkaing and Homalin and other places on the Chindwin. Bo Lè began to do so, but fled immediately on the approach of the Chindwin military police without an effort to face them.

The remainder of the operations resolved themselves into the pursuit of the *Sawbwas* and Bo Lè and the traversing of Wuntho by various columns, to receive the submission of the people, and to disarm the country. In order to block the flight of the *Sawbwas* to the north, Captain O'Donnell of the Mogaung Levy, who was settling the country of Thama, north of Mogaung, with a column of British Infantry, guns, and Gurkhas, was directed to march in the direction of the Taungthônlôn mass of hills at the northern extremity of Wuntho, where Colonel Macgregor was to meet him and co-operate. Captain O'Donnell accordingly came down by Indawgyi and advanced southwards till he met the Northern Wuntho column at Payani. General Wolseley also came north and, on information that the *Sawbwa* had taken the direction of the jade mines, where there was also rumoured to be a gathering of Chinese and other desperadoes, resolved to go there, and organized a column, which included Captain O'Donnell's party.

On the way the Kachin village of Sana was visited and punished. They had raided about Indawgyi and had harboured Po Saw, the *ex*-Myoôk of Mogaung, who indeed barely escaped capture on this occasion. While this detour was being made, Captain N. Bray of the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, Intelligence Branch, died at Lôntôn, on Lake Indawgyi, of sunstroke. He rode over in the heat of the day, while suffering from fever, to consult with the General on the telegram received from Manipur announcing the attack on the Chief Commissioner of Assam.

The Jade Mines were reached on the 15th April; but there was no opposition, and the people welcomed the force. It was determined to establish a post there, and Captain O'Donnell was left in command with four other British Officers, 132 rifles of the Mogaung Levy, and a section of the 6th Bombay Mountain Battery. The Wuntho *Sawbwa* it was found had succeeded in escaping by the northern road through the amber mines into China. With the establishment of the Jade mines post the military operations may be said to have closed.

A few days after the beginning of the rebellion, and as soon as it became clear that the *Sawbwa* himself was really engaged in it, the orders of the Government of India were obtained for his deposition, and a proclamation was issued declaring that he would never be given authority in Wuntho again, and tendering pardon to all who should make their submission and surrender their arms in a fortnight. There was no hesitation in accepting these terms, and from the very first the people readily came in with their arms. Although the rebels had burned hundreds of houses, carried off hundreds of cattle, and destroyed an immense amount of property belonging to unoffending people, no retaliatory measures whatever were taken, and, excepting the burning of a few houses at first, where there was resistance, no damage of any kind was done. The consequence of this policy was that the country quietly settled down and the people were both friendly and helpful to our officers and troops. About 3,000 arms were given in, practically all there were, except those in the hands of the immediate followers of the *Sawbwa*. The members of the *Sawbwa's* family, including his cousin, the *Kemmöng*, or heir apparent, and numerous prominent officials were pardoned and allowed to remain in Wuntho, and the best of the old local officials were given employment in the new administration of the territory, which was incorporated in the neighbouring districts of Katha and Ye-u.

No sooner was Kawlin relieved than arrangements were made to send a staff of Engineers into Wuntho and Katha to make roads and build posts, to extend the telegraph and establish postal communications, and much was accomplished before the end of the open season. At the same time work on the railway was pushed on both from Wuntho to the pass into Katha and from Katha to the same pass. Wuntho has enjoyed perfect peace ever since the sudden revolt of the *Sawbwa*.

Nga Lè and the ex-*Sawbwa* of Wuntho made their appearance in the following year, 1891, and committed a number of dacoities in the Legayaing subdivision of the Upper Chindwin. Nga Lè, however, was shot and the ex-*Sawbwa* was driven off. He appears

since to have attached himself to the small band of the disaffected and robber chiefs who find a refuge with Saw Yan Naing in the Chinese States. Some of the Wuntho nest of dacoits, notably Nga Hmat, Kya Yit, and Kya Zi, disturbed Katha district for a time, but all the members of their gangs were accounted for in 1894. Tauk Ta, who was still at large in the Minbu district in 1893 with a band of 27 men with 10 guns, was captured with all his men in that year. The last of all the dacoit leaders to be taken was Nga Cho. After remaining concealed for several years, he suddenly re-appeared in the Pôppa hill neighbourhood with a small but troublesome gang and gave so much trouble in the Myingyan district that special measures were taken for his capture. He was captured with the principal members of his gang and brought to justice in 1896, the last of the hundreds who had troubled the upper province.

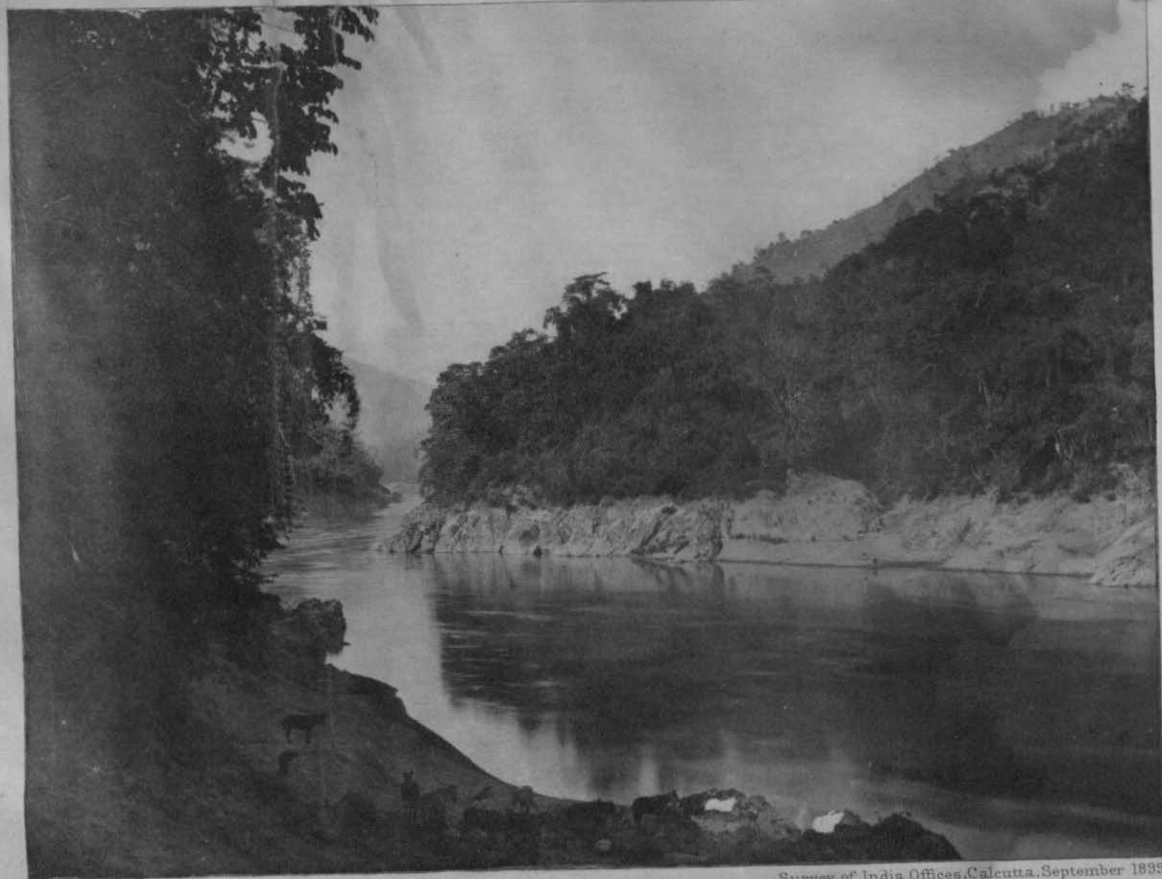
Conversion of the military police into regiments.

But already in 1890 the progress towards the complete establishment of order was so great that considerable reduction was possible in the strength of the military police. This was effected by the transfer of frontier levies to the regular army in pursuance of a scheme for garrisoning the Southern Shan States and the Chin Hills by troops instead of police. In this way, with the Mogaung levy, the first three Burma regiments were formed, taking the place of disbanded Madras Native Infantry regiments. At the close of 1891 the six battalions employed in the Myingyan, Pakôkku, Minbu, Magwe, Lower Chindwin, and Sagaing districts were amalgamated into three. The reduction thereby effected of ten and a half companies enabled the 4th Burma Regiment to be formed. There was then a pause for a year owing to the necessity for increasing the force in the Ruby Mines district, which then included Möng Mit for police purposes, and in the Bhamo, Katha, and Upper Chindwin districts, where much previously unexplored country was brought under control. In 1892, however, 16 companies were transferred to the Native Army and formed the nucleus of the 5th and 6th Burma Regiments, and in the beginning of 1893 a further reduction of eight companies resulted in the formation of the 7th Burma Regiment. In 1894 the Mandalay battalion of seven companies was abolished and a reduction of one company in the Southern Division battalion and of two companies in the Katha battalion was effected. The Yamèthin battalion was increased by two companies and the Northern Chin Hills battalion of six companies was formed, which set free one of the regiments employed there for service elsewhere. In this way the strength of the Upper Burma military police was reduced to 12,091. The cost of the military police, which in 1889

had been Rs. 67,74,810 was in 1895 reduced to Rs. 32,10,905. Latterly the military police force in Lower Burma, in consequence of additional calls, has been increased at the expense of reductions in Upper Burma.

At the same time the civil police have been decreased in numbers, while they have increased in efficiency. This is largely due to the institution of training schools and of beat-patrols, while the establishment of 10-house *gaungs*, according to the old Burmese system, greatly improved the efficiency of the rural police. Under this system a village is divided into a number of blocks, each of which is under a 10-house *gaung*. All the 10-house *gaungs* in their turn are subordinate to the village headman. The system was familiar to the people and is in itself a good one. Its adoption has done much to render easier the detection of crime. In the Pakôkku district a number of Chins have been enlisted in the police with most satisfactory results. The recruiting of Kachins in the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts has also been begun, but their efficiency is a matter on which their officers so far are not in agreement. A company of Kachin military police, however, behaved very creditably under fire on the occasion of the taking of some Chinese stockades in the Kachin Hills in April 1898.

PLATE IV



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1899.

THE SALWEEN AT MENG HAWM FERRY.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SHAN STATES AND THE TAI.

The Tai race.

It seems probable that the Tai, or Shan, race will furnish in the unravelment of its history an explanation, or, at any rate, a clue to many obscure points in the history not only of Indo-China but of the Chinese Empire itself. The Tai race, in its different branches, is beyond all question the most widely spread of any in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and even in parts beyond the peninsula, and it is certainly the most numerous. It is quite certain that Tai are found from Assam to far into the Chinese province of Kwang-si and from Bangkok to the interior of Yünnan. It seems possible that they may be traced even farther. Monsieur Bons d'Anty, the Consul for France in Canton, who had many opportunities of studying the race not merely in Ssu-mao, but previously in Lung-Chao, Nan-ning, and Wu-chao, found not only that Shan was practically the language of the country from Lung-chao to Pê-sè, the limit of navigation on the West river (Hsi Kiang), but is inclined to think that the Hakkas of south China, if not Tai, have a very strong infusion of Tai blood. This is *primâ facie* extremely probable, though it does not yet admit of direct proof, but beyond this Monsieur Bons d'Anty believes that the Li, the inhabitants of the interior of Hainan, are pure Tai. Very little is known about them, and the question is too controversial to be treated in a gazetteer, but it may be mentioned that both men and women wear their hair knotted like the Shans, that the Shang Li or wild Li women have their faces tattooed when they marry, and that there is a Li written character, which has not yet been critically examined, but is characterized by a Chinese writer as being "like the wriggling of worms," a picturesque description which might be applied to the Shan alphabet. It may be added that the coast belt of Hainan is inhabited chiefly by Hakkas.

The difference of name proves nothing either way, for the branches which are indisputably Tai are known by a bewildering variety of names, which serve to conceal their identity, such as Tai, Htai, Pai-i, Moi, Muong, Tho or Do, Hkamti, with a very much greater number of local names, assumed by themselves or given them by their neighbours, such as Lao, Law, Hkün, Lü, Tai-lōng, Tai-noi, Tai-mao, Tai-nö, Tai-man, Tai-hkè, Tai-loi, Pu-tai, Pu-nong (or Nung), Pu-man, Pu-jü, Pu-chei, Pu-en, Pu-yiei, Pu-shui, P'o, Pa,

Shui Han, or Hua Pai-i, Pai-jên, T'u-jên, P'u-man, Pai, Hei or Hwa T'u-lao, Nung or Lung-jên, Sha-jên, Hei or Pai Sha-jên, Min-chia, Shui-chia, Chung-chia, and many more still more purely local.

As if this were not enough, they have six distinct forms of written character—the Siamese, the Lao or Siamese Shan, the Lü, and Hkün which might be called Trans-Salween Shan, the Cis-Salween Shan which with the Hkün might be called British Shan, the Tai Mao which is Chinese Shan, and the Hkamti Shan of the settlements west of the Irrawaddy.

The spoken languages are to a great extent mutually incomprehensible; the written characters are no less of a reciprocal puzzle, most exasperating of all, the tones of the various dialects do not correspond. Yet to a student in the British Museum there is not a doubt as to the common origin and in many cases the identity of the various forms. Siamese gentlemen have found that with patience they can understand their farthest relatives, the Hkamti Shans, but they cannot carry on a conversation with their nearest neighbours, the Lao, and the written character of Siam and of the Hkamti Shans is the most divergent of any. It might naturally be supposed that Siam, which is the only independent Tai State in existence, and is and has been for long the most civilized and advanced, would supply us with the best history of the race, but it is precisely Siam which furnishes no information whatever on the subject. Bishop Pallegoix places the commencement of the Shan Kingdom of Siam in A.D. 1350, and previous to this date no information whatever exists, except strange hyperbolical stories and fabulous tales, which have not even the merit of corresponding with those of their northern brethren.

As if the multitude of Shan tribe names and State names were not bewildering and kaleidoscopic enough, some strange fatality created two phantasms which attracted the attention of enquirers to the exclusion and obscuring of less elusive facts in Shan history. These were the 'Kingdom of Pông' and the *Ko-shan-pyi*, the nine Shan States. The 'Kingdom of Pông' appears in the translation of a Shan chronicle (the manuscript is now lost) obtained in Manipur by Captain Pemberton in 1895. The same kingdom is mentioned in the list of his conquests by Anawra-htā, King of Pagan. The name, however, is unknown to the Shans and much ingenuity has been wasted in trying to identify it. Sir Arthur Phayre said it was Mogaung. The late Mr. Ney Elias was convinced that it was Möng Mao. Mr. E. H. Parker, by dint of Chinese learning, proves it to be Luh-ch'wan. Since, however, he admits that this is a purely Chinese title, that the State no longer exists, and that its limits were not clearly defined when it did exist, the solution is the

less gratifying. The frivolous might say that the Kingdom of Pông was Mrs. Harris. Since the origin of the name *Shan* for the Tai race itself is a puzzle, the Kingdom of Pông may be put on the shelf beside it, till we have fuller information. All that is possible is to prove that there was an ancient Shan Kingdom, but there is nothing to show that it was called the Kingdom of Pông or that that name was ever known to the Tai race.

The term *Ko-shan-pyi* or nine Shan States is more easily explained. The various Shan chronicles which so far have been consulted, while they give their own local name as that of the paramount kingdom, unite in adding the classical or Buddhistical name of Kawsampi. This may very probably have been borrowed from Kaw-sambi, one of the most celebrated cities of ancient India, but the Burman official, with the ear of a hippopotamus and the arrogance of a self-made man, could not bring himself to admit that a Shan Kingdom had any right to a classical title, if indeed he knew that Kawsampi was classical. He therefore transformed Kawsampi into Ko-shan-pyi. It is possible that it may have been assumed that there were at some time nine co-existent Shan States, but the fact seems as doubtful as it is certain that the seven Kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy never flourished at the same time. Such Shan chronicles as are known do not support any assertion of the kind, and the Burmese, so far from giving any list, had a very clear conviction that at whatever period they had dealings with the Shans, there were always very many more than nine Shan States. They therefore amused themselves with fancy variants, such as the Ko Maing, Ko Kyaing, the "nine Möngs, and "the nine Kĕngs or Chiengs," or the "ninety-nine Shan *Sawbwas,*" whom sundry rulers claim to have defeated in expeditions to the hills, or from whom they profess to have received tribute on homage days.

The name and the implied fact of the Ko-shan-pyi was introduced to Western readers by Buchanan-Hamilton in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, X, 246, and as a result Ritter, Burney, Hannay, and many others have given conflicting lists which strove to fix these nine Shan States.

The late Mr. Ney Elias detected the confusion and says: "Ku-"sambi is merely the classical or adopted name for Mung Mau, "which was, it so happens, at some period composed of nine "Maings or provinces, though usually of ten. It has been mis-"construed into a Burmese combination of Ko-shan-pri and inter-"preted to mean nine Shan States." Instead of recognizing that the term was merely a fancy and not a fact, Mr. Elias, however,

unfortunately persisted in endeavouring to identify nine of the small States, usually known as the Chinese Shan States, as the Ko-shan-pyi. It is much simpler to recognize that Ko-shan-pyi is Kawsampi and is the Shan name for the dominant State, which the Manipuris called the Kingdom of Pông and the Chinese, as the painstaking researches of Mr. E. H. Parker prove, the Kingdom of Ai-lao or Nanchao.

It is most unfortunate that few Shan histories have survived the civil wars and that the texts so far recovered and translated are very corrupt and ascribe to each particular modern State the predominance over the others in the past, that is to say, they all claim to be Kawsampi or the Kingdom of Pông. Moreover, none of the texts are really old, and appear to have been drawn up from memory or tradition in almost every case. The confusion of dates caused by an imperfect knowledge among the later writers of the ancient Tai system of counting by cycles, explained below, also makes comparison very difficult.

Until comparatively recently our knowledge of the Shans was derived entirely from Burmese history, or from the information condensed from the journals of Dr. Richardson and Captain Macleod, by Colonel Yule in the thirteenth chapter of his Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855. The Burmese history was confused fragmentary, and biassed; the details of the explorers are very valuable in giving us details of intermediate history, but hardly help us to determine when the dispersion and segregation of the Shan race began and what their position was before these events took place.

The late Mr. Ney Elias made a commencement of getting Shan history from the Shans. He had a number of Shan chronicles translated for him and had them compared with Burmese translations of Shan books and combined the information in his *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans*, published in Calcutta in 1876. The result is very valuable, but it seems to unduly exalt the Shans of Möng Mao. The whole of the Nam Mao or Shweli valley has obviously been cultivated and highly populated for a very long time, but it remains to be proved that the term Mao Shans is a political rather than a racial term. The same criticism may be applied to the chronicle of Hsen Wi, now first translated and given below. To this have been added details from other chronicles, which seem to amend or elucidate it. It may, however, be said of these chronicles, as Colonel Yule said of the History of Burma, that "the desire to carry "back to a remoter epoch the existence of the Empire as a great "monarchy has led to the representation of what was really the

"history of various petty principalities, attaining probably an alternate preponderance of dominion, as the history of one dynasty of monarchs in various successive seats."

The chronicles are local, but there is sufficient correspondence in their details to point to a common Shan history. They are, however, too fragmentary as yet to warrant more than corrections of existing information.

On such existing history Mr. Parker's translations from Chinese annals throw much light. He is a little too intolerant of confusion of date and fact, arising from the intermingling of the Shan cycle system and the ordinary Buddhist era, but the piecing together of various confirmatory items of information give us for the present a better idea of the history of the Shans, and, with the discovery of new chronicles, will enable an orderly history to be written. There is not enough material to furnish this yet, but there is enough to show that "during the ninth century of our era Burma, whatever its size may have been, was at least, so far as its northern portion was concerned, inferior in power to the Shan Kingdom of Tali-fu, which at one time came very near overthrowing the Chinese T'ang dynasty" and that "the first Emperor of the Sung dynasty in the middle of the tenth century drew a line beyond which he was determined to have no political concern, and the Nanchao State, now first called the Kingdom of Ta-li, was quite independent up to the time of the Mongol inroad under Prince Kublai, afterwards Kublai Khan."

The Reverend J. N. Cushing, D.D., is the only real authority on the Shans. He furnished a monograph on their history and ethnography for Mr. H. L. Eales's Report on the Census of Burma, 1892. From this what follows is collated and adapted as an introduction to the fragmentary historical details derived from the Shan chronicles.

South-western China was the original home of the Tai people, or rather was the region where they attained to a marked separate development as a people. There are many indications that they had anciently a close connection with the Chinese before settling in Sz-ch'wan and the country south of the Yang-tzu river. Dim traditions of such a connection still exist among them. One of the most striking discoveries of modern research, due in great part to the late M. Terrien de Lacouperie, is the comparative youth of the Chinese as a great homogeneous and powerful people. Immense regions inside China proper were non-Chinese, and the Sons of Heaven had no more power than was necessary to keep a check upon these internal and inveterate foes, always ready to break the

net which from time to time was spread over them. It was not before the first quarter of the third century B.C. that the Chinese political power permitted it to cross the Yangtzu-kiang, which nearly separates the country into two halves, north and south. And as a fact Chinese authority was so far from being established that about 566 A.D. the Emperor Wu-ti of the Northern Chao dynasty was obliged to protect the passages of the Yang-tzu, west of I-chang, with ramparts in order to prevent the raids of barbarians. In the latter part of the fifth century of our era, the chief of the Pan-hu race was recognized by the Chinese Emperor as King of Siang-yang (Hupeh) and Governor of King Chao. His realm containing 80,000 villages, covered the provinces of Central China and extended north to near the Yellow river. In the twelfth century they still occupied the eastern half of Sz-ch'wan and Kuei-chao, Hupeh, and Hunan provinces Knowledge of this is necessary to understand the formation and evolution of the Chinese nation. There is a broad distinction to be drawn between the extension of the Chinese dominion politically so called and that of their influence.

The indigenous Chiefs were recognized as Chinese officials by the addition of Chinese titles of office to their own native dignity. Such native States entirely enclosed in Chinese territory lasted for many centuries and the broken tribes still in existence in the southern provinces of China are fragments of their population. "Segmen-"tation, intermingling, and transfer from one place to another have "happened on so extensive a scale that hybridity is much more to "be met with than purity in any degree, yet of those who migrated "southwards, and were progressively driven outside the modern "Chinese frontiers, there are in Indo-China not a few remnant "tribes, or reconstituted nations, representative, in a decayed or in "an improved state of culture, of former communities, or important "races and States which once were located in Central and Southern "China." A study of all the documents available led Monsieur Terrien to the definite pronouncement that "the cradle of the Shan "race was in the Kiu-lung mountains north of Sz-ch'wan and south "of Shensi in China proper." Whether this is final may be doubted, but at any rate there can be little doubt that the Tai race, whether they are pure Ngu, Pa, Lao, or Ngai-lao (the Ailao of Mr. Parker), or an inextricable imbroglio of hybrid communities, formed the dominating power in Yünnan for many centuries. Mr. Parker's researches given below prove this conclusively.

Burman history tells us of two great military expeditions from Yünnan into Burma by Tayôks; one not long before the Christian era and the other about A.D. 241. These Tayôks could not have been the Chinese, for the Chinese were shut off from contact with

the Burmese until after the conquest of Yünnan by Kublai Khan in A.D. 1253, when he put an end to the Nan-chao Kingdom. It seems clear that these Tayôks must have been the Shans prior to their dispersal, and their kingdom Ai-lao or Nan-chao may be presumed to be the Kingdom of Pông and the Kawsampi of latter-day histories. This may also explain why the Burmese speak of the Mongol armies as consisting of two races, the Tarôks (or Tayôks) and the Tarets. Sir Arthur Phayre says the Manchus are called Taret by the Burmese, but Mr. Parker doubts the fact and demands his authority. The fact that *Taruk* and *Taret* mean "six and seven" in Manipuri is without doubt very extraordinary and suggests that the enquiry is at sixes and sevens, but it in no other way affords a solution. It may be permitted to suggest that the Teru State, of which M. Terrien writes, seems to supply a clue. It developed about the eleventh century B.C., "grew progressively to an enormous extent, equal to, if not more important than, all the other States of the Chinese confederation put together," but the Teru or Tero were eventually expelled from China in 778 A.D. by the King of Nan-chao when he destroyed the western part of the Tsuan State in North Kwangsi. M. Terrien detects in them the antecedents of the Karen tribes. Dr. Cushing urges convincingly that the great homogeneity of the different divisions of the Tai race can be accounted for only by the existence of one or more strong Tai States in South-western China for a considerable time before the first historical notice of Nan-chao early in the seventh century. Mr. Parker indicates that there was this powerful State in the earlier kingdom of Ai-lao, and everything down to the existence at the present day of the Pai-i, the Min-ch'iang, and other tribes of undoubted Tai race in the south and west of Yünnan, stranded on the borders of the ancient home of their race, combine to prove the same thing.

Monsieur Terrien is an additional witness when he writes of the Ngai-lao: "They appear again in A. D. 47, making raids on the "Chinese territory, descending the Han and Yangtsz rivers on "bamboo rafts. In the year 69 Liu Mao, their General-King, submitted to the empire with seventy seven chiefs of communities "and 51,890 families, comprising 553,711 persons. As they had "extended over the whole western part of Sz-ch'wan and southwards, they were officially recognized by the Chinese Government "in the east of Yünnan. In A. D. 78, having rebelled against the "Chinese officials appointed to represent the suzerainty of China, "their king, Lei-lao, was defeated in a great battle, which caused "many of their tribes to migrate into the present country of the "Northern Shan States. They soon recovered from this blow

"and they developed and formed the agglomerations which became "in A. D. 629 the great State of Nan-chao, which afterwards ex-"tended in all directions." There is throughout a suggestion of the fatal want of coherence which appears always to have characterized the Tai, but the evidence seems complete of a united and powerful State which lasted long enough and had traditions glorious enough to impress its paternity upon its most distant descendants, no matter how widely separated and how greatly influenced by alien races and diverse political connections.

Dr. Cushing says the migrations of the Tai into Burma probably began about two thousand years ago, although Shan and Burman tradition place the irruption several centuries earlier. What we can gather from Chinese history would seem to point to the same date. Probably the first swarms were small and were due rather to the restlessness of character, which has always characterized the Tai, than to exterior force. Some of the migrations may have been warlike expeditions, such as that which destroyed the ancient Tagaung Empire. The inference is irresistible that the invaders were not Chinese but Tai or Tero Shans or Karens, and almost certainly not the latter.

Later, however, larger and more important migrations were undoubtedly due to the pressure of Chinese invasion and conquest.

Most Northern Shan Chronicles begin with the legend that in the middle of the sixth century of our era two brothers descended from heaven and took up their abode in Hsen Wi, or in the valley of the Shweli, or of the Irrawaddy, or wherever local pride requires the settlement. There they found a population which immediately accepts them as kings. This is probably the folks-myth fashion of stating a historical fact. A great wave of Tai migration descended in the sixth century of the Christian era from the mountains of Southern Yünnan into the Nam Mao or Shweli valley and the adjacent regions, and through it that valley became the centre of Shan political power. Tradition and the statement of all the hitherto discovered chronicles assert that the Nam Mao or Shweli valley and its neighbourhood, Bhamo, Möng Mit, Hsen Wi, is the first home of the Shans in Upper Burma. It seems most probable that this wave of migration followed the path already traversed by earlier Tai colonists, who had sought a home in these parts, but had attained no political importance. From the Nam Mao the Shans spread south-east over the present Shan States, north into the present Hkamti region, and west of the Irrawaddy river into all the country lying between it, the Chindwin, and Assam. Centuries later they overran and conquered Wesali-Lōng, Assam itself.

Not only does tradition assert that these Shans of Upper Burma are the oldest branch of the Tai family, but they are always spoken of by other branches as the *Tai Lōng*, or Great Shans, while the other branches call themselves *Tai Noi*, or Little Shans. The name Tai Mao referring to the Shweli river is also frequently used. Even the Siamese use the term, though they misapply it. They call themselves Htai Noi or Little Htai, and the Lao Shans, from whom they say they are sprung, they call Htai Yai, the Great Htai. But the Lao in their turn call themselves Tai Noi and acknowledge the Northern Shans of Burma to be the Tai Lōng. The Shan-Chinese, whose States indicate the line followed by Shan migration into Burma, also share this title of Tai Lōng. No doubt the name is due to the fact that the earliest political centre was established by the northern branch of the family as well as to the probability that it was the strongest when the kingdom of Nan-chao came to an end.

These earliest settlers and other parties from Yünnan gradually pressed southwards, but the process was slow. It was not until the fourteenth century that the Siamese Tai established themselves in the great delta of the Mènam, between Cambodia and the Mōn country. It seems probable enough that this latest movement, which must also have been made in the greatest strength, was the direct result of the conquest of the Shan kingdom of Ta-li-fu by Prince Kublai in A. D. 1253.

The early history of the Shans in Burma is very obscure. There is little doubt that a powerful Shan kingdom called Möng Mao Lông grew up in the north in the neighbourhood of the Shweli river. The late Mr. Ney Elias identified the capital as the modern Möng Mao, but there can be no doubt that he was wrong. That place was not adopted as capital until long after the kingdom had reached its period of greatest power. Everything points to the fact, however, that the *kingdom* was that of the Mao Shans, the Shans who settled along the Shweli river. New kings very often chose new sites for their capitals. These were always near the Nam Mao, and the site which was most often adopted was that of Cheila according to Ney Elias' manuscript. There can be scarcely any doubt that this was the modern Sè Lan, about 13 miles east of Nam Hkam and close to the frontier, which here is the Shweli river or Nam Mao, beyond which at no very great distance is the modern Möng Mao.

The modern Sè Lan is a village of no great size. It stands on the highest point of an irregular four-sided plateau, which rises to a height of 200 or 300 feet above the valley level and is about a square mile in area. This plateau is completely surrounded by an entrenched ditch, which is in many places 40 or 50 feet deep. There no doubt was once also a wall, but this has

completely mouldered away. A few miles off is Pang Hkam, also an old Mao capital, and also with the remains of an earthen parapet and ditch enclosing an even larger area. In the neighbourhood are a number of bare detached hills surrounded by formidable entrenchments. The local people ascribe the construction of these cities and works to the Chinese, but they are very ancient, have a great resemblance to the other ancient cities found in all parts of the Shan States, and there can be very little doubt are old capitals of the Mao Shans. If Nan-chao was not Kawsampi and the Kingdom of Pông, then we may take it for granted that this Mao Shan kingdom was.

The silence of Burman history with reference to this kingdom is strange and is only to be explained on the assumption that what they then knew as Tayôks were really the Shans and that the transference of the name centuries afterwards to the Chinese was accomplished without the recognition of the fact that they knew nothing of the real Chinese until the Shan kingdom of Nan-chao was overthrown. Tai chronicles indicate that the Mao Kingdom began in the seventh century of our era and maintained itself with varying degrees of prosperity until the rise of Anawra-htā, the King of Pagan, This monarch gained ascendency in much of the plain country, which up till then the Shans had held. It is for this reason that Mr. Parker looks upon Anawra-htā Mengsaw as the first definite King of Burmese history and thinks that his famous visit to China, in quest of the Buddha's Tooth, took him no further than the independent State of Nan-chao, then called the Tayôk country.

On his return Anawra-htā married a daughter of the Mao Shan King. Ney Elias says that the Möng Mao chronicle states that that Chief "gave his daughter to the Pagan monarch, though it is "also stated that he never went to the Pagan Court as a true vassal "must have done." But whether he became a real vassal of Anawra-htā or not, it is quite clear that when that King's reign came to an end in 1052 A. D. the *Sawbwas* of the Mao Kingdom remained independent. In 1210 A. D. there was some sort of change in the succession, indicated in the Hsen Wi Chronicle by a fairy tale and the reign of a Princess Yi Kang Hkam, and in the Möng Mao chronicle, by what Ney Elias calls "a third influx of Kun Lung's posterity in the person of Chau-aimo-kam-neng, of the race of Kunsu "of Maing-kaing Maing-nyaung." Whatever the facts may have been, there followed two brothers, who extended the limits of the Mao Kingdom to the farthest point they ever reached. These were Sao (or Hsö) Hkan Hpa and Sam Lông Hpa. The Hsen Wi Chronicle, it may be remarked, gives more credit to Hsö Hkan Hpa than is allowed him in the story of Möng Mao. However that may be, the



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THE MYOWUN OF MANDALAY IN COURT DRESS.

younger brother (they were twins according to the Hsen Wi version), Sam Lông Hpa, became *Sawbwa* of Mogaung, where he built a new city and established a new line of powerful princes tributary to Möng Mao, five years before Hsö Hkan Hpa succeeded to the throne of the Mao Shans in 1225. Four campaigns were undertaken and the dominion of the Mao Shans was enormously extended. The suzerainty of Hsö Hkan Hpa was caused to be acknowledged as far south as Moulmein and to Kēng Hūng on the east. His dominions were extended westwards by the over-running of Arakan, the destruction of its capital, and the invasion of Manipur. Assam was subjugated in 1229 A. D. and passed under the rule of the Shans, who were henceforth styled Ahom in that country. It is claimed that even the Tai Kingdom of Ta-li [it may be noted that the name of Nan-chao is quite unknown to the Shan chroniclers. It is a purely Chinese term and means Southern Prince] acknowledged allegiance to the Mao King before its fall under the attack of Kublai Khan in 1253 A. D. In fact it may have been the aggressiveness of the Mao Shans which brought down the Mongolian army. Dr. Cushing thinks it more likely, however, that the relation of Ta-li was one of alliance rather than subordination. For nearly thirty years after the conquest of Yünnan by the Mongol-Chinese army, the Chinese hung about the frontier, and then in 1284 A. D. a Mongolian force, we are told, swept down on Pagan and overthrew the Burman monarchy. This expedition seems in no way to have harmed the Mao Kingdom. It could hardly have passed through without doing so if the Mao King had been hostile. The presumption therefore has been that there was some sort of agreement if not a direct alliance, and indeed this is indicated by the legends of the Hsen Wi history. It is from this conjunction perhaps that the Burmese jingle, Tarôk Taret, takes its beginning. Just at this period a new capital called Man Maw was established in A. D. 1285, near the site of the present town of Bhamo, and this suggests a revival of Shan power in the plains where Anawra-htā had curbed or destroyed it. Moreover, the weakening of the power of Burma by the overthrow of Pagan was favourable to the Mao Kingdom, for it is claimed that the Mao territories were increased by the conquest of the Mènam valley to Ayuthia and of Yunzalin and Tavoy. This we know was rather the commencement of the present Kingdom of Siam than its conquest by an army of Mao Shans and conversion into an integral part of the Mao realm. Following as it did on the overthrow of the Kingdom of Nan-chao or Ta-li, it seems safe to say that the destruction of Pagan was the result of this invasion of the Mongolians, but that it was not the Chinese at all who effected it, but the Shans driven from their old independent

kingdom. The whole question requires much more elucidation than is at present possible, but it may be pointed out that Mr. Parker hints at the same thing when he says: "We may there-"fore reject the whole story of the Mongols ever having reached the "then capital of New Pagan, though it is quite possible that Shan "auxiliaries may have taken the opportunity to sack or loot it."

The inference seems all the more certain when we find the Shans immediately afterwards partitioning Burma among them on the death of Kyawzwa, the last King of the Anawra-htā dynasty. It may be parenthetically added that the three Shan brothers who divided the empire seem to be alluded to in the history of On Bawng Hsi Paw. Sir Arthur Phayre says they came from the small Shan State of Binnakā, which has always been rather a problem. These chronicles, now first translated, seem to prove that Binnakā is Pêng Naga, a man, and not a small State, and that his three sons, or more probably descendants, were the rulers of Sagaing, Panya, and Myin-zaing.

Up to this period there is a considerable correspondence in the details of the various Shan chronicles. From this time on they diverge and become more local and parochial. The pro-sperity of the Mao Kingdom, we are told, "began to wane soon "after it had attained its greatest area of territory." About the same time the Kingdom of Nan-chao fell. The opinion may therefore be hazarded that all refer to the original independent Shan kingdom and that Nan-chao, Kawsampi, and the Kingdom of Pông are the same place. Probably all the Shan *Sawbwas* rendered tribute to a dominant *Sawbwa* at Ta-li. When he was overthrown the race split up into a number of unconnected princi-palities and has remained disunited ever since.

Whether this is the case or not there is no doubt as to the steady decadence. The Siamese and Lao dependencies became a sepa-rate kingdom under the suzerainty of Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam. Wars with Burma and China were frequent and the in-vasions of the Chinese caused great loss. On one occasion a king, who may be either of the brothers Sao Ngan Hpa of Möng Mao, or Sao Kawn Hpa of Mogaung, fled to Ava, was pursued by the Chinese, and took poison and died there. This was in 1445 A. D., and the circumstance that the Chinese dried his body and carried it back to their own country with them enables us to com-pare systems of transliteration as well as to settle dates. This unlucky monarch is the Thohan-bwa of Burmese history, the Sun-gampha of Manipur, and the Sz-jên-fah of Chinese annals. His gruesome end makes him a landmark and gives him a celebrity

that nothing else connected with his history would seem to warrant.

It seems most probable that there was no central Shan power, but, if there were, constant wars weakened it, and the various principalities gained a semi-independence. Of these, Möng Kawng (Mogaung) was the farthest from China and seems to have been the most powerful. Ney Elias' Möng Mao chronicle alleges that Sao Hôm Hpa, the last Mao *Sawbwa*, reigned for eighty-eight years and died in 1604 A. D. and that his kingdom attained a prosperity never before realized. This is obviously the mere desire for a happy ending which characterizes healthy story-tellers, for it is certain that Bayinnaung, the ambitious and successful King of Pegu, conquered the Mao territory in A. D. 1562. Subsequent Chinese invasions in A. D. 1582 and in 1604 put a final end to the Mao Shan dynasty. Although Möng Kawng maintained a semi-independence until its final conquest by Alaungpaya a century and a half later, it may be said that from 1604 A. D. Shan history merges in Burmese history, and the Shan principalities, though they were always restive and given to frequent rebellions and intestine wars, never threw off the yoke of the Burmans.

It is from this period that the Tai became gradually separated into groups. The nature of their country made this easy, as no doubt it also helps to explain their want of coherence; the influence of neighbouring nations did the rest. Some of these were conquering, some were absorbent; all of them were greedy and combative.

Dr. Cushing divides the Tai into three groups—the northern, the intermediate, and the southern—and he considers the Lü of Kēng Hūng (the Chêli of the Chinese and the Hsip Hsawng Panna or XII Panna of many neighbours) and the Hkün of Kēng Tūng the intermediate group. But this seems hardly sufficient to cover such radical differences as are marked by distinctive alphabets. A division which would indicate political influences and would group the Tai as influenced by Burma, by China, and by the ancient Khmer Kingdom has its attractions, but it certainly would not be adequate. Physical characteristics and the affinities of language connect the Tai indisputably with the Chinese. Not one of the written alphabets, however, has the least trace of Chinese influence. A better classification seems that proposed by the late Mr. Pilcher. He suggested the consideration of the Tai under four sections—(i) the north-western, (ii) the north-eastern, (iii) the eastern, and (iv) the southern. Among the eastern he grouped the Shans of the Cis-Salween States, which in the light of our later knowledge is not satisfactory, and with the Siamese he grouped the Lao, who would more naturally fall under the head of the eastern section. Still the

arrangement is the most convenient for discussion from the Burma point of view and this may suggest a better scheme.

In the north-western branch may be included all the Shans and Shan Burmese who are spread over the north of Burma proper from Manipur and Assam to Bhamo. Möng Kawng (Mogaung) and Möng Yang (Mohnyin) were both of them capitals of independent Shan States of some importance, and Möng Kawng, as we have seen, outlasted the kingdom of the Mao Shans, of which it was claimed to be a province, for something like a century and a half. It is somewhat significant that the time of the greatest extension claimed for Möng Kawng, as will be seen by a reference to its chronicles elsewhere in this work, is precisely the time of the greatest power of the Mao Shans and that Sam Lông Hpa, the first Mogaung *Sawbwa*, is spoken of as the General Commanding the Mao troops. It is claimed that Sam Lông Hpa had ninety-nine *Sawbwas* under him spread over the provinces of Hkamti, Singkaling Hkamti on the Chindwin river, Hukawng, Möng Küng (Maingkaing on the Chindwin), Möng Yawng, Möng Yang (Mohnyin), Hsawng Hsup (known as Samjok or Thaungthut), Kale, the Yaw country, and Môtshobo or Shwebo. Whether this extensive area was ever controlled from Mogaung at one time may be doubted, but as to the fact of the supremacy of the Shans throughout its limits at one time or another there is no dispute. Even Burmese history admits this and only claims the establishment of Burmese authority from the year 1442. This subjugation, however, if it is admitted at all, was only temporary, for in 1526 the Shans of Mogaung had not only shaken off the Burmese yoke, but had conquered Ava, where the *Sawbwa* of Mohnyin established himself as king and was succeeded by the Chief of "Unbaung," that is to say, the modern Hsi Paw or Thibaw. The Shans therefore, whether of Mogaung or Mohnyin, independently, or acting under the authority and with the support of the Mao Shans, held Ava for 30 years.

As to the power of the Shans in this part of the country, there can therefore be no doubt; what is doubtful is, whether there was only one kingdom, with Mogaung and Mohnyin and other sites as alternate capitals, or whether, as seems more likely, there were a number of semi-independent States which only united for common action under a Möng Kawng chief of particular energy, or in cases of national emergency. What details we have will be found elsewhere. Here it is only necessary to say that the town of Mogaung bears every appearance of having once been a large and very thriving centre. Its area is considerably larger than that of Bhamo and it contains several miles of paved streets. But it suffered greatly

in wars with Burma in the 17th and 18th centuries, and its sack by the Kachins in 1883 would have brought permanent ruin had it not been for the British annexation. Mogaung had for long been looked upon as a sort of Botany Bay of Upper Burma. Nevertheless, nothing is more evident than that the country all round has been a fertile and constantly cultivated rice plain, extending southwards to Mohnyin, north to Kamaing, and west to Indawgyi. There are traces of well-used roads, there are ruins of substantial bridges. But the country is a waste. The Kachins did much to ruin it after the Burmese had broken the Shan power, and the punishment of the Kachins by the Wuntho *Sawbwa* (it may be noted that in the times of Shan domination there never was any such *Sawbwa*) resulted in practical depopulation. Of the villages nothing remains but temples and pagodas; clumps of fruit trees, cotton plants, and gardens run wild. These are, however, quite enough to prove that the Shans had a prosperous and populous kingdom here and that Mogaung was ordinarily, if not always, its capital. North of Katha it cannot be said that there is any real Burmese population. The people, whether they are called Shan-Burmese, Kadu, Pwon (or Hpon), are probably *mestizos* and have certainly more of the Tai than of the Burman about them. The Kachins would have finished what the Burmese began if it had not been for the British annexation and the North-western Shans would have as completely disappeared as the Ahom in Assam.

Shans are found for a hundred miles northward of Mogaung, but the villages are very few even in the Hukawng or Tanai valley, which river is possibly the main source of the Chindwin. This valley was formerly all Shan, but the Tai have mostly fled before Burman oppression and Kachin invasion. Little is known about the Hkamti Shans, whose country is still practically unexplored, but the Burmans occasionally enforced their claims and the Kachins have not altogether displaced them. British influence has not yet been directly established. The smaller State of Singkaling Hkamti is situated about 60 miles above the junction of the Uyu and Chindwin rivers and still retains its *Sawbwa*, but the rulers were always tributary to the power that held Mogaung, and it cannot be said that the population retains more direct Tai characteristics than their Mogaung and Mohnyin neighbours. The same may be said of Hsawng Hsup, the Thaungthut of the Burmese, and the Sumjok of old histories. They are mere interesting relics of a great principality just as the Moï and Muong cantons in Kwang-si and Tongking are, and of no greater political independent interest. The technical Shan States of Wuntho and Kale, as also of Möng Leng (Mohlaing) east of the Irrawaddy, were merely nominally so

before the annexation and since then the persons in charge of them, called *Sawbwas* from force of habit, have finally ceased to exist and their territories are as much incorporated in Upper Burma as Mogaung and Mohnyin are. It is more by chance than because of any difference of status that Hsawng Hsup and Singkaling Hkamti have survived them. They have not, for something like two centuries, had any political connection or affinity with the Eastern or Shan States proper, and the probability is that they will become more and more Burmanized, just as the old Shan State of Bhamo has become so Burmanized as hardly to recognize that it ever was a distinct Shan State.

Briefly it may be said of the North-western or Western Shans that they were completely subjugated by the Burmese and have become largely assimilated to them. Even their country has for years been considered as a part of Burma Proper. They have long been debarred from any sympathy or connection with the main bulk of their race. Even their women have adopted the Burmese dress, language, and habits. It is only the extraordinary tenacity of Tai tradition which has prevented them from becoming indistinguishable from their conquerors many years ago. The opening of the Mogaung railway will shortly obliterate what traces of Tai speech and custom remain. Their written character is becoming less and less used and known and is likely very soon to disappear everywhere but in Hkamti Lông in the extreme north.

The Western Shans have the following account of the foundation of their States. There was many years ago an Emperor (Udibwa) of China, whose queen, Keinnaya Dewi Maha-hti, gave birth to a daughter who was blind. When the Princess, who was named Saw Hla, had reached the age of twelve, and it was clear that she would never have the use of her eyes, she was sent adrift on a *Nagata* raft, which was stocked, presumably by the mother, with food for a long journey. One version says the raft was set afloat on the Ta-li lake and thence got into the Nawngsè river and so into the Irrawaddy. Others say simply that it was launched on the Irrawaddy. Down that river it floated as far as Tagaung, or more precisely "the shoal at the mouth of the Chaung-bauk above Sabènago." There the raft grounded, or was caught by the branch of a tree and the blind Princess landed. Before very long she met with a tiger (a white tiger according to the Mansi story-teller), who had been her husband in a previous existence and now wooed and won her, and they had four sons. These were named Tho-kaw-bwa, Thongan-bwa, Tho-kyan-bwa, and Tho-hôn-bwa. These are Burmanized forms of the Shan Hsö Hkaw Hpa, &c., and Hsö in Shan means tiger. When the four boys had grown up, their mother

Saw Hla gave them a priceless ring, by which they might prove their identity, and sent them off to their father, the Sao Wông-ti, and told them to tell her story. The Emperor heard the story, recognized the ring, and acknowledged the four youths as his grandsons. They stayed for three years in China, learning statecraft, and then returned to the Irrawaddy country. Their grandfather, the Emperor, gave to the eldest a gong, to the second a dagger, to the third a heron or egret, and the youngest he told to demand towns and countries from his father, the tiger. The others he said would find their territories determined for them. Accordingly they returned to their own country by separate routes. The eldest came to where Mogaung now is and, when he arrived there, his gong began to sound of its own accord. By this token he knew that the country was to be his and he built a city and took charge of all the country round about. The people called the city first of all Bein-kawngī because the gong had sounded there, and this was changed in the course of time to Möng Kawng or Mogaung. The word Bein appears to be a Western Shan form of the ordinary Man or Wan, meaning a village, which in Siamese takes the form Ban.

The second brother journeyed on until one day his dagger stood upright on the ground. Here he founded his capital and it was called Bein-mīt, the town of the dagger, and in the present day it is known as Möng Mit or Momeik.

The third marched with his egret until he came to a paddy plain, where the bird screamed aloud. Here he built his capital and founded his State and it was called at first Bein-yang, the town of the egret, and this later became Möng Yang or Mohnyin.

The fourth son came to his father, the tiger, who made no trouble about marking out a State for him, and it was called at first Bein-hsö, the town of the tiger, and in later times this was changed to Wying Hsö or Wuntho.

Thus the four sons of Saw Hla were all provided for, and their descendants ruled over the States for many generations. The years 300, 301, 302, and 303 of the Burmese era (938 A.D. *et seq.*) are given for the foundation of these States.

Divested of its legendary form, the story points to the occupation of the country immediately round the Irrawaddy by Shans from the State of Nan-chao before its conquest by Kublai Khan. The name Hsö (tiger) is found steadily throughout the Hsen Wi chronicle and the names given to the four sons are common Shan dynastic titles. The references to the Ta-li lake and to the Nawngsè (the lake of Sè or Yünnansen) are significant, and the Udibwa or Hwang-ti was doubtless the ruler not of China but of the Yünnan country.

The North-eastern Shans of Pilcher's classification are what are generally known as Shan-tayôks or Chinese Shans. They occupy that part of Yünnan which bulges westwards towards the Irrawaddy. The bulk of them are now Chinese subjects, but there are many of them in Namhkam and Sèlan and all along our Northern Shan States frontier.

This frontier line undoubtedly practically bisects the old Mao Shan Kingdom and the various capitals of that kingdom appear to have been generally situated close to the frontier line, which for some distance is the Nam Mao, a river better known as the Shweli. The majority of them would seem to have been on the British side, but curiously enough the name of Ko-shan-pyi or Kawsampi has clung with the greatest tenacity to the Chinese States, and the late Mr. Pilcher struggled unsuccessfully to identify them. There is very little doubt that they are the true Tai Lông or Great Tai, and that with them (though they are not called Shan-Chinese) should be classed the Shans of Hsen Wi and Hsi Paw, in fact of our Northern Shan States together with what Shans there are in Möng Mit. Geographically Möng Leng (Mohlaing) would also be included, but, as has been stated, the population of that extinct State is as completely Burmanized as the Shans west of the Irrawaddy. There is indisputably a dialectic difference between the Shan spoken in the Northern and of the Southern Shan States more distinguishable than that between the Shans of Hsen Wi and the true Tai Hkè or Shan-Chinese. Ethnologically, as well as historically, therefore these Tai would seem to fall into the same class The whole country formerly often changed hands between the Chinese and Burmese and the present frontier line fairly represents the measure of their respective success after the Tai themselves ceased to be the predominating power. Nevertheless there is very little that is Chinese about the Shan-Chinamen, and their written character has no sort of resemblance either in form or complexity to that of China. Undoubtedly they got it from the Burmese, and it is merely an angular and crabbed form of the character which rightly or wrongly (most probably wrongly) we look upon as the typical Tai character. The dress of the Shan-Chinamen is certainly distinctive, but it is so rather in colour than in fashion or type. The British Shan dresses almost invariably in white; the Chinese Shan in indigo blue. The women's dress is even more distinctive, but it is so only in pattern, a panel variation in adornment of the identical seductive garment which doubtless was invented by the Burmese coquette. None of the Tai-hkè women wear the *crurum non enarrabile tegmen* of the celestial belle. Apart from mere differences of colour and pattern, which are common enough locally, but are

mere fashionable whims, the chief difference is in the turban. That worn by the women of the Southern Shan States is ordinarily the Burmese women's scarf worn round the head as a turban. The Shan-Chinese women oftenest wear dark-blue turbans, and these are very large, approaching the size of that worn by the Sikh. In Nantien, Möng Wan, Kan-ngai, and the neighbouring States it broadens to the top and stands a foot high. East of the Salween it broadens to the sides and has the ends standing up like horns. East of the Mèkhong it becomes merely round again and is not so bulky. Very broad silver bracelets in various patterns are also characteristic. The Shan-Chinese Chiefs all speak Chinese, but the mass of the population remains distinctively Tai. There has been no such assimilation as exists west of the Irrawaddy or in the Shan States of the south nearest to Burma.

The Eastern Tai is that section of the race which is most directly known to us as the Shan race; whence the name Shan came is an unsolved riddle. We have seen that the Burmese almost certainly first knew the Tai as Tarôks or Tarets. Is it possible that when afterwards they heard of the *'Han Jên*, the Chinese name for themselves, they transferred *'Han* into Shan, and made a further ethnological error? The idea is a mere conjecture, but no other explanation of the name so far as appears is obtainable.

The name Siam is no help, for whether it is "a barbarous Anglicism derived from the Portuguese or Italian word *Sciam*," or is derived from the Malay *Sayam*, which means brown, it can hardly be said to be a national word, though it is still used in official documents and treaties. No doubt it came to appear there through the foreign contracting parties and not because it was ever used in the country itself, which seems always to have been called Möng Thai. It is quite as much a puzzle as the fact that the Siamese and Lao call the British Shans Ngio. Mr. Taw Sein Ko thinks it is derived from Chiampa, Champanagara, *q.d.*, the country of the Chams or Siams.

Pilcher grouped together as Eastern Shans all those between the Irrawaddy and the Mèkhong. This is convenient from a political and geographical point of view, but it is not so satisfactory as far as racial or rather dialectical affinities are concerned. As far east as the Salween the various States have been under more or less active Burmese suzerainty for very many years and perhaps centuries. And the influence exerted, though very far from being anything like so great as west of the Irrawaddy, except in the States on the edge of the plateau, has been very considerable. Beyond the Salween Burman control, though it was maintained, was very much less continu-

ously or vigorously exerted. Consequently both in dialect and in written character the difference between the Tai east and west of the Salween is very marked, much more so than between the Southern and the Northern Shans of the Irrawaddy basin. When, if ever, a clearer history of the original independent Shan States is obtained, it may be possible to determine which of the present sections of the Tai race has been least affected by outside influences. If the theory of the independent Tai Kingdom of Ta-li be correct, then the Hkün and the Lü of Kēng Tūng and Kēng Hūng should occupy that position. In dialect and written character they are nearer to the Lao than the Tai west of the Salween, but unlike the Lao they have been very little, if at all, affected by Khmer or Cambodian influence, either directly or through the Siamese. The traces left by Burmese supremacy are so slight as to be hardly noticeable. The Chinese have affected them just as little. The Hkün appear to be much less numerous than was at one time supposed and, so far from being the inhabitants of the whole great State of Kēng Tūng, seem to be merely the inhabitants of the large plain in which the capital is situated. The rest of the Tai population calls itself Lü. The Hkün dialect appears to have been a good deal influenced by the Lawa or Wa, who were at one time the owners of the whole country down to Chiengmai, where in McLeod's time there were "about six villages of them to the northward, "besides those near Muang Niong. The rest have fled to the moun-"tains round Kiang Tung, which country, however, is said also for-"merly to have belonged to them." This is remembered in the curious coronation ceremonies at Kēng Tūng (*q. v.*) in which two *Wa* always figure. The Hkün may therefore be looked upon as merely a branch of the Lü, and the fact that Kēng Tūng annals supply practically no hints whatever as to Tai history and have no connection with other Tai chronicles, is the less disappointing. We are therefore thrown back on the Lü, but unfortunately no Lü chronicles are yet available. The Lü differ so considerably from the Tai Lông type and also, though in a less degree, from the Cis-Salween Shans, that it seems that it is there we must seek for the true history of the race. They seem to be nearer to the Pai-i and Min-ch'iang and what not of Yünnan and to the Moi, Do, and Muong of Tongking and Kwangsi, so far as information is available about these Tai types, than to the Shans on the hither side of the Salween. Yet they disown all connection with the Tai, as they call the people west of the Salween, and with the Tai Hkè, Chinese-Shans, many of whom are settled among them, live in distinct villages, and also disown all relationship. It is precisely these intermediate groups, as Dr. Cushing calls them, who insist most firmly on their

local names of Lü, Hkün, and Lem and apply the name Tai only to those of the race whom we know to have been most affected by the Burmese. The Lem, according to their traditions, are undoubtedly fugitives or emigrants from the Nam Mao region. They use the "diamond" or Mao Shan character perhaps most frequently, though the Lü alphabet is also used. There is also not a little confusion caused by the fact that some considerable Lao settlements have been made in their midst, and retain in their religious books the Lao, or Siamese Shan character, though Siamese armies never came near either Kēng Hūng or Möng Lem. It is precisely because these Tai are intermediate or rather central, removed from Chinese, Cambodian, and Burman influence, that they might be expected to retain the original race name. It is characteristic of the puzzle that it is they who disown it most stoutly.

Who were the first inhabitants of the country which we now call the Southern Shan States is very uncertain, but it is indisputable that the Tai came there much later than they did to the northern portion. The Burmese also extended their influence here very much earlier, and it would almost seem as if the Tai first came only after the disruption of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, that is to say, about the same time that the Kingdom of Siam came into existence. The chronicles of Lawk Sawk and Lai Hka are the only Southern Shan histories of any length which it has been possible to obtain. They are written entirely from a Burman point of view, yet they seem to show that the Southern States only became important and began to have a history when the Mao Shans became prominent and overran northern Burma.

Of the southern group it is not necessary to say much. From an abstract point of view it would probably be better to class the Lao or Siamese Shans with the Lü and Hkün, but politically the two sections are not and never have been connected. Whether the Lao are the ancestors of the Siamese, and have yielded to them as the wealthier and more powerful possessors of the Mènam valley, or whether, as more likely, the Siamese established themselves separately and, when they gained strength and prosperity on the sea-board, began to extend their authority backwards on their line of immigration, is a question of some interest, but it does not concern a Gazetteer of British possessions. The identity of the Siamese with the Lao as a race is undoubted, though they differ from them and the others more than the latter do from each other.

The Pai-y, the Tho, the Phou-tay, Moï, and the Muong may contribute something to the history of the race, but so far we have little information about them. About Ssu-mao the whole country is really governed by Tai Chiefs. The Chinese are found only in the

towns and only in the chief of these. They divide the Tai into the Han Pai-y, those who live on firm ground or uplands; and the Shui Pai-y, riverain or wet-bottom Tai, accordingly as they live on the hills or in the valleys. They also drag herrings across the trail by speaking of ' Hè Pai-y, black Shans, and Hoa Pai-y, streaky, particoloured, or speckled Shans, which names arise from differences of dress. Frenchmen have recorded that the Pai-y of Ssu-mao understand the Tho dialect of Lung-chao. It is also certain that they understand the Lü of Kēng Hūng. They have a written character, but whether this resembles more the Lü or the Mao, or is again different, there is nothing on record to determine. Neither, so far as the compiler knows, has any one made known what character the Tho and Muong use. In a note on the Tho of the province of Hung Hao in Tongking, we are told incidentally that they have 36 letters in their alphabet and that "*les mots composés de syllabes s'écrivent comme l'écriture européenne mais verticalement de haut en bas.*" At the same time the few words given are undoubtedly Tai, approximating to the Lao form, thus:—

Bo-my = Parents.

Kin ngai = To eat rice.

Kin nam = To drink water.

Mi dau mi pha bo mi phau = There is betel and arecanut, but no lime.

Mi phuc mi pha bo mi cau non = There are mats and blankets, but there is no one sleeping.

We have thus obtained a view of the Tai race as a whole and may proceed to a consideration of their histories and traditions as shown in such of their chronicles as are available. Before doing so, however, it will be well to consider their system of counting time, which is indeed not a little significant as to their origin.

Shan cycle or Hpè Wan.

The Shans of British territory have adopted the Burmese era, both religious and civil, but this was not always the case. Formerly, like the Chinese Cambodians, Annamese, and, to a certain extent, the Siamese of the present day, they counted their time by cycles. Of these there are two: the small cycle and the great cycle. The former includes twelve years and the great cycle is made up of five small cycles and covers sixty years. Though this system has fallen out of general use and is quite unknown by many Shans, still it is frequently made use of in historical documents, and the confusing of it with the era adopted from Burma leads to the errors in dates, which are conspicuous in what Shan histories are available.

The Shans and the other Indo-Chinese races may be assumed to have learnt the system from the Chinese, who date the commencement of the sexagenary cycle from B. C. 2637 in the sixty-first year of Hwang-ti's reign. This *Luh-shih-hwa Kia Tzu* seems to have been perfectly arbitrary in every way, for no explanation now exists of the reasons which induced its inventor, Hwang-ti, or his minister, Nao the Great, to select this number. Dr. Williams in his book the Middle Kingdom thinks that it was not derived from the cycle of Jupiter of the Hindus, but that both Hindus and Chinese got it from the Chaldeans. The similarities are so striking as to indicate a common origin, but this is so remote that its genesis is a complete mystery, particularly since Prinsep (Indian Antiquities II, Useful Tables, page 159 *et seq*) thinks that the introduction of the system into India is of comparatively recent date, or about the year 965 A. D. In the Chinese scheme there are ten so-called "stems" (*Shih kan*) and twelve "branches" (*Shih-êrh chi*), which are five times repeated. The twelve branches have the names of as many animals and the stems are combined in couplets to form multipliers to these. These two sets of horary characters are also applied to minutes and seconds, hours, days, and months, signs of the zodiac, points of the compass, and are also made to play an important part in divination and astrology. In the Cambodian, Lao, Annamese, and Siamese schemes the twelve branches are named, according to Garnier (Voyage d'Exploration, I, page 93 and page 466), after animals in the same way as the Chinese, but the animals are not all precisely the same, nor do they come in the same order. A comparative list stands thus:—

Shan.	Chinese.	Lao and Annamese.	Cambodian.	Siamese.
Nu ...	Hü, Rat ...	Rat ...	Ox ...	Rat, Ch'uat.
Kwai wo ...	Niu, Ox ...	Ox ...	Tiger ...	Ox, Ch'alu.
Hsō ...	Wei, Tiger ...	Tiger ...	Hare ...	Tiger, Kān.
Pang-tai ...	Fang, Hare ...	Hare ...	Dragon ...	Hare, Tao.
Ngōk ...	Kioh, Dragon ...	Dragon ...	Snake ...	Great dragon, Marōng.
Ngu ...	Yih, Snake ...	Snake ...	Horse ...	Little dragon, Maseng.
Ma ...	Sing, Horse ...	Horse ...	Goat ...	Horse, Mamia.
Pe ...	Kwei, Goat ...	Goat ...	Monkey ...	Goat, Mamā.
Ling ...	Tsui, Monkey ...	Monkey ...	Cock ...	Monkey, Wawk.
Kai ...	Mao, Cock ...	Cock ...	Dog ...	Cock, Raka.
Ma ...	Leu, Dog ...	Dog ...	Pig ...	Dog, Chao.
Sang mu ...	Shih, Bear ...	Pig ...	Rat ...	Pig, Kun.

But Garnier does not show in what way the twelve names are classified or multiplied in order to form a cycle with each of the sixty years bearing a separate name. Sir John Bowring, however, speaks of the Siamese cycle as composed of a fivefold repetition of the twelve names arranged in decades, the first commencing with the *rat* and ending with the *cock*, the second beginning with the *dog* and ending with the *goat*, and so on regularly to the sixth decade.

This is shown in the following synoptical table :—

Year of the rat	1	First decade.	3	Second decade.	5	Third decade.	7	Fourth decade.	9	Fifth decade.
Year of the ox ...	2		4		6		8		10	
Year of the tiger ...	3		5		7		9		1	Sixth decade.
Year of the hare ...	4		6		8		10		2	
Year of the great dragon ...	5		7		9		1	Fifth decade.	3	
Year of the little dragon ...	6		8		10		2		4	
Year of the horse ...	7		9		1	Fourth decade.	3		5	
Year of the goat ..	8		10		2		4		6	
Year of the monkey ...	9		1	Third decade.	3		5		7	
Year of the cock ...	10		2		4		6		8	
Year of the dog ...	1	Second decade.	3		5		7		9	
Year of the pig ...	2		4		6		8		10	

The present year 1897 is the year of the *cock*, the fortieth year of the fortieth cycle of the *P'utt'a Sakarāt*, the sacred era, and the fifty-eighth year of the twentieth cycle of the *Chula Sakarāt*, the civil era. It may be added that the modern Siamese use the Bangkok era, in which 1897 is the year 115.

The Chinese date for the same year is the thirty-third year of the seventy-sixth cycle, or the four thousand five hundred and thirty-third since its institution. Ney Elias, in his *Sketch of the History of t e Shans*, gives the following table, but omits to say whether it was supplied to him in this form. He says : "it is noteworthy "also that the names used for the animals are nearly entirely the "Laotian names and not those of their own (the Northern Shan) "language." He does not give his authority for this statement, which as a matter of fact is incorrect. The names given are, with allowances for double interpretation and running the ordeal of two ears, practically identical with those of the table commonly used in the Shan States, which is given below.

Table for naming the years of the Shan cycle when the number is given, or numbering them when the name is given.

	Saw.	Plaw.	Ngi.	Mau.	Si.	Siu.	Singa.	Mut.	San.	Raw.	Mit.	Kiu.
Kap ...	1		51		41		31		21		11	
Dap ...		2		52		42		32		22		12
Rai ...	13		3		53		43		33		23	
Mung ...		14		4		54		44		34		24
Plek ...	25		15		5		55		45		35	
Kat ...		26		16		6		56		46		36
Khut ...	37		27		17		7		57		47	
Rung ...		38		28		18		8		58		48
Taw ...	49		39		29		19		9		59	
Kaa ...		50		40		30		20		10		60

"The system," Ney Elias continues, "is doubtless the same as the "Indian cycle of sixty or the 'Jovian cycle,' though this is not "arranged in twelves and tens, but in a continuous list of sixty "single appellations. Under the name of *Vrihaspati Chakra* this "has been discussed and tabulated by Prinsep in the second volume "of *Indian Antiquities*. Though he points out, what is obvious, "that the small cycle of twelve—the so-called 'branches' of the "Chinese—is in fact the true cycle of Jupiter (one revolution of "Jupiter is really only about eleven years and ten months), he gives "no explanation of the origin of ten 'stems' or multipliers. In "his comparative table, the first year of the Indian list corresponds "with the fourth of the Chinese, and this Prinsep believes goes far "to disprove the connection of the two systems; but it is curious "that some Brahmin astrologers at Mandalay, who were applied to "for an explanation of the above Shan scheme, at once connected "it with the Indian cycle by producing the following table, or "transfer of the Shan into the Hindu cycle in every day use in "India." The Sanskrit names as transliterated for Elias are almost

identical with those given by Prinsep. The Shan names are not those of Ney Elias, but of the common Shan table.

No.	Shan name.	Hindu name.
1	Kap Saü	Prabhava.
2	Lap Pao	Bibhava.
3	Hai Yi	Sukla.
4	Möng Mao	Promudhat.
5	Pök Hsi	Projaputi.
6	Kat Hsaü	Angira.
7	Hkūt Hsa-nga	Srimukha.
8	Hūng Mūt	Bhava.
9	Tao Hsan	Juba.
10	Kā Hao	Dhattri.
11	Kap Mīt	Iswara.
12	Lap Kaü	Bohudhanya.
13	Hai Saü	Promathi.
14	Möng Pao	Vikrama.
15	Pök Yi	Brisha.
16	Kat Mao	Chitrabhanu.
17	Hkūt Hsi	Subhanu.
18	Hūng Hsaü	Tarona.
19	Tao Hsa-nga	Parthiba.
20	Kā Mūt	Byaya.
21	Kap Hsan	Sarajit.
22	Lap Hao	Sarvadhari.
23	Hai Mīt	Virudhi.
24	Möng Kaü	Bikrita.
25	Pök Saü	Khora.
26	Kat Pao	Nongdona.
27	Hkūt Yi	Vijaya.
28	Hūng Mao	Jaya.
29	Tao Hsi	Munmutha.
30	Kā Hsaü	Durmukha.
31	Kap Hsa-nga	Himalongba.
32	Lap Mūt	Bilongba.
33	Hai Hsan	Vikari.
34	Möng Hao	Sarbari.
35	Pök Mīt	Plava.
36	Kat Kaü	Subha-krita.
37	Hkūt Saü	Subhana.
38	Hūng Pao	Krudhi.
39	Tao Yi	Bisvabasu.
40	Ka Mao	Porabhava.
41	Kap Hsi	Plabanga.
42	Lap Hsaü	Kiloka.
43	Hai Hsa-nga	Saumya.

No.	Shan name.	Hindu name.
44	Möng Mūt	Sadharona.
45	Pök Hsan	Virudhi-Krita.
46	Kat Hao	Paridharbi.
47	Hkūt Mīt	Promarthi.
48	Hūng Kaü	Anangda.
49	Tao Saü	Rak-Khyosa.
50	Kā Pao	Nala.
51	Kap Yi	Pingala.
52	Lap Mao	Kalyukta.
53	Hai Hsi	Sidharthi.
54	Möng Hsaü	Rudra.
55	Pök Hsa-nga	Durmoti.
56	Kat Mūt	Dundhubhi.
57	Hkūt Hsan	Rudhirud-Gari.
58	Hūng Hao	Raktak-kha.
59	Tao Mīt	Krudhana.
60	Kā Kaü	Akhyaya.

No trace of a serial numbering of the sexagenary periods seems to have been found in Chinese writings any more than a reason why the period of sixty years was selected. It is therefore too much to expect that the Shan books should be more methodical. If the number of the cycle and the name of any particular year were given, it would be an easy matter to identify the date, but the omission of both leaves a wide margin for conjecture and has led to the errors in chronology and the repetition of the same historical fact in successive centuries which Mr. Parker has detected in Sir Arthur Phayre's History of Burma. Before a date can be fixed from the Shan annals it is necessary to determine some starting point which will fit the cycle chronology into our calendar. Fortunately this is possible in several instances. The particular event chosen by Ney Elias as sufficiently well-marked for his purpose is singularly enough the very story seized upon by Mr. Parker to prove that "the Manipur chronicle is exactly a century wrong," and that Sir Arthur Phayre repeats the same story at intervals of a century, the later date being correct. This is the flight of the Chau Ngan-pha King of Möng Mao according to Ney Elias; Tho-ngan-bwa, *Sawbwa* of Mogaung according to Sir Arthur Phayre; Sz-jên-fah, *Sawbwa* of Luh-ch'wan according to Mr. Parker. The Shan form would be Sao Ngan Hpa. This chieftain fought with the Chinese and was defeated. He then fled to Ava and was followed by the Chinese, who demanded his surrender from the King of Burma. Before he could be given up, the *Sawbwa* poisoned himself and his body was

given to the Chinese General, who dried it in the sun and carried it back to Yünnan. Now this story is told first in Elias' Shan History of Möng Mao, where the date of Chau-ngan-pha's death is placed in a certain year of a certain unnamed and unnumbered cycle; secondly, the Burmese annals chronicle the circumstance under the year 1444 A D.; thirdly, in Demailla's History of China precisely the same event is recorded as having occurred in 1448 A. D.; and finally Mr. Parker translates it from the Momien annals, but does not give any definite year farther than that " the whole story belongs to the period 1432—1450."

From this coincidence of independent annals it is possible to fix the cycle of the Shan year named and the number in that cycle. Thus a starting point is obtained. It is not a little singular that the same incident should furnish us with the means of comparing Chinese and Burmese forms of transliterating Shan names and should also demonstrate that the term " Kingdom of Pông," which has been so long an unsolved riddle, is apparently a generic rather than a particular name and was applied, or was applicable, to whatever Shan principality happened for the time to be most powerful or most prominent, no matter what its special name might be.

Ney Elias confirms this determination of date by reference to the conquest of Wehsali, or Upper Assam, by the Sam-lung-pha mentioned in his histories of Möng Mao and Mogaung. This person is the Hkun Sam Lōng of the Hsen Wi chronicle, and was brother of the *Sawbwa* Hsö Hkan Hpa, who is Elias' Chau-kwam-pha and Pemberton's Soogampha. The cycle date for Sam Lōng's conquest of Assam is given in the Shan chronicles. Four or five years later a relative named Chau-ka-pha (Sao Ka) was established as first *Sawbwa* of the newly conquered territory. " And we " know from independent modern Assamese sources that the date of " Chau-ka-pha's accession is 1229 A.D., and that it is probably cor-" rect or nearly so to within a year or two. The event is not only " one of the most conspicuous in the history of Möng Mao and of its " dependency, Mogaung, but with the Assamese it holds a corre-" sponding position to the Norman conquest in the History of Eng-" land, and serves the purely Ahom race in Assam as a starting point " from which to date their entire history; for these people first mi-" grated to that country at the time of Sam-lung-pha's invasion. " (The fact that they have since entirely disappeared or have " coalesced with the conquered Hindu population does not affect the " history.) Until the reign of King Gaurinath Singh (1780 to 1795) " the Assamese annals had been very imperfectly kept, but that king " caused a commission of Nora astronomers and other learned per-" sons to be deputed to Mogaung to examine the histories of their

"race in possession of the Shan Buddhist priests of that place, and "to verify the books (or traditions) brought into the country by "Chau-ka-pha. The examination completed, this commission re-"wrote the Ahom history in Assamese, and extended it backwards "from Sam-lung-pha's conquest of Assam to the founding of the "first Shan capital on the Shweli river, and, in doing so, happily "made two statements, either of which, like the above story of Chau-"ngan-pha, would in itself be sufficient to identify a cycle as a start-"ing point. The first statement is that they, the astronomers and "others, having calculated the dates, &c., find that eleven *Tao Hsa-"ngas* (so the cycle is called) elapsed between the descent from "heaven of the founders of the city on the Shweli to the accession "of Chau-ka-pha as King of Upper Assam; the second is an inci-"dental remark that the Burmese commenced their national era with "the reign of the Mao King Ai-dyep-that-pha. Now, if eleven "*Taohsa-ngas*, or six hundred and sixty years, be subtracted from "the date, 1229 A.D., the year of Chau-ka-pha's accession, we arrive "at 569 A.D., or within one year of the date that would be shown by "subtracting the aggregate of the reigns from the date of Chau-"ngan-pha's death. Again, the reign of Ai-dyep-that-pha is stated "by the Shans to have commenced in the seventieth year after the "foundation of Mung-ri-mung-ram (the Möng Hi and Möng Ham "on the Mèkhong of the Hsen Wi Chronicle), which would give 568 "+ 70 or 638 A.D. as the year usually assumed for the commence-"ment of the Burmese national era."

When the starting point is thus obtained, the dates can easily be fixed, for the length of each *Sawbwa's* reign is carefully preserved and forms the main basis for reckoning the dates. Comparison with the Burmese calendar is also an assistance, as are the Chinese dates, though the former is uncertain owing to the interference with the calendar of various kings for superstitious or ambitious reasons; and the latter because of the arrogant Chinese fashion of ignoring Burmese and Shan titles and using surnames which they mangled, or inventing family names such as never have existed either among Burmans or Shans. The Chinese Emperors, whose real names were also tabooed, and who used reign styles just as the Popes do, always affected to believe that the writers of letters from tributary States—and they considered all the world tributaries—used only their family and personal names. When they knew these they used them. Thus Sin-byu-shin is known as Mêng Yün, that is to say, Maung Waing, and Tharrawaddi is referred to as Mêng K'êng, Maung Hkin. When they did not know them, they devised wild travesties which stood for "family names."

The Tai cycle calendar, or *Hpè Wan*, is no longer used in any part of the British Shan States. It appears in old histories of Hsen Wi and the Northern Shan States, but is never used in the southern chronicles. The Shan-Chinese may use it, but this is not known for a fact. As a means of calculating lucky days, working out horoscopes, and divination generally, it is, however, the text-book of Shan diviners, as it is with the Chinese. Details of it in this form are given in a later chapter.

History.

The late Mr. Ney Elias, in his *Introductory Sketch of the History of the Shans*, was the first to gather together details about the country which is now definitely known as the Shan States. He had the advantage of visiting the northern part of the country, that of the Tai Lông, the great Shans, before the perpetual civil war of the latter days of Burmese rule had destroyed practically every ancient record in every part of the British Shan States. He compared the manuscripts he obtained with what earlier information was available from Major Boileau Pemberton's account of the Kingdom of Pông derived from a Manipur Shan Chronicle (*Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, Calcutta, 1835) and with this he collated details noted by Dr. Richardson, Colonel Hannay, Dr. Anderson, and others in various scattered journals and papers.

Unfortunately Elias's notes were collected for him by "a well-read Hindu moonshee," whose capacity for catching Shan names and committing them to paper afterwards was not on the same level with his reading. It does not appear that Elias obtained actual possession of the manuscripts, but in any case what he gives in his pamphlet is compiled from the moonshee's notes. He describes the process as follows :—

"I engaged him to give me verbal extracts of historical notes concerning the Shans in English, omitting the fabulous portions, and also to fill up the many voids they then contained, by consulting the Shan priests resident at Mandalay and others who had a knowledge of their books. In this way not only were several Shan histories put under contribution, but a number of Burmese translations of Shan books were examined and their contents made available either as original material, or as the means of rectifying uncertain points derived from the more direct sources, while native Burmese and Assamese works were also utilized for reconciling doubtful dates, or events with well ascertained historical facts in the annals of those countries. Thus the story is not a translation of any particular work, but an outline sketched from a variety of sources."

It is greatly to be regretted that Elias did not give the translations separately, so that the different sources of information might be ascertained. It is at any rate certain that the various names

were a good deal tortured from the Shan form both by the Burmese translators and by the moonshee. In the following extract therefore the names have been restored, wherever it is possible, to their Shan form. In what Elias calls "the story of Mung-mau" he believes that he has identified that now-a-days insignificant Shan-Chinese State with Kawsampi and the Kingdom of Pông. As we have seen, this appears more than doubtful.

Though the Mao Shans trace their existence as a nation to the fabulous and comparatively recent source of the heaven-descended Kings Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, as will be seen below, still as a race they appear from the Burmese books to have a legend assigning their origin to the earliest period of Burmese history and indeed to a common parentage with the latter people. That this is not an original tradition of their race, but one imported in the course of Buddhist teachings, there can be little doubt; but it is remarkable that no other appears to exist either in their own or Burmese writings (the researches of Mr. E. H. Parker given below supply much from the Chinese). The legend is probably the one briefly referred to in the opening lines of Cap. II of Yule's *Mission to Ava* and of which the author justly remarks that it is one "of equal "value and like invention to that which deduced the Romans from "the migrations of the pious Æneas, the ancient Britons from Brut, "the Trojan, and the Gael from Scota, daughter of Pharoah."

The following epitome is from the Burmese *Tagaung Yazawin*.

"About three hundred years before the birth of Gautama, or 923 B.C., and 1491 years before the descent of Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, a Sakya prince called Abhi Rajah arrived from Kapilavastu by way of Arakan and founded the city of Pagan, called Chindwe in some accounts, on the left bank of the Irrawaddy. He had two sons whose Burmese names are Kangyi and Kanngè, and at his death the former retired to Arakan and became king of that country, whilst Kanngè succeeded his father at Pagan, and in his turn was succeeded by thirty-one of his lineal descendants, whose names are given in the Burmese record, but no dates. The last of these, or the thirty-third from Abhi Raja, was one Beinaka (the Shan Pēng Naka of the Ông Pawng Hsi Paw Chronicle, given elsewhere in this work, which may be consulted as a variant), who reigned roughly speaking about the commencement of the religious era, or partly during Gaudama's lifetime. In the course of Beinaka's reign a Chinese army (as we have seen, it seems practically certain that this army was Tai, not Chinese) invaded his country, captured Pagan, destroyed it, and obliged him to take refuge at Male on the right bank of the Irrawaddy and nearly opposite the present ruins of Lower Sabènago (Champa Nagara). Here he shortly afterwards died and his people became broken up into three divisions. One of these remained at Male under Beinaka's Queen, Naga Sēng, a second wandered towards the south and was absorbed by the Pyu, a sec-

tion of the Burmese proper (the name is of Chinese origin), while the third migrated eastward and became Shans, forming the nineteen original Shan districts or States.

"Of these districts or States, no names are given, and probably the number is an imaginative one; but it is remarkable that the legend of the Pwons (of whom some, under the name of Hpôn, still live in the third or upper defile of the Irrawaddy), derived from an entirely different and original source, carries us back to this same event—the first fall of Old Pagan. These people pretend that they are descendants of the elephant drivers, whom the Chinese (? Tai) conquerors pressed into their service to conduct the elephants captured in the city back to China; that they escaped thence and wandered westward to the third defile (*Kyaukdwin*) of the Irrawaddy, where they are still settled.

"After the Chinese had retired from Pagan, one Dhaja Raja, another prince of Kapilavastu, came from India, married the widow Naga Sĕng, and rebuilt the capital immediately beyond the north wall of the old city. This was the Tagaung of the Burmese and the Tung Kung of the Shans, and the date of its foundation given by the Burmese is the twentieth year of the year of religion (523 B.C.) and by the Shans the twenty-fourth year (519 B.C.). After this there are no dates, or numbers of generations, recorded with any certainty, but Dhaja Raja's dynasty appears to have ruled at Tagaung until Hkun Lu displaced it and put his son Ai Hkun Lu on the throne at some date probably within one generation posterior to the year 568A.D., if indeed it occurred at all."

It seems very probable that all this has been taken by the Shan chronicle from the Burmese *Maha Yazawin*. Elias continues:—

"It is, however, with the Mao Shans rather than with Tagaung that we are concerned, so let us pass on at once to their earliest national legend, which is told in all the Shan histories with apparently little variation, thus—

"In the year of Religion 1111, or 568A.D., two sons of the gods, named Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, descended from heaven by a golden ladder and alighted in the valley of the Shweli river. They were accompanied by two ministers Hkun Tun and Hkun Hpun, one of whom was descended from the sun and the other from the moon; they were also attended by an astrologer descended from the family of Jupiter and by a number of other mythical personages. On arriving at the earth they found men who immediately submitted to them as rulers sent from the gods, while one of the mortals called Laun-gu (this suggests the Chinese name Laongu or Lao Wu) or Sao Tikan offered to become the servant of the two brothers. Before leaving heaven, the god Tüng Hkam had given them a cock and a knife and had enjoined them, immediately on arriving on the earth, to kill the cock with the knife and to offer up prayers to him at the same time; when the ceremony was over, they were to eat the head of the bird themselves and give the body to their ministers and attendants. It was found, however, that by some mistake the cock and the knife had been left behind and Laun-gu was sent to heaven to bring them down. He went and returned with both, but reported that the god Tüng Hkam, being angry

with the brothers for their carelessness in leaving these things behind, had sent a message that after duly sacrificing the cock, the brothers were to eat a portion of the body only and give the rest to their attendants. In this way Laun-gu managed to secure for himself the head. He then asked the brothers to confer upon him some reward for the service he had rendered in regaining the sacrificial objects from heaven, and they gave him the country of Mithila to govern. (This is the Pali or classical name for Möng Hkè, which is properly speaking Yünnan only and not all China. Wideharit or Videha, a name also given to Yünnan, is another title for the ancient Mithila or Meittila.) Having eaten the head of the cock, he became a wise and powerful Chinese ruler, while the heaven-descended brothers, having eaten of the body, remained ignorant Mao Shans.

"Laun-gu, on arriving in Mithila, founded the capital Möng Kyè (this is no doubt Möng Sè Lông, which is the name by which the Shans know Yunnan-sen, the residence of the modern viceroy, or Governor-General of Yün-kuei, *i.e.,* the two provinces of Yünnan and Kuei-chao) and commenced his rule in 568A.D. He died after sixty years reign in 628 and was succeeded by his son Sao Pu, who also reigned sixty years and was followed in his turn by his son Hsak-ka in 688 (the term of sixty years appears so often in these traditionary writings that it suggests the idea of being merely indicative of a considerable length of time and of meaning about a cycle). This last with his lineal descendants, it is stated, ruled for two hundred years, when a relation (of the same race) named Fwei-No-Ngan-Maing (it is difficult to make anything of this name) succeeded to the throne and. together with his descendants, retained it for one hundred and fifty years, or to A. D. 1038. Farther than this the Shan records do not follow Laun-gu *alias* Sao Ti Kan. (It may be noted that this is roughly speaking the time of Anawra-hta, the conquering king of Pagan.)

"Shortly after their descent to earth Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai quarrelled on the subject of precedence and the former determined to abandon his claim to the kingdom in the Shweli valley and to found a new one for himself. With this view he packed the two images of his ancestors, one male called Sung and one female called Seng, into a box, and started towards the west, carrying the box upon his head. He crossed the Irrawaddy and shortly afterwards arrived at a place near the Uyu river, a tributary of the Chindwin, where he established himself and founded a city called Möng Köng Möng-Yawng (this is no doubt the district of, and round about, the present Singkaling Hkamti) whence he sent forth his sons or relations to become rulers of neighbouring States. Of these there appear to have been seven, but whether sons or not is uncertain; however, it is of little importance, as from the following list it will be seen that this part of the record has hardly yet emerged from the domain of fable. (With this may be compared the story of the Hsen Wi chronicle, which is given below, of the five brothers who came from the Mèhkong from Möng Hi, Möng Ham, which appear to be Elias's Mung-ri Mung-ram.)

Distribution of Hkun Lu's posterity (i.e., his seven sons or descendants).

1. Ai Hkun Lung ... King of Tung Kung or Tagaung.
2. Hkun Hpa ... King of Möng Yang (Mohnyin). He paid a tribute of a large number (" ten lakhs") of horses.

3. Hkun Ngu ... King of Lamung-Tai, *i.e.*, La Bông near Chieng-mai. He paid a yearly tribute of three hundred elephants.

4. Hkun Kawt Hpa ... King of Yôn Lôn or Möng Yawng (probably Garnier's Möng Yong, the former capital of Kēng Cheng, the Cis-Mèkhong portion of which is now annexed to Kēng Tūng). Yearly tribute, a quantity of gold.

5. Hkun La ... King of Möng Kala or Kale on the right bank of the Chindwin above Mingin. Tribute, water from the Chindwin river.

6. Hkun Hsa ... King of Ava (*sic*), but probably Möng Mit is meant, since a ruby mine is said to have existed at his capital. Tribute 2 viss (about 7 pounds weight) of rubies yearly.

7. Hkun Su ... King of Möng Yawng on or near the Uyu river, where his father Hkun Lu had also reigned.

Hkun Su reigned for 25 years from 608 to 633 A. D.
Sao Hsen Saũ, a son, reigned for 19 years from 633 to 652 A. D.
Sao Hkun Kyaw, a son, reigned for 15 years from 652 to 667 A. D.
Sao Hkun Kyun, a son, reigned for 11 years from 667 to 678 A. D.

"During the reign of this last, his son Hkam Pông Hpa went to reside at Möng Ri Möng Ram, and afterwards reigned there as king of Möng Mao. [The Möng Ham, which this would appear to be, is still one of the XII Panna of Kēng Hūng (Chêli.)]

"Thus Hkun Lu and his posterity reigned at Möng Köng Möng Yawng for one hundred and ten years, and meanwhile Hkun Lai had founded a capital called Möng Ri Möng Ram at a short distance from the left bank of the Shweli, and supposed to be some 8 or 9 miles to the eastward of the present city of Möng Mao. [Here Ney Elias was probably misled. *See* the Hsen Wi Chronicle below.] Here he reigned for seventy years and was succeeded by his son Ai Htēp Htat Hpa, who ruled for forty years, but who died without issue in 678 A. D. and consequently in the fortieth year of the Burmese era. The son of Sao Hkun Kyun, mentioned in the above list, was then created king, and in his person Hkun Lu's line became supreme among the Mao. The length of his reign is not known, but he was followed by his son, during whose rule the capital Möng Ri Möng Ram declined and became of secondary importance to the town of Ma-Kao Möng Lông, which was situated on the right bank of the river and believed to be some 6 or 7 miles west of the capital. This king was succeeded by his younger brother, Hkam Hsip Hpa, who ascended the throne in 703 A. D. and established his court at Ma-kao Möng Lông, thus finally abandoning Möng Ri Möng Ram. [On this Elias has the following note:—" *See* Hannay (*Sketch of Singphos*, &c., 1847, page 54), where the name of Kai Khao Mau Loung, *the great and splendid city*, is given as the capital of the Pông kingdom on the Shweli. The name Mau is significant, though my informants make it Mung. At page 55 Hannay gives Moong Khao Loung as the old name for the present Mogaung; in both these *khao* probably means city." Want of knowledge of Shan led to this error. *Kao* means old; M. Kao, M. Lông means simply " the old (or former) city, the

great city." It is unwise to make definite assertions, but it may be suggested that "the old capital" may be either the Hsen Sè Man Sè of the Hsen Wi Chronicle or Ta-li Fu, the capital of Nanchao[1].

"During the next three hundred and thirty-two years Hkam Hsip Hpa and his descendants appear to have reigned in regular succession, while nothing worth recording is to be found during the whole of this period. The succession, however, was broken at the death of Sao Lēp Hpa in 1035, and a relation of the race of Tai Pông of Yôn Lôn (*vide supra*) was placed on the throne in that year. He was called Hkun Kawt Hpa and signalized the change in the accession by establishing a new capital, called Cheila (the modern Sè Lan), on the left bank of the Shweli and immediately opposite 'Ma-kau Möng-Lông.' He is also said to have incorporated Bhamo with his dominions.

"At this time the dominant power in all these regions was that of the king of New Pagan, Anawra-hta, and in the history of Möng Mao it is recorded that Hkun Kawt Hpa's son and successor gave his daughter in marriage to the Pagan monarch, thus almost implying that he acknowledged him as liege lord, though it is also stated that he never went to the Pagan court as a true vassal must have done. But, however this may have been during Anawra-hta's lifetime, certainly the succeeding kings of Mao were entirely independent, and they appear to have reigned in peace and unbroken succession until the death of (Pam) Yao Pông in A. D. 1210, when a third influx of Hkun Lu's posterity occurred in the person of Sao (Aimo) Hkam Neng, of the race of Hkun Su of Möng Köng Möng Yawng. And it is remarkable that this new influx took place while Yao Pông's younger brother was actually in power in the neighbouring State of Möng Mit, where he had just previously founded the capital and commenced an almost independent reign.

"Sao Hkam Neng reigned for ten years and had two sons, Sao Hkan Hpa (the Sookampha of Pemberton) and Sam Lông Kyem-möng, or Sam Lông Hpa, the latter perhaps the most remarkable personage in the Mao history. The first succeeded to the throne of Möng Mao at the death of his father in 1220 A. D., but Sam Lông Hpa had already five years previously become *Sawbwa* of Möng Kawng or Mogaung, where he had established a city on the banks of the Nam Kawng, and had laid the foundation of a new line of *Sawbwas*, tributary only to the kings of Mao. He appears to have been essentially a soldier and to have undertaken a series of campaigns under his brother's direction, or perhaps as Commander-in-Chief of his army (this is the position given him in the Hsen Wi Chronicle). The first of these campaigns began by an expedition into Mithila, when he conquered Mông Ti (Nan Tien), Momien (Têng-Yüeh), and Wan Chang (Yung-chang), and from thence extended his operations towards the south, Kūng Ma, Möng Möng, Kēng Hung (Chêli), Kēng Tūng, and other smaller States, each in turn falling under the Mao yoke. With Hsen Wi an amicable arrangement was come to, in virtue of which the *Sawbwa* of that State became so far a vassal as to engage to send a princess periodically to the harem of the Mao king.

"Immediately on Sam Lông Hpa's return to Möng Mao he was ordered away on a second expedition to the west, and on this occasion crossed the Chindwin river and overran a great portion of Arakan, laying the capital

in ruins and establishing his brother's supremacy in a number of towns on and beyond the right bank of the Chindwin.

"A third expedition was then undertaken to Manipur with similar success to the two last, and again a fourth to Upper Assam, where he conquered the greater portion of the territory then under the sway of the Chutya or Sutya kings.

"While on his return from this expedition Sao Hkan Hpa, being jealous or fearful of his brother's influence, decided to put him to death, and with this end in view left his capital on the Shweli and proceeded to meet him at Möng Pēt Hkam on the Taping river (which Elias identifies with Hentha near Old Bhamo). A great ovation was given to the successful general, but after the lapse of some time, according to the most trustworthy account, his brother succeeded in poisoning him, or, according to another account, he failed in the attempt, and San Lōng Hpa made good his escape to China.

"This was probably the period of greatest extension reached by the Mao Kingdom, and certainly, if their own account be accepted, their country now formed a very respectable dominion. The following is the list given by the Shan historians of the States under the sovereignty of the Mao Kings immediately subsequent to Sam Lông Hpa's conquests, but a mere glance at the name of some of them, such as Arakan, Tali, &c., will show it to be greatly exaggerated, though it is possible that at one time or another some portion of all the places named may have fallen under their power:—

(1) Möng Mit, comprising seven *möngs*, namely, Bhamo, Molai, (this suggests the Molè river, or it may be Möng Lai), Möng Lông, Ong Pawng Hsipaw (these are the same place), Hsum Hsai, Sung-ko (Singu), Tagaung.
(2) Möng Kawng or Mogaung, comprising ninety-nine Möngs, among which the following were the most important,—Möng Lông (Assam), Kahse (Manipur), part of Arakan, the Yaw country, Kale, Hsawng Hsup, Möng Kōng Möng Yawng; Möng Kawn (in the Hukawng valley), Singkaling Hkamti, Möng Li (Hkamti Lông), Möng Yang (Mohnyin), Môt Sho Bo (Shwebo), Kunung-Kumun (the Mishmi country), Hkang Sè (the Naga country), &c.
(3) Hsen Wi comprising forty-nine *möngs*.
(4) Möng Nai.
(5) Küng Ma.
(6) Kēng Hsen, the present Siamese province of Chieng Hsen on the Mèkhong.
(7) Lan Sang (the Burmese Linzin). This is no doubt the principality which had at different periods Wing Chan (Viengchan) and Luang Prabang for its capital; the Chinese Lan-tsiang.
(8) Pagan.
(9) Yôn (Chiengmai and neighbouring States).
(10) Kēng Lông, probably Kēng Hūng, the XII Panna, called by the Chinese Ch'êli.
(11) Kēng Lawng, said to be the country north of Ayuthia, where there are many ruined capitals.

(12) Möng Lem.
(13) Tai Lai, possibly Ta-li Fu.
(14) Wan Chang (Yung-chang).
(15) The Palaung country Tawng Peng Loi Lông.
(16) Sang-hpo (the Kachin country).
(17) The Karen country.
(18) Lawaik.
(19) Lapyit.
(20) Lamu, which are not easily to be identified.
(21) Lahkeng (Arakan, meaning probably that portion not under Möng Kawng, Mogaung).
(22) Lang-sap (?).
(23) Ayuthia (Siam).
(24) Htawe (Tavoy).
(25) Yunsaleng.

[This may be compared with the list in the Hsen Wi Chronicle, where the claims are even more extensive].

"During the two reigns following that of Sao Hkan Hpa, the capital of Möng Mao remained at Sè Lan, or at the opposite town of 'Ma-kau Mung Lung' (*vide supra*), but in 1285 one Sao Wak Hpa became king and, though apparently of unbroken lineal descent, a new capital was founded called simply by the name of the country Möng Mao and situated, so far as can be ascertained, on the site of the present town of Möng Mao—certainly this is the last change of capital recorded.

"Sao Wak Hpa died after a reign of thirty years in 1315, and for nine years subsequently the throne of Möng Mao was vacant. Eventually, however, a natural son named Ai Puk was elected to fill it, but he proved profligate and incompetent to discharge the duties of a ruler, and after six years was deposed by the ministers, when a second period of nine years ensued, during which no king could be found to assume the direction of affairs. (The Hsen Wi Chronicle covers the same ground and gives a clearer idea of the transitory nature of the hegemony of any single Shan State.)

"Eventually in 1339 a relative of Sao Wak Hpa named Sao Ki Hpa, otherwise known as Tai Pông (there is almost certainly some confusion here, which cannot be unravelled since Elias does not discriminate Burmese details from Shan, or manuscript information from that obtained by word of mouth) was crowned, and with him an era of wars with China appears to have commenced, which was destined finally to end in the fall of the Mao Kings as independent sovereigns (the Chinese had now consolidated their power in Ta-li and were pressing westwards).

"The first record of Chinese invasion is an unimportant one and merely states that in the fifth year of Sao Ki Hpa's reign (*Pök Hsa-nga* 55 = 705 B. E. = 1343 A. D.) an army arrived in Mao territory from Mithila for the purpose of reconnoitring, but that no fighting ensued. The next occasion was just fifty years subsequently, during the reign of Sao Ki Hpa's son Tai Lông, when a Chinese force appeared and attempted the conquest of the country; it was defeated, however, by the Shans and returned after suffering great losses.

"Tai Lông, after a reign of fifty years, was succeeded by his son Sao Tit Hpa, or Tao Loi, as he was also called, who appears to have carried on

certain negotiations with the Chinese during the early part of his reign, and in the sixteenth year of it (*Hai-yi* 3 = 773B.E. = 1411 A. D.) to have gone on a visit to the Governor of Yünnan. The Shan history indeed chronicles that he went to Möng Hkè, the capital of Mithila, to consult with the *Emperor* and that during an interview with the latter, in which he was accompanied by his son Sao Ngan Hpa, he was given a cup of spirit to drink, which so completely intoxicated him that the Emperor, at the instigation of a minister named Maw Pi, obtained from him the royal seal and thus rendered his country tributary. (The capital referred to was no doubt Yünnan-sen and the Wông Ti, the Governor-General of the Province, not the Emperor, who then lived in Nan-King.) In *Pök-hsi* 5, or two years after this event, Sao Tit Hpa returned to Möng Mao, and in the next year a party of 130 mules came down from China. Each mule was loaded with silver cut into small pieces, and on arriving in the neighbourhood of the capital, those in charge led them into the bamboo jungle that surrounded the city, and scattered the silver among the trees. The party then returned to China, and the inhabitants of Möng Mao cut down the jungle in order to find the silver. The sequel of this story is not given, but the inference is that the ruse was practised by the Chinese to clear the environs of the city of the jungle in order to attack it the more easily.

"In the following year Sao Tit Hpa died and was succeeded by his son Sao Ngan Hpa, the events attending the latter part of whose reign are well known from Burmese history. He had two brothers named Sao Hsi Hpa and Sao Hung Hpa, with whose assistance he invaded and subdued the Shan States to the east and south-east of his country and then marched on to Tai Lai, which State he also conquered. Here he was reinforced by the armies of all the Chiefs he had subdued so far and decided with this enormous host [it was tallied by each man dropping one *ywe* seed (*Abrus precatorius*) into a basket and four baskets full were gathered up] to attempt the conquest of Mithila. He started accordingly from Tai Lai, but was met by a Chinese force under the walls of the capital, Möng Sè (Yünnan-sen), and was defeated; he then fell back first on Tai Lai, afterwards on Wan-chang (Yung-chang), and eventually retired into Mao territory, followed by the inhabitants of all the places he had subdued, who preferred to cast in their lot with his, rather than endure the vengeance of the Chinese. On arriving near his capital, he found the inhabitants panic-stricken and flying to Ayuthia and in many other directions; his army broke up and joined in the flight, whilst he himself, accompanied by his brother Sao Hsi Hpa (Sao Hūng Hpa had died just previously) sought an asylum at Ava. The Chinese followed, however, took up a position north of the city of Ava, and demanded the surrender of Sao Ngan Hpa from the Burmese King. The latter replied that one of his nobles called Min Ngè Kyaw Dwin was in rebellion at Yamèthin and that, if the Chinese commander would first subdue and bring this rebellious noble to the capital, he would deliver to him the Mao King. The Chinese general consented and despatched a portion of his army to Yamèthin. The place was surrounded and Min Ngè Kyaw Dwin captured and brought into Ava, but on hearing of his arrival Sao Ngan Hpa, finding his end inevitable, took poison and died. His body nevertheless was given up to the Chinese Commander, who had it disembowelled and dried in the sun, and immediately afterwards returned with it to Yünnan (B. E. 807 = 1445 A. D.). [This story is discussed later in the light of Mr. Parker's Chinese researches.]

"Sao Hsi Hpa was then placed on the throne of Möng Kawng and Sao Ngan Hpa's queen went at the same time to Hkamti with her two children, Sao Hung aged ten and Sao Hup aged two. On arrival there a third, named Sao Put, was born, and one of these three became *Sawbwa* of Hkamti.

"For three years after Sao Ngan Hpa's death Möng Mao was again without a king, but at the end of that time an uncle, or the descendant of an uncle of Sao Wak Hpa, called Sao Lam Kôn Hkam Hpa, and nearest remaining relative to Sao Ngan Hpa, was placed on the throne (*Hai-saü* 40=1448). In the fourth year of his reign a large force from China invaded his country, defeated his troops, and compelled him to take flight or seek a refuge with the Burmese at Ava. After five years of exile he returned to his country and died in *Hai-hsi* 53=1461 A. D. He was succeeded in the same year by his son Sao Hôm Hpa, who was assailed almost immediately on his accession by a Chinese army of great strength, which, however, he defeated and drove back within the border of their country after 18 days of continued fighting. But at a later period of his reign (about 1479 A. D.) the Chinese returned and this time routed the Mao Shans, and Sao Hôm Hpa, like his predecessor, fled to Ava for protection. After four years he returned to his capital and seven years later died there. His death, however, did not terminate the wars with China, for in the sixth year of the reign of his son and successor Sao Ka Hpa (1495 A. D.) the enemy again came down in force and invaded the Mao territory Some fighting occurred, of which no particulars are given further than that it proved adverse to the Shans, though not absolutely disastrous, but still sufficiently humiliating to the pride of Sao Ka Hpa to cause him to abdicate and make over the government to his son Sao Pem Hpa, while he himself retired to Ai Hkam, the northern division of Hkamti, and afterwards to Mogaung, of which State he became *Sawbwa.*

"Sao Pem Hpa appears to have been permitted by the Chinese to remain in peace for 20 years, when a force from Yünnan under a general named Li Sang Pa attempted an invasion of the country, but was repulsed. Li Sang Pa (the name cannot be traced in Mr. Parker's translations), however, retired only to a short distance within his own border, and shortly afterwards conceived the idea of taking Möng Mao by means of a ruse. He constructed a number of rafts, placed a goat on each, and set them floating down the Shweli ; the Shans, on seeing the goats approaching from the side of China, exclaimed *Hke Poi Pe Ma*, 'the Chinese are sending goats down,' a cry that quickly spread through the town as 'the Chinese are coming floating down' and caused a general panic. The citizens, together with the army, fled in all directions and Sao Pem Hpa, who was ill at the time and unable to move, died as the enemy entered his city.

"The causes of these wars are never mentioned, and it is almost impossible to believe that the Chinese were always the aggressors, unless some provocation had been previously given by the Shans. Still the next and last two Chinese wars are described by the Shan chroniclers to be, like all the previous ones, purely unprovoked movements on the part of the enemy. Before these took place, however, the Maos were destined to experience what I believe was their first and only war with the Burmese." [Elias thinks that the previous wars with the Burmese did not extend

beyond Möng Yang and Mong Kawng—Mohnyin and Mogaung, which, however, outlasted the Eastern Shan States.]

"Sao Pem Hpa was followed in 1516 by his son Sao Hom Hpa, who reigned for the extraordinary period of 88 years and administered his country so successfully that it enjoyed a state of prosperity it had never before attained. Whether it was that this condition of prosperity excited the cupidity of the Pegu King, or whether he attacked Möng Mao in the course of a general plan of conquest of the Shan States, it is impossible to say, but probably some cause other than that assigned by the Burmese chroniclers is to be looked for. These pretend that shortly before 1560 the Maos had seized some villages within the borders of Möng Mit, and that the *Sawbwa* of the latter place had appealed to the Burmese for aid, but as Möng Mit had up to within a year or two of this time been a part of the dominion of the Mao Kings, and the Burmese had been steadily advancing their conquest of the Shan States from south to north, it is scarcely necessary to look for any special cause for quarrel. In any case, during the year 924 B. E. = 1562 A. D., the King of Pegu is reported to have sent an army to Möng Mao, numbering two hundred thousand men, under the command of his son, the heir-apparent, and three of his younger brothers, rulers respectively of Prome, Toungoo, and Ava. They appear to have commenced the campaign with an incursion into the Northern *Sawbwa*-ships and to have burned Santa, Möng La, and other neighbouring towns, and afterwards to have descended on the capital, where after little or no fighting they compelled Sao Hôm Hpa to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Pegu King, and to send him a princess in token of homage. When the Burmese army retired the city was spared, and teachers of Buddhism were left there to instruct the Shan priests in the worship of Gaudama and to convert the rulers and people.

"Some twenty years after these events (namely, in *Möng Hsaü*" 54 = 944 B. E. = 1582 A. D.) and apparentiy during a time of peace between China and Burma, the Maos were again attacked by a Chinese army numbered, in the usual inflated style, at three hundred thousand men. Three great battles were fought, none of which were decided in favour of either party, but eventually the Chinese sued for peace, and, when this was accorded by Sao Hôm Hpa their army retired to Yünnan. Another twenty years of tranquillity then ensued, but in *Kat Mao* 16 = 966 B. E. = 1604 A. D. a Chinese general name Wang Sang-su with a considerable force made a descent on the borders of Möng Mao, and Sao Hôm Hpa being old and feeble decided to make over the government of his country to his son Sao Borēng, then the reigning *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi. He had scarcely done so when he died, and at the same time the Chinese army commenced its march on the capital. The Shans appear to have made but a feeble resistance, if indeed any at all, for Sao Borēng, a few days after his accession to the throne, abdicated and fled, on the Chinese being reported to have arrived at the crossing of a certain tributary of the Shweli, a few miles above the capital. He made for Mogaung with a party of Chinese pursuing him, and reached Kat Kyo Wing Maw, on the left bank of the Nam Kio (the Irrawaddy), where his followers mutinied, and in despair he drowned himself in the river. The Kat Kyo Wing Maw *Paw Möng* recovered his body and buried it, subdued the mutinous followers, and sent them to Ava, where they petitioned the king to grant the

grandson and only remaining descendant of Sao Hôm Hpo a territory to reign over, as Mông Mao was now in the permanent occupation of the Chinese. This prince was called Sao Tit Hpa and he was relegated to Mogaung, where a certain line of *Sawbwas* had just then become extinct."

With this summary by Mr. Ney Elias may be compared the following history of Hsen Wi now first translated. It is pieced together from two manuscripts, one furnished by the Northern Hsen Wi State, the other by the Southern, a division which dates from the British occupation. Both chronicles are modern compilations.

Hsen Wi Chronicle.

The chronological history of the ancient governors (Mahathamada Min) of the Shan States from the beginning of the four cycles of time when fire, water, and wind separated and formed the earth and the four *Dats*; from the coming into existence of this world called *Badda*; from the commencement of the reign of Hkun Lu and Hkun La (called in Mr. Elias' history Kun Lai) to the present day.

In former days the golden town of Hsen-sè Man-sè Mè-möng, mother of countries, had no governors and was administered by four *Paw Möngs* or elders. These were—

Htao-Möng Htao-Lēk of Ho-tu
Htao-Möng Htao-kang of Möng Tön
Htao-Möng Htao-Kang-Hawp of Hsen-sè
Htao-Möng Htao-Kang-Hawp of Htu-mo.

These elders ruled over the country in harmony with one another and laid the foundations of the history of the Shan States.

The Hsen Wi Hsi-hsö, Hsen Wi Hsö-pa-tu, Hsö-an-hpu, Hsö-an-wu, Hsö-mo (That is to say, the "Four Tiger country." What difference there is between Pa-tu, An-hpu, An-wu, and Mo tigers is a refinement which appears to have been now lost.), Kawsampi, the country of white blossoms, may be briefly described as follows.

The country of white blossoms and large leaves was the name given to Möng Kawsampi, the country which lies near the golden Hpaw-di (the *Ficus religiosa*) in the Myitsima country, where the Buddha was born.

In Möng Kawsampi there lived a queen named Ekka-Mahehsi Dewi, who was great with child, and one day she lay wrapped in a red shawl in the sunshine on the terrace of the palace. There a monstrous bird, the *Tilanka*, saw her and took the red shawl for a piece of raw flesh. He stooped down and carried her off beyond the reach of mortals into the depths of the Hema Wunta, the centre of the 3,000 forests. There he settled on a great Mai Nyu tree and would have devoured her, but the Dewi cried aloud and the *Tilan-*

ka was afraid and flew away. The queen was then delivered of a male child on the tree and the cries of the infant attracted the attention of a *Rathi*, a holy man who lived in the wilds and was at the time repeating his doxologies. He came to the tree; the queen told how she had been carried of from Möng Kawsampi and he made a ladder for her and helped her down and she and the child went and lived with him in his retreat.

When the boy was 14 or 15 years of age the *Thagyas* came down from the skies and presented him with a harp, whose strains subdued all the elephants of the forests, and the boy was then known by the name of Hkun Hsēng U Ting from the word *ting* a harp.

Then Hkun Hsēng U Ting gathered together all the elephants of the forests with the sounds of his harp and marched to the country of Kawsampi. There he found that his father, the king, was dead, and he succeeded him on the throne and went back to the place where his mother was, and there he built a city called U Ting, afterwards known as Möng Ting, on the spot where the *Thagyas* gave him the harp. The spot where the queen had lain in the sun and had felt the wind raised by the wings of the *Tilanka* was called Möng Mao from the word *mao* (to be dizzy), and it retains that name to the present day, and the country of the 3,000 forests, the Hema Wunta, was known from the time of the ancient monarchs as Hsen Wi Hsi-hsö, the Hsö-pa-tu, the Hsö-an-wu, the Hsö-an-hpu, the Hsö-mo, also called the country of white blossoms, the province of Siri-wilata Maha Kambawsa Sēngni Kawsampi, even to the present day.

In the year 1274 after Buddha's *nirvana*, corresponding to 92 B. E. (A. D. 730), there lived in Man Sè, a country near Möng Mao, an aged couple on the banks of a lake called Nawng Put. They had a son named Hkun Ai, who used to go out daily with the others to guard the cattle as they grazed near the Nawng Put lake to the north of the town of Man Sè. Hkun Ai was 16 years of age, and one day a *Naga* Princess came to him in the shape of a human being and entered into conversation with him. The conversation ended in love and they went together to the country of the *naga* dragons. The princess made Hkun Ai stay outside the town till she had explained the situation to her father, the King of the Dragons. In consideration of his son-in-law's feelings, the king ordered all the *nagas* to assume human form and the princess and her husband then lived very happily together in the palace which the Dragon King assigned to them. In eight or nine months' time, however, came the annual water festival of the *nagas* and the king bade his daughter tell Hkun Ai that the *naga* must then as-

sume their kraken form and disport themselves in the lakes of the country. She told her husband to stay at home during the festival days and she herself went and joined the rest of the *nagas* in their festive gambols. Hkun Ai climbed on to the roof of the palace and was discomposed to find the whole of the country and the lakes round filled with huge sportive *naga* dragons. In the evening they all assumed human form and went home again. The princess found Hkun Ai very downcast when she came back and abruptly asked him what was the matter with him. He replied that he was home-sick and wanted to see his old father and mother again. Accordingly they went back to the country of men and arrived at the Nawng Put lake. There the *Naga* Princess told him she would lay an egg from which a child would be hatched, and this he was to feed with the milk which would ooze from his little finger whenever he thought of her. If ever he or the child were in danger, he was to strike the ground three times with his hand and she would come to his aid. Then she laid the egg and went home to the country of the *nagas*. Hkun Ai covered over the egg with hay and dead leaves on the brink of the Nawng Put lake and then went home to his parents, to whom he related all his adventures, but told them nothing about the egg, of which he was very much ashamed. They were in great joy at his return, but they noticed that every day after his meals he went away to the lake. So one day they followed him secretly and found him nursing a child in his lap on the brink of the lake. Then he told them that this was his son by the *naga* Princess and how he had hatched the egg under dry leaves (*tüng*). So they called the child Hkun Tüng Hkam and took him home with them and brought him up. From the day when the child entered their house they throve and prospered and they became great people in Man Sè.

When Hkun Tüng Hkam was 15 or 16 years old, Sao Wōng-Ti was King of Meiktila [Mithila is the classical name for Möng Chè, which to the Shan means rather Yünnan than the whole of China. The Meiktila here referred to, notwithstanding the title Sao Wōng-Ti (Hwang-ti, the Emperor of China), is evidently Yünnan-sen and not either Peking or the Meiktila of Upper Burma], and he had a daughter, the Princess Pappawadi, of 14 or 15 years of age, who was very famous for her beauty. There were so many suitors for her hand from all the countries of the earth that the king had a golden palace built for her in the middle of the lake near the town and hung up in it a gong. He then announced that whoever get to the palace dry-shod without the use of bridges, boats, or rafts and struck the signal gong should have the princess to wife. Hkun Tüng Hkam heard the news and marched from Möng Mao with a

large following. He found the lake surrounded with the camps of kings and princes who had come to sue for Princess Pappawadi and were holding great revelry, but had not devised means of getting to the golden palace Hkun Tüng Hkam went to the edge of the lake in the evening and. struck the ground three times with his hand. His mother, the *naga* Princess, appeared and made a bridge across the lake with her body, over which he walked and appeared before the princess Pappawadi. She was greatly struck with his bearing and they immediately fell in love with one another and struck the signal gong. Sao Wông-Ti had them brought to his own palace and there asked Hkun Tüng Hkam who he was and whence he came. When he was told that the mother of the suitor was a daughter of the King of *nagas* and his father a descendant of the ruling house of Hsen Wi Kawsampi, the country of white blossoms, he was much gratified and the marriage ceremony was carried out immediately.

Then Sao Wông-Ti, with all his ministers, marched back with the newly married couple and built a great palace for them to live in in Möng Mao, and the town where the palace was built was called Tüng Hkaw. In the year 125 B. E. (763 A. D.) Hkun Tüng Hkam and the Princess Pappawadi became governors of the country and they had a son named Hkun Lu, who was elected king (Thamada Min) upon the death of his father, Hkun Tüng Kham, in the year 197B. E., after a reign of 72 years. Hkun Lu reigned 80 years and was succeeded by his son Hkun Lai as Thamada Min in the year 277B. E. (915A. D.). Hkun Lai reigned for 36 years and died at the age of 87 in the year 313B. E. (951 A. D.).

The name Hsen Wi is derived from *wi*, the bunches of plantains grown in the garden of the two aged cultivators of Man Sè near the Nawng Put, the parents of Tüng Hkam, and has been in use ever since in the form Hsen Wi Hsi Hsö, Hsen Wi Hsö-an-wu, Hsö-an-hpu, Hsöpatu, Hsömo, Kawsampi, the country of white blossoms in the province of Siriwilata Maha Kambawsa Sēngni Kawsampi.

After the death of Hkun Lai the country was left without a ruler for five or six years and all the eight Shan States agreed to be bound and governed by the decisions of the elders of the ruling family who remained. These were the four *Htao-möngs*: *Htao-möng* Htao Lēk of Ho Tu, who was elder brother of *Htao-möng* Htao-kang of Möng Tön and *Htao-möng* Kang-hawp of Hsen Sè, who was uncle of *Htao-möng* Kang-hawp of Wing Tu.

To these four the people rendered their homage with presents of gold and silver and other precious articles every two or three years.

The names of these eight Shan States under the four *Htao-möngs* were :—

On the East.

Möng Mao.	Möng Wan.
Möng Na.	Möng Ti.
Möng Hön.	Möng Yang.
Möng Hkattra Sè Hpang.	Möng Kawn.

On the West.

Möng Leng.	Möng Yantare.
Möng Küng Kwai.	Lampalam.
Möng Kawng.	Man Maw.

On the South.

Möng Hsi Paw.	Möng Küng.
Lai Hka.	Kēng Tawng.
Kēng Hkam.	Möng Nai.
Mawk Mai.	Möng Sīt.
Möng Pawn.	Nawng Wawn.
Yawng Hwe.	Hsi Kīp.
Sam Ka.	Möng Pai.

On the North.

Möng Ting.	Küng Ma.
Möng Ching.	Möng Möng.
Möng Lem.	Möng Him.
Möng Lön.	

All these States rendered homage to the four *Htaomöngs*.

In the time of the first *Maha Thamadamins*, Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, the boundaries extended to Möng La, Möng Hi, and Möng Ham on the banks of the Mèkhong. There was there a chief named Hkun Lu Hkam, who had many sons who governed under him in the province of Kēng Mai.

The four *Htao-möngs* found the burden of affairs very great and therefore, on the eighth waning of the fourth month (March), in the year 316 B.E. (954 A.D.), they went, with representatives of the people, to the Chief of Möng Hi and Möng Ham, on the frontier of Möng La in the province of Kēng Mai, on the banks of the Mèkhong, with presents of twenty-one viss of silver and three viss of gold and other valuable articles, to ask Hkun Lu Hkam to give them his sons for their governors. The Chief consented and gave his five sons, Hkun Tai Hkam, Ai Hawm, Hkun Hkam Sen, Tao Hkun Wen, and Hkun Hkam Hsen, together with eight others of different parents, Hkun Hkam Pawng Hpa, Hkun Hsēng Pawng,

Hkun Tao Hsēng Hkam, Hkun Tao Ao Kwa, Hkun Tao Nga Rung, Hkun Hpa Wun Tön, Hkun Tao Lu Lö, and Hkun Pan Hsö Lông, all of them descendants of the house of Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, to go with the *Htao-möngs* and to be rulers over the Cis-Salween States. Accordingly they all returned together and arrived at Möng Tu in Hsen Wi on the day of the full moon of the seventh month (June) of 317 B.E. (955 A.D.).

In the following year the four *Htao-möngs* summoned all the people together to receive their respective rulers and then they and Sao Hkun Tai Hkam appointed them as follows :—

Hkun Tao Ao Kwa was appointed *Sawbwa* of Möng Nai, Kēng Hkam, Kēng Tawng, and Mawkmai, as far as the Siamese borders.

Hkun Tao Hsēng Hkam was appointed *Sawbwa* of Yawng Hwe, Möng Pawn, Hsi Hkip, Hsa Tūng, Maw La Myeng, Nawng Wawn, Lai Sak Sam Ka, Yan Kung, and Möng Pai.

Hkun Tao Nga Rung received Möng Mao, Möng Na, Sè Hpang, Möng Wan, Möng Ti, Mông Hko, and Möng Kawn.

Hkun Hpa Wun Tön received Möng Ting, Möng Ching, Küng Ma, and Möng Möng.

Hkun Tao Lu Lö received Möng Ham, Möng Yawng, and Möng Hkattra.

Hkun Pawng Hpa received Wing Hsö.

Hkun Hsēng Pawng received Möng Kun Kwoi and Lampalam.

Hkun Pan Psö Lông received Möng Kut, Mong Lông, and Hsum Hsai.

Hkun Hkam Hsēn received Kēng Lao, Man Maw, Kēng Leng, Möng Yang, and Möng Kawng.

Tao Hkun Wen became *Sawbwa* of Möng Yuk, Möng Yin, Möng Maw, Möng Tai, and Möng Ham.

In the year 319 B.E. (957 A.D.) Sao Hkun Mai Hkam appointed his son Hkun Ai Hawm to be the governor of Möng Tu, with his headquarters in Hsen Wi town, and in the same year Sao Hkun Tai Hkam and his son Sao Hkun Hkam Hsen Hpa proceeded to establish the city of Hsen Sè, which was to be the capital of all the Shan States, where State affairs were to be settled.

The newly appointed chiefs then left Hsen Wi Hsi-hsö, Hsen Wi Hsö-an-wu, Hsö-an-pu, Hsö-pa-tu, Hsö-mo, the country of white

blossoms, in the province of Siriwilata Maha Kambawsa Kawsampi and went to their respective States, where they built towns and palaces.

Möng Hsi Paw,	Möng Sang,	Möng Peng,
Möng Hkö,	Möng Lön,	Möng Hsu,
Möng Lao,	Möng Möng,	Möng Hu, and
Lawk Sawk,	Möng Küng,	Möng Pat
Möng Nawng,	Lai Hka,	

were declared to be under the direct control of Sao Hkun Tai Hkam of Hsen Sè.

Man Sè Mèmöng,	Möng Ko,	Möng Hka,
Möng Yaw,	Möng Wan,	Ko Kang,
Möng Htam,	Möng Kek,	Möng Paw,
Möng Ya,	Möng Si,	Möng Lawng

were placed under the direct control of Hkun Ai Hawm of Möng Tu in Hsen Wi.

Möng Yuk, Möng Tat, Möng Mao, and Möng Noi were placed under the direct control of Tao Hkun Wen of Wing Nan Möng Yin.

Tao Hkun Wen of Möng Yīn had a son named Hkun Tao Pa Pawng. and Hkun Tao Pa Pawng had a son named Hkun Tai Pawng. Hkun Tao Pa Pawng died during the reign of his father.

The history of Möng Mit, Keng Lao, is as follows :—The *Sawbwa* Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa had three sons Ta Ka, Hkun Yi Awng, and Hkun Sam Hsö. Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa appointed the middle son to be governor of Möng Yang (Mohnyin), Möng Kawng (Mogaung), and Man Maw (Bhamo).

Hkun Hkam Pawng Hpa of Kare Wing Hsö died without issue and consequently his ministers applied to Sao Hkun Tai Hkam of Hsen Sè for a ruler and Hkun Sam Hsö, the youngest son of Sao Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa, was appointed.

Hkun Sam Hsö also died, but left a son Hkun Ting, who succeeded him.

In the year 429 B.E. (1068 A.D.) Hkun Hkam Hken Hpa of Möng Mit and Kēng Lao died and his eldest son Sao Hkun Ta Ka succeeded him as *Sawbwa* and in the following year removed his capital from Kēng-lao to Sung Ko (Singu). He had a son, Hkun Kôm, who succeeded him on his death in 547 B.E. (1185A.D.). Hkun Kôm had one hundred wives, but none of them bore him a child. He therefore ordered them to pray to the *nats* for the gift of a son. One night a *nat* appeared to him and told him to hold *pwès* for seven days and seven nights on the banks of the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy) with all his wives and all his people. Gold dust would

come floating down the river and, if one of the queens swallowed this, she would bear a son. Hkun Kôm told his dream and made arrangements for the holding of the seven days feast. But a very violent storm burst and the river rose in flood and Hkun Kôm and his queens returned to the town without seeing any gold dust. One queen with a few attendants remained behind and kept a careful watch. Her servants found a strange fruit floating on the river and she ate it and went back to the palace. In a few months time she was delivered of a child, but the other queens were jealous and dropped the baby over the palace wall and told the mother that it was still-born. The baby did not die of the fall, so the queens had it placed in the middle of the road where the cattle were daily driven past. Next day when the cattle were let out, a large spotted cow protected the child, took it up in her mouth, and carried it with her to the grazing-ground, where she fed it with her own milk and took it back with her every night to the cattle-pen. This went on for eighteen months and then the queens discovered that the child was not dead, but went to the fields every day and when any man came near, hid itself in the mouth of a large spotted cow. They therefore resolved to have all the spotted cows in the country killed and persuaded the doctors to tell the *Sawbwa* that it was necessary to sacrifice them to the *nats*, in order that he might have a son. The spotted cows were all slaughtered, but the protector of the little prince had handed him over to the care of a cow buffalo, with whom he now stayed. When the queens heard this they determined to kill all the cow-buffaloes, but the one who watched over the prince fled to Kare Wông Hsö and joined the herd that belonged to the Princess I Pawm, the daughter of the *Sawbwa* of Kare Wông Hsö. The princess heard of it, questioned the boy, and was told everything. She went and told her father, Sao Hkun Ting, who said that the *Sawbwa* of Sung Ko (Singu) was of the true line of the Maha Thamadamin and that therefore, since the little prince had come riding on a buffalo, he must be called Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam and must come and stay in the *Haw* with him.

The news soon came to the ears of Sao Hkun Kôm of Sung Ko and he sent his ministers to bring back his son, whom he received with great delight and acknowledged as his heir. Soon after the Golden Buffalo Prince married the Princess I Pawm and the *Thagyas* came down from the skies and presented him with a double-edged sword.

Tales about the prince spread abroad and reached the ears of Sao Wông-ti (*Hwang-ti* is the title of the Emperor of China, as used in Treaties and in reference to deceased sovereigns, like the Latin *Divus*), who sent an Embassy to invite him to the Gem Palace

in China. Therefore the prince went there with a great retinue in the year 663B.E. (1302A.D.). The Emperor received Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam with great honour and proposed that he should go as an emissary to Hsihapadi, the King of Pukam Pawk Kan (Pagan), to demand the payment of the tribute of four elephants, eight viss of gold, and eighty viss of silver which had been paid by his ancestors every three years or every nine years. One hundred Chinese therefore accompanied Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam on his return. Fifty of these stayed with him in Sung Ko and fifty went on to King Hsihapadi of Pukam Pawk Kan. The King of Pagan refused to pay the tribute, put forty of the Chinamen to death, and sent back the remaining ten to tell the Sao Wông-ti that he was prepared for war. Upon this the Emperor of China sent an army and asked for support from Sung Ko under the command of Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam. Contingents came from Sè Hpang, Möng Hko, Möng Hkam, Möng Yang, Möng Na, Santa, Möng Ti, and Möng Wan, and all the other Shan States under the chief *Sawbwa*, Sao Tai Pōng, and placed themselves under the leadership of Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam. It was in 639 B.E. (1277 A.D.; there is a mistake of twenty-one years) that Sao Wông-ti declared war against Hsihapadi, King of Pu Kam Pawk Kan. The Chinese forces with the Shan army invaded Pagan and drove the King and his son Hsiri Kyawzwa to Pyama Möng Myen. (Ser Marco Polo's Kingdom of Mien. Male was the place, according to the Burmese histories.) This was in the year 641 B.E. (1279 A.D.) and in the following year Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam carried the head of Hsiri Kyawzwa to the Chinese Emperor, and the troops returned to their own country.

In those days Sao Tai Pông governed the whole of the Shan States except Möng Mit, Möng Yang (Mohnyin), Kare Wông Hsö, Möng Küng Kwai Lam, Möng Kawng (Mogaung), and Man Maw (Bhamo), which were independent of him and were governed by Sao Hkun Kôm of Sung Ko.

In the year 318 B.E. Sao Tao Nga Run left Hsen Wi and began to develope Möng Nam and Möng Nö and lived in the town of Wing Môn of Möng Mao as the *Sawbwa* of these States. Sao Nga Run had a son named Hkun Tum, who was chosen by the people as their *Sawbwa* after the death of his father and subsequently took the name of Sao Hôm-möng. He had a daughter named Sao Môn La and a son named Sao Kaw Leng. In the year 419B.E. (1057A.D.) the King Nawrahta Mangsaw of Pagan went up to Möng Wông in search of the five relics of Buddha, and on his way back he stayed at Möng Mao and Möng Nan and met the Sao Hôm-möng there and married his daughter Sao Môn La.

The descendants of Sao Hkun Nga Run failed in 457B.E. (1095 A.D.) and Möng Mao was left without a ruler for some time, but the ministers went to the *Sawbwa*, Sao Tai Pông of Hsen Sè, and asked him to appoint some one. He accordingly sent them his youngest son, Hkun Hpang Hkam, who left Hsen Wi in 458B.E. (1096A.D.) and went to Möng Mao, where he built himself a capital at the town of Wing Wai. It was during his reign that one of the younger daughters of the Sao Wông-ti of the Gem Palace in China was killed in her own chamber by a huge tiger. The Chinese followed up the tiger's tracks and sent notices to the *Sawbwas* of the Shan country on both banks of the Nam Kông. The tiger measured twelve cubits high and travelled so fast that he passed through three *möngs* in the day and seven *möngs* in the night. He crossed the Chinese frontier and came to Mo Kang Hsö in Möng Lön territory. The *Sawbwa* of Möng Lön then ordered the people of Hsen Lem, Möng Keng, Man Niu, Pang Kwang, Sônmu, Kang Hsö, Mōt Hai, Maw Hpa, and Hsai Möng to hang iron chain traps along the banks of the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy; evidently the Salween is meant). The tiger was thus caught in an attempt to jump across the river at a place which has ever since been known as Ta Wüt Kiu-hsö-wen, from the tiger's leap. The people took the tiger (in the South Hsenwi Chronicle it is said to be a white tiger) to the *Sawbwa* of Samparalit in Möng Lön, and he sent it across the Nam Kiu to his cousin, the *Sawbwa* Hkun Hpang Hkam. They went by way of Man Kat, Möng Pat, Ho Ya, and Möng Sit and called at Kalö, Man Sè, La Hseo, Ho Pök, and Loi Kyu and so arrived at Möng Li (these places are all in Hsen Wi, so that the Nam Kông, the Salween, and not the Nam Kiu, the Irrawaddy, is meant). Hkun Hpang Hkam had heard of the coming of the tiger and sent his ministers to meet it at Möng Li and bring it to Wing Wai. Hkun Hpang Hkam took it himself from his capital to the Sao Wông-ti, who was greatly pleased and presented Hkun Hpang Hkam with a State Seal and also with a Passport Seal, which authorized him to tax all who passed through his country, and he also conferred on Hkun Hpang Hkam the title of Governor of Mo Pong Hsè Pong (this is no doubt the name Mu Pang by which Hsen Wi is known to the Chinese and an allusion to the Chinese Seal, which was used by the *Sawbwas* of Hsen Wi). The South Hsen Wi version says that nine Hsat-hte (publicans) came with the seals and established nine tolls at different places in Hsen Wi and collected duties, a portion of which were sent to the *Sawbwa* of Mang Lön because he caught the tiger. Hkun Hpang Hkam, on his return from China in 470B.E. (1108 A.D.), moved his capital from Wing Wai to Nam Paw, south of Hpang Hkam in the

PLATE VI.



Photo-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899

SHAN SAWBWA IN COURT DRESS.

country of Möng Mao, and there he built a large town and made it the capital of all his States (this is no doubt the ruined city of Hpang Hkam near Sè Lan on the Nam Paw). Hkun Hpang Hkam ruled over Möng Mao, Möng Wan, Möng Na, San Ta, Möng Ti, Möng Ham, Sè Hpang, Möng Kwan, Möng Ya, and Möng Hkat-ta-ra. He had four daughters named Nang Ye Hkam Lông, Nang Ye Hkam Leng, Nang Ye Hseng, and Nang Am Aw, but he was growing old and he had no son to succeed him. He therefore prayed daily to the Yôk-ka-so *nat* that he might have a son. One day he entered the chamber of his youngest queen, who was so discomposed by his sudden arrival that his suspicions were aroused. Accordingly a watch was set on the queen's chambers and one night the guard announced that the Yôk-ka-so *nat* was with her. An attempt was made to capture him, but the *nat* settled on the palace roof and told the *Sawbwa* that he was the spirit of the last *Sawbwa*, Sao Hôm-möng, and would give Hpang Hkam a son, but only if he fell down and worshipped him in the shape of the shoe which he threw down. Instead of worshipping the shoe, Hkun Hpang Hkam turned the queen out of the palace and she wandered about begging her food from door to door until one day she gave birth to three sons on the banks of the Nam Paw, at the foot of a hill.

They were named Hkun Ai Ngam Möng, Hkun Yi Kang Hkam, and Hkun Sam Lông. The first of these died in his infancy and, when the *Sawbwa* died, Hkun Yi Kang Hkam was too young to succeed. There was some doubt as to the appointment of a successor, but a vision appeared to the Chief Minister in the night and revealed to him that the second Princess should be chosen, since her elder sister was betrothed to Sao Wông Kiang, who lived at Kēng La O in China. Accordingly in the year 489 B. E. (1127 A. D.) Princess Ye Hkam Leng was appointed ruler and built a city, which was called Wing Nam I Mi of Nam Paw, the Paw river.

Meanwhile in Sung Ko the *Sawbwa* Sao Hkun Kom was dead and was succeeded by his son Hkun Yi Kwai Hkam, who died leaving no issue in the year 670 B. E. (1308 A. D.). The ministers therefore went to Hsen Sè to ask for a ruler and the *Sawbwa* Sao Lông Tai Lông gave them Sao Hkun Hpö Hsang Kang to rule over Möng Mit Sung Ko. He had four sons Hkun Tai Hkön, Hkun Tai Hkai, Hkun Tai Tao, and Hkun Sam Awn. Sao Hpö Hsang Kang only reigned two years and Hkun Tai Hkôn was elected by the people as his successor. He had a daughter and a son named Nang Ye Hkön and Ai Pu Hkam.

When Sao Lông Tai Pōng, the *Sawbwa* of Hsen Sè, had appointed Hkun Hpang Hkam, his youngest son, to be *Sawbwa* of Möng Mao in 458 B. E. (1096 A. D.), he himself gave up the *Sawbwa*-

ship to his second son Sao Hkun Tai Lông and went into retirement. He lived sometimes in Möng Mit Sung Ko, sometimes with his son Hkun Hpang Hkam in Möng Mao, and sometimes with Sao Hkun Tai Lōng in Hsen Sè. He died in Möng Mit Sung Ko at the age of one hundred and twenty in 468 B. E. (1106 A. D.).

During the reign of Sao Hkun Tai Lông, Möng Nan, and Möng Yin were annexed to the State of Hsen Sè, which was then the chief of all the eight Shan States. These were at this time—

Hsen Wi.	Möng Nai.	Yawng Hwe.
Tüng Lao.	Möng Him.	Sam Ka.
Lai Hka.	Küng Ma.	Yan Kông.
Kēng Hkam.	Möng Möng.	Pu Kam.
Wang Kawk.	Hsi Paw.	Möng Lön.
Nawng Wawn.	Möng Küng.	Möng Ting.
Hsi Hkip.	Kēng Tawng.	Möng Ching.
Hsa Tūng.	Hpa-hsa Tawng.	
Maw La Myeng.	Mawk Mai.	

Sao Lông Tai Lōng appointed Sao Tai Paw to the charge of Wing Nan and Möng Yin. Tai Paw had three sons, Tao Noi Chè, Tao Noi Myen, and Saü Pan Noi.

Sao Hkun Tai Lông reigned for one hundred and twenty-three years and died in the year 670 B. E. (1308 A. D.).

His grandson Tao Noi Chè was chosen as his successor by the people and reigned for forty-two years and died at the age of seventy-three. Sao Hkun Loi Hsan Hpa, a son of Sao Pan Noi, was then elected by the people to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Sè.

In Möng Mao, while Princess Ye Hkam Leng was ruler of the State, the two children Hkun Yi Kang Hkam and Hkun Sam Lông lived with their mother at a village Kai Maw at the foot of Loi Lao and grew up as cultivators. One night the Yôk-ka-so *nat* appeared to Hkun Yi Kang Hkam and told him that, if he wished to prosper, he should go and remove a large stone which he would find to the north of his farm. Below it there was a seal which he was to take home with him and treat with reverence. Hkun Yi Kang Hkam told his brother, and the next day they went and found the seal, which they took home with them and gave it to their mother for safe keeping. From that day they prospered and became wealthy.

Nang Ye Hkam Leng reigned for sixteen years and died in 514 B. E. (1152 A. D.) and the ministers then chose Hkun Yi Kang Hkam to be *Sawbwa* of the Möng Mao country. He assumed the title of Hsö Hkan Hpa because one day a tiger had tried to bite him, but was driven away by the sound of his voice. He first

built the town of Wing Sè Hai, but in 516 B. E. (1154 A. D.) he moved from there and built the town of Sè Ran (no doubt the present Sè Lan, the Cheila of Mr. Elias) and fortified it with strong walls and deep moats. When he had established himself there he summoned Hkun Tai Paw of Möng Yin, Tao Noi Chè of Hsen Sè, and all the rulers of the Hsen Wi States to make their submission to him. They flatly refused, so he gathered together an army and invaded Wing Nan, Möng Yīn, and drove out Hkun Tai Paw and his three sons. They fled to Wing Ta Pôk in Hsi Paw and from there made terms with Hsö Hkan Hpa and gave him the Princess Nang Ai Hkam Hpawng in marriage.

In 517 B. E. (1155 A. D.) Hkun Kang Hkam Hsö Hkan Hpa summoned the brothers Sao Tai Hkön, Sao Tai Hkai, Sao Tai Tao, Sao Tai Ting, and Sao Hkam Awn of Möng Mīt, Keng Lao, and Sung Ko to submit, but they killed seven of his messengers and sent back the other three to bid him defiance. Hsö Hkan Hpa therefore attacked them with a large army and defeated them. Sao Tai Hkôn refused to surrender and was executed at Sung Ko. The others submitted and Sao Tao Hkai was appointed *Sawbwa* by Hsö Hkan Hpa, first of Sung Ko and afterwards of Mông Mit also.

Hsö Hkam Hpa carried off Sao Tai Hkön's wife Nang Am Hkawng, with her daughter Nang Ye Hköng and her son Ai Pu Hkam, to Möng Mao and proposed to marry her, but his mother forbade it, because they were cousins. Hsö Hkan Hpa therefore gave her to a *Paw Möng*, Tao Kang Môn, who had been prominent in the war.

In the year 520 B. E. (1158 A. D.) Sao Hsö Hkan Hpa gathered a large army and marched against the Sè Sung-Tu of China. (The South Hsenwi Chronicle says that the Chinese had attacked Sè Ran, but were driven back.) While he was away his ministers invaded Küng Ma, where they captured the *Sawbwa* and put him to death at Tima. Hsö Hkan Hpa conquered the Sè Sung-Tu and advanced to Möng Sè Lông (this is the Shan name of Yünnansen: Sung-tu is no doubt the Tsung-tuh or Governor-General of Yün-Kuei) with a force of four hundred thousand men. Thereupon the Sao Wông Ti enquired what he wanted and surrendered Möng Sè Yung, Sang Mu, and Aw Pu Kat, and this ended the war with China in 521 B. E. (1159 A. D.). As soon as he reached Sè Ran the *Sawbwa* raised another army and invaded Lan Sang, Kēng Hsen, Kēng Hūng, Kēng Tūng, La Sông, La Pông, La Hkông, Möng Hawng, and Hpahsa Tawng, east of Kēng Mai, and conquered them all, and demanded an annual tribute of twenty-four viss of gold, three-hundred viss of silver, and twenty-two elephants, which was agreed to. He then marched up to the Hsip Hsawng Panna of

Möng Yōn, which submitted without resistance, and then he returned to Möng Mao, where he heard that his Chief Minister Tao Kang Môn was dead. He appointed Hkun Pu Hkam in his place and gave him the title of Tao Kang Möng and made him *Sawbwa* of Möng Tu. About the same time the *Sawbwa* Sao Tai Paw sent a present of gold and silver and asked for the hand of Nang Ye Hkön for his son Hkun Saü Pan Noi. They were married and had a son and daughter named Noi Hsan Hpa and Nang Hôm Möng.

After this Hsö Hkan Hpa ordered an army of nine hundred thousand men to march against Möng Wehsali Lông (Assam) under the command of his brother Hkun Sam Lông (this is the Sam-Lung Pha of Elias)and the ministers Tao Hsö Han Kai and Tao Hsö Yèn. When they reached Wehsali Lông, some cowherds reported the arrival of the army from Kawsampi, the country of white blossoms and large leaves, and the ministers submitted without resistance and promised to make annual payment of twenty-five ponies, seven elephants, twenty-four viss of gold, and two hundred viss of silver every three years. Hkun Sam Lông accepted these terms and commenced his march back. The two other generals, Tao Hsö Yen and Tao Hsö Han Kai, sent on messengers to Hsö Hkan Hpa with a story that Hkun Sam Lōng had obtained the easy submission of Wehsali Lông by conspiring with the King of that place to dethrone Hsö Hkan Hpa. The *Sawbwa* believed the story and sent poisoned food to his brother, which Hkun Sam Lông ate at Möng Kông (Mogaung), where he died and was transformed into a *nat*.

About the same time Nang Hkan Hkam Hsaü, the wife of Hsö Hkan Hpa and daughter of the *Sawbwa* of Möng Leng, left him owing to some quarrel and went to China, where she gave birth to a son named Ai Pu Hkam, who married and had a son named Ai Pu.

In 562 B. E. (1200 A.D.) Hsö Hkan Hpa ordered another expedition against Möng Man (Burma) and gave the command to his two sons Sao Saü Pyem Hpa and Sao Ngôk Kyo Hpa, together with the generals Tao Hsö Yen, Tao Hsö Han Kai, and Tao Hpa Prao. They invaded the country and first of all captured Wing Takawng (Tagaung). The ruler of Takawng fled to Wing Hsaching (Sagaing) and put himself under the protection of Sao Yun, who was called also Hsato Ming-Pyu. The Shan army advanced on Sagaing and Hsato Min-Pyu fled immediately and was followed by Sao Hsihapadi of Takawng, whom he put to death. The Shan troops then crossed the Nam Kiu (the Irrawaddy) and took Pin Ya and its ruler called Nalasu, whom they carried off prisoner to Möng Mao, where he was afterwards called Mawpaming. It was

in the year 563 B.E. (1201 A.D.) that Hsö Hkan Hpa's army conquered Burma. (The dates and facts are hopelessly wrong here.)

Two years after this a Chinese fortune-teller came and settled in Wing Sèran and became notorious. Hsö Hkan Hpa sent for him and asked him to show his wisdom. The fortune-teller said the capital was to be moved from Sèran to a place about three miles north of the Nam Mao (the Shweli), where a capital would be found built on gold and silver fields. Accordingly Hsö Hkan Hpa began building a new capital at a place called Tā Hsup-u in the year 566 B.E. (1204 A.D.), and while it was being built many gold and silver pots were found there, where they had been placed by the fortune-teller.

[This new capital was no doubt the present Möng Mao. The manuscript is not at all clear, but the meaning seems to be that the desire was to persuade the *Sawbwa* to move the capital to the Chinese side of the river. According to Ney Elias's version the Chinese sent down a party of 130 mules loaded with silver. This was scattered about among trees which surrounded the site of Möng Mao. The sequel of the story is not given in this case either, but the inference is that the Chinese wanted the people to cut down the jungles round Möng Mao, so that they might attack it the more easily].

Sao Hsö Hkan Hpa was a very powerful ruler and he obtained the submission of the following States and received tribute from them to the end of his days:—

Möng Se-yung, Hsang Mu-kwa Hsi-pa Tu-hsö (query: the Chinese T'u-ssu), Möng Hkön, Meung Yawn, Kawi Yotara, Hpa-hsa Tawng, Labon, Lakawn, Lang Sang [this is what the Burmese called Leng Zeng and is no doubt the Chinese Lan-tsiang; it was probably Wing-chang (Vienchan) or Luang Prabang, whichever was for the time the dominant State of the Lao. Luang Prabang has outlasted Wing Chang as capital], Wang Kawk, Mawk Mai, Hsip Hsawng Panna, Kēng Hūng, Chieng Hai, Chieng Hsen, Chieng Mai, Pai-ko (Pegu), Pang-ya (Pinya), Eng-wa (Ava), Hsa Tung, Yan-kông, Maw Lamyeng, besides Hsa-ching (Sagaing), and Wehsali Lông (which is almost certainly Assam, whose Buddhistical name is Weisali). He reigned for fifty-three years and died at the age of seventy-three in the year 567 B.E. (1205 A,D.) and was succeeded by his son Sao Pem Hpa, who assumed the title of Sao Hsö Pem Hpa and reigned for two years and was succeeded by his son Hkun Tai Pem Hpa, who assumed the title of Sao Hsö Wan Hpa. He was a tyrant and was put to death by his people for his cruelty and oppression.

Hkun Ngôk Chyo Hpa was then brought up from Möng Ang-wa (Ava) and became *Sawbwa* under the title of Sao Hsö Sung Hpa, but died insane in about six months' time, in the year 571 B.E. (1209 A.D.).

The country then remained for a time under the administration of the ministers Tao Hsö Yen, Tao Hpa Prao, and Tao Hsö Han Kai, while enquiry was made as to what had become of Nang Kang Hkam Hsaü, Hsö Hkan Hpa's queen, who had quarrelled with him and gone to live in China, while great with child. The deputation reached Möng Sè Yung-song (probably Yung Ch'ang) and found that the queen was dead, but had left a son named Hkun Pu Hkam, who had a son Hkun Pu Kaw (called Ai Pu above). Hkun Pu Hkam was offered the *Sawbwa*ship, but he refused it and suggested his son Hkun Pu Kaw, who was accordingly elected and on his accession in the year 636 B.E. (1274 A.D.) assumed the name of Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa and took up his abode at Wing Ta Hsup U (the modern Möng Mao).

In the following year the new *Sawbwa* summoned all the tributary chiefs to his capital, but they refused to come. An army therefore was despatched under the command of Tao Hsö Yen, Tao Hpa Prao, and Tao Hsö Han Kai and it overcame the States of Man Maw, Möng Yang, Möng Hköng, Möng Kung Kwai, Lampalam, Kare Wông Hsö, and Möng Yang. A garrison under Tao Hpa Prao was established at Möng Yang and another under Tao Hsö Han Kai at Möng Hköng.

While these things were happening, Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa, the *Sawbwa*, ravished several women in the town and seduced the wife of the minister Tao Hpa Prao. Upon this the *Sawbwa* Tao Kāng Möng of Möng Tu, with a force under the command of Tao Hpa Prao, marched on Wing Tā Hsup U and drove Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa out of the country and he fled to Möng Nan in Möng Sè (Yünnan) and put himself under the protection of the Sao Wông Ti. This was in the year 638 B.E. (1276 A.D.), and at the same time the *Sawbwa* Tao Kang Möng appointed his son Sao Hsö Yep Hpa to be *Sawbwa* of Möng Mao.

At this time (it was really more than two centuries earlier) Nawrahta Möng Saw of Pu Hkam went to China in search of the five relics of the Buddha, and on his return journey he visited the Sông-Tu of Möng Sè (the Governor-General of Yünnan). By the advice of the Sông-Tu, Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa told his story to Naw rahta and was referred to the Emperer of China. Accordingly he went to the Sao Wông-Ti with a present of four elephants, four viss of gold, and forty viss of silver, and petitioned to be reinstated

in Möng Mao. The Emperor thereupon sent five hundred thousand men, with reinforcements of three hundred thousand from Möng Sè, under the command of the General Wang Sōng-ping to reinstate Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa in Möng Mao. Tao Kang Möng offered to submit and made a present of eight elephants, eight viss of gold, and forty viss of silver, which was accepted, but shortly afterwards Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa with a party of Chinese soldiers surprised him while he was smoking opium and put him to death. Upon this his son, Sao Hkun Hkam Tēp Hpa, with all his men, fled to Man Kang in Möng Kyit and Hsö Hôm Hpa became *Sawbwa* again in 641 B.E. (1279 A.D.). Hkun Ham Tēp Hpa retreated before the Chinese and settled at Kēng Pa in Kēng Tawng, near the mouth of the Nam Tēng, which is a tributary of the Nam Kōng (the Salween). The Chinese, however, pursued him here also, so he collected a number of men and attacked them and drove them back as far as Möng Tu, where there was considerable fighting. The Chinese asked for reinforcements and the Sao Wông-Ti sent them, but afterwards, when he was informed that the Nam Mao (the Shweli) was the boundary between Möng Mao and Hsen Wi, he ordered hostilities to be stopped and in 645 B.E. (1283 A.D.) recalled the General Wang Sōng-ping to China. Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa remained as *Sawbwa* in Möng Mao and Sao Hkun Tēp Hpa returned to Hsen Wi and removed his capital in the year 648 B.E (1286 A.D.) from Hsen Wi to Loi Sang Möng Küng, where he stayed for a year and then moved to Loi Löng Pawng Nang. In 650 B.E. he moved again to Wing Ta Puk in Hsi Paw and built a large town there and assumed authority over all the Shan States, including Hsa Tung, Yan Kông, Maw La Myeng, Wang Kawk, Hpa Hsa Tawng, Hsip Hsawng Panna, and Möng Pai. His queen was a daughter of the *Sawbwa* Sao Saü Pan Noi and of Nang Ye Hkön and he had five sons, Hkun Ai Lông, Hkun Hkam Pem, Hkun Hkam Pôt, Hkun Hkam Hôm, and Hkun Hkam Wat and a daughter Nang Hpa Lông Hôm Möng. He appointed his eldest son Hkun Ai Lông to be *Sawbwa* of Möng Yaw during his life time, and after a reign of fifteen years died in the year 765B.E. (1403A.D.). His son Hkun Hkam Pem Hpa succeeded him as *Sawbwa*. He removed to Möng Hkö and remained there for two years and then shifted his capital to Möng Kēng, where he died in the year 767B.E. (1405A.D.) without leaving issue. His brother, Sao Hkun Hkam Pōt, succeeded him as *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi. He had two sons, Hkun Nkam Hung and Hkun Hkam Wat, and died after a reign of two years and was succeeded by his elder son, who took the title of Sao Lông Hkam Hkai Hpa, and in the year 770 B.E. (1408)A.D.) moved his capital from Möng Kēng to Wing

Hkam Kai north of Sè U. In the year 771B.E. (1409 A.D.) Möng Pu Hkam (the king of Pagan) raised an army and invaded Hsen Wi. In the same year Meng Kyawzwa became the King of Ava and joined Meng Pu Hkam in the attack on Wing Hham Hkai Lai. In the year 780B.E. (1418A.D.) the two countries signed a treaty and the Burmese returned to their own territory. According to the South Hsen Wi Chronicle this is the date of the overthrow of Hsen Wi. Sao Lông Hkam Hkai Hpa had three sons—Hkam Hawt, Hkam Yawt, and Hkam Lat. Hkam Hawt was ordered to remain in the capital with his father, but was appointed *Sawbwa* of Wing Hkum. Hkam Lat was appointed *Sawbwa* of Küng Ma. On the death of his father, the second son Hkam Yawt became *Sawbwa* and moved his capital to Wing Leng. He had a son and a daughter—Hkun Wat and Nang Han Hkön Saw—and in the year 806B.E. (1444A.D.) Hkun Wat succeeded on his father's death and moved the capital to Hsup Hio Sè U, on the banks of the Nam Tu (the Myit-ngè). His sister, Nang Han Hkön Saw, was carried off and married by the King of the *Nagas*.

Sao Hkam Wat reigned fifteen years and was succeeded by Sao Lông Hkam Hep Hpa in the year 821B.E. (1459A.D.). In his time the Hsip Hsawng Panna rebelled against his brother, who was in charge and Hkam Wat marched there and restored order and also visited Möng Yon, Möng Ping, and Kēng Mai, where he discovered an image of Buddha and carried it off to Wing Sè U. (The South Hsen Wi Chronicle says that the expedition against Chiengmai was made under orders from the King of Burma and adds that Hkam Hēp Hpa captured the Chief of Chiengmai, Saophra Kaw Möng, also known as Parahsi Hēng-ka, and brought him a prisoner to Hsen Wi). Shortly after his return he shifted his capital to Wing Ai, owing to a famine which prevailed. He reigned sixty-three years and in the year 884 B. E. (1518 A. D.) Sao Lông Hkam Hsen Hpa Ahsen Hpa Kyi of Möng Mit became *Sawbwa* and reigned for ten years. He was succeeded by Sao Lông Hkam Hken Hpa, who was followed in five years' time by Sao Lông Hkam Pak Hpa. In the year 903B.E. (1541A.D.) Sao Lông Hkam Hsen Sung became *Sawbwa* and reigned till the time of Mengtara Rasa Meng Saw. When that king became ruler of Ava he appointed the nephew of Sao Lông Hkam Hken Hpa of Möng Kö to be *Sawbwa* of all the Shan States. In the year 923B.E. (1561A.D.) Sao Löng Hkam Hsen Hpa moved his capital from Wing Sè U to Küng Ma and thence to Wing Tawng Kang Sè Hak, where he reigned for twenty-four years. In the year 932B.E. (1570A.D.) Sao Lông Hkam Hköng Hpa succeeded and moved the capital from Sè Hak to Wing Sè U again.

In the year 953B.E. (1593A.D.) during the reign of Nyawng Rap Meng Kyi Kyaw in Ava, the *Sawbwa* of Hsi Paw Ông Pawng, rebelled and consequently the *Sawbwa* Hkam Hken Hpa sent troops to aid the king in subduing the revolt. They were commanded by Sao Tap Hsang Hkam and he took Ông Pawng and captured the *Sawbwa* Sao Kaw Hpa.

In the same year Möng Ping, Nam Patu, Yawng Hwe, and Nawng Môn rebelled, but were immediately suppressed.

In the year 961 B.E. (1599A.D.) Hkam Hsö Hkam Nan rebelled and seized Wing Sè U and held it for a year, but Hkam Hkai Noi Sao Kyu, who at first took refuge in Kawi Yotara, collected men in the Hsip Hsawng Panna and in Yotara (Siam) and drove out Hkam Hsö Hkam Nan.

In the year 967B.E. (1605A.D.) Sao Kyu and the Hpaya of Möng Pawn rebelled against Mengtara Nawng Sarap. That Prince got reinforcements from Sao Upa Yasa and from Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa, the *Kyem-möng* of Möng Mit, and invaded Möng Pawn and Wing Sè U. Sao Kyu Hkam Hkai Noi had to fly, first to Wing Kēng Hin in China and from there he was driven back to Kawi Yotara. After his flight the people sent Sao Tap Hsawng Hkam with presents to the King Mengtara Nawng Sarap and he accepted the submission of the country and assumed the administration. This was the end of the history of Hsen Wi Lōng, the country of white blossoms and large leaves, in the province of Siri Wilata Maha Kambawsa Kawsampi. It had twenty-five rulers, who were the descendants of the generation of Sao Hkun Tai Hkan and were as follows:—

Hkun Tai Hkan,
Tai Pông,
Tai Lông,
Noi Chè,
Noi Myen,
Noi San Hpa,
Pang Hkam,
Kang Hkam Hsö Hkan Hpa,
Hsö Pyem Hpa,
Hsö Wat Hpa,
Hsö Hôm Hpa,
Hsö Yep Hpa,
Hkun Tēt Hpa,
Hkun Pyem Hpa,
Hkun Put Hpa,
Hkam Pak Hpa,
Hkam Hkai Hpa,
Hkam Hawt Hpa,
Hkam Wat Hpa,
Hkam Hēp Hpa,
Hkam Hsen Hpa,
A Hsen Hpa,
Hkam Hken Hpa,
Hkam Hsen Hsūng Hpa,
Hkam Ching Hpa,
Hkam Nan Hpa, and
Hkam Hkai Noi Sao Kyu.

They ruled over twenty tributary States as follows (these are really the names of the various capitals):—

Hsen Wi Hsen Sè,	Pu Hkam,
Wing Wai,	Nawng Hpö Mè,
U Ting,	Kēng Hīn,
Möng Mao,	Kēng Lön,
Sè Hai,	Wing Hkö,
Wing Nawng I,	Wing Keng Hkam Kai,
Wing Nang Hkai Hkam Pawng,	Wing Leng,
Sè Ran,	Wing Ai,
Lông Kwai,	Sè Hak,
Ta Puk,	Sè U,

and maintained their sovereignty for a period of six hundred and one years.

In 968B.E. (1606A.D.) after the flight of Sao Hkam Kyu, Sao Lông Mengtara Nawng Sarap and Sao Upa Yasa appointed Sao Hsö Hung Hpa, the *Kyem-möng* of Möng Mit, to be the ruler of Hsen Wi Lōng. He was the son of Sao Hsö Hôm Hpa, the *Sawbwa* of Möng Mit, who was a descendant of Sao Lōng Hkam Hken Hpa. (The South Hsen Wi Chronicle places the accession of Sao Hsö Hung Hpa in 1651, but this must be a mistake and is no doubt due to a miscomprehension of the Shan system of counting by cycles. This is hardly understood now south of the Nam Mao, or Shweli river. We know from Burmese history, where Mengtara Nawng Sarap is called Nyaung Ram Meng by Sir Arthur Phayre, that the Northern Shans were subdued in 1604. The Shan date given here is therefore no doubt substantially correct.)

Thus Hsen Wi Lōng became a dependent State of Möng Man Möng Men (*i.e.*, Burma). Wing Sè U was the capital of Sao Hūng Hpa and he reigned for thirty-nine years. He had four sons Sao Kyem-mong Hsö Hūng, Sao Hpaya Sao, Sao Hsö Hôm-möng, and Sao Hsôm Hpu. The *Kyem-möng* died in Pai-ko (Pegu ?) and left a son named Hkam Nawn Nai Hkam Kaw Hpa. Sao Hpaya Sao died in Ava and Sao Hsôm Hpu died in Möng Kawng.

In the year 1006B.E. (1644A.D.) Hkam Nawn was appointed *Sawbwa* with the title of Sao Hsö Hsen Hpa and lived in Wing Sè U. He lived there for six years and was then put to death by Sao Lōng Mengtara and Sao Hsö Hūng Hpa was appointed *Sawbwa.* He had two sons Hsö Hūng and Hkun Awk Hkam and a daughter Nang Han Hpa Hko Hkam Höng.

Hsö Hung Hpa collected an army and invaded Möng Mao, Möng Wan, Sè Hpang, Möng Na, San Ta, Möng Kawn, and Möng Ti, and conquered the whole of the States near the Nam Kông which

had formerly belonged to Sao Hsö Hkan Hpa. Wing Sè U remained his capital and he reigned for thirty-three years. He was succeeded in 1046 B. E. (1684A.D.) by his daughter Nang Han Hpa Hko Hkam Höng, who reigned for four years and died in Wing Sè U. The country then remained for nine years without a ruler and then in 1059B.E. (1697A.D.) Sao Lōng Hkam Hsawng Hpa was named *Sawbwa* and lived for eleven years in Wing Sè U. He then removed his capital to a place called Man Kao Htwe Möng. Pang Pawng and built Wing Ting Yit there, but stayed for only a twelvemonth and then built a new capital Wing Pang Pawng, also called Wing Hsup Pang Pawng.

While he was still at Wing Sè U, a person named Ku Ma of Lan Sang Möng Yotara (Luang Prabang) came with his family to Hsen Wi Lông and settled at Hsup Nang Pang Pawng Tu and built there the Wat Sè Kyu, which was afterwards called Hsüng Pawng Sè U Lông.

The *Sawbwa* Hkam Hsawng Hpa reigned for twenty-three years, eleven years in Wing Sè U and eleven years in Wing Hsup Pang Pawng, besides one year at Wing Ting Yit.

The names of the *Sawbwas* of Wing Sè U were—

Hkam Wat Hpa.	Hkam Hkai Noi Sao Kyu.
Hkam Hsen Hpa.	Hsö Hôm Hpa.
Ahsen Hpa Kyi.	Hsö Kaw Hpa.
Hkam Pēn Hpa.	Hsö Hsüng Hpa.
Hkam Hken Hpa.	Hkam Pēt Hpa.
Hkam Pak Hpa.	Nang Han Hpa Hko.
Hkam Ching Hpa.	Hkam Hsawng Hpa.
Hkam Hsö Hkam Nan Hpa	Hkam Höng.

Wing Sè U remained the capital for a period of 101 years. Hkam Hsawng Hpa had four sons—Hkam Ho, Hkan Hūng, Hkam Leng, and Hkam Kawt—and a daughter named Han Hpa Nang Naw Hseng.

Hkam Ho, who was born of a minor queen, Nang Awn, died young, but left a son named Hkun Li. Hkam Kawt was the son of the Queen Nang Möng Na, and died in Ava, leaving a son and a daughter named Hkun Hsēng Hpo and Nang Hsoi Hkam Möng. The daughter Han Hpa Nang Naw Hsen was the daughter of the Chief Queen Nang Lông Han Hpa Meng Hko Hkam Höng.

Sao Hkun Li was ordered by the King of Ava to invade Chieng Mai. On his return he was appointed *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi and reigned for five years, when he was murdered by dacoits as he was on his way to worship at the pagoda in Kēng Tawng.

Hkun Hsēng Hkam Kawt, a son of Hkun Hsēng Hpo, who was with him at the time, was also murdered.

At the same time the *Sawbwa* of Möng Kang wished to marry Nang Hsoi Hkam Möng, but she fled to Möng Ching.

In the year 1076 B. E. (1714 A. D.) therefore Sao Hkun Leng was appointed *Sawbwa*. He was a uterine brother of Hkun Ho and took the title of Sao Naw Hpa. In the fourth year of his reign Küng Ma rebelled against him, and at the same time his son, the *Kyem-möng*, Pu Sao Htawn La, also rebelled. He was, however, captured immediately and put to death, but very soon afterwards, on the fourth waxing of the fourth month, his daughter, Nang Hsum Naw Hseng Pan rebelled and murdered Sao Naw Hpa in his palace in the middle of the night.

She was confirmed in charge of Hsen Wi by the King Mengtara Nanta Yasa and reigned for 12 years, when she was succeeded in 1090 B. E. (1728 A. D.) by her brother Sao Lông Hkam Höng Hpa. He married Nang Tu Sum of Möng Mao and had four sons and five daughters. (He is apparently the Hseng Höng of the South Hsen Wi Chronicle, which states that he received his appointment order in Ava and returned to the Shan States by way of Yawng Hwe, where he married Nang Hseng Pu, a niece of the *Sawbwa*.)

During the time of the *Sawbwa* Hkam Höng the Kwi Mêng, the country of the Kwi (this is the country of the Kwei-kia, "the Gwè Shans" whom Mr. Parker places in Madaya, near Mandalay), rebelled, and the King of Burma ordered Hkam Höng to march against them. He sent his son Hkam Wat Hpa, who drove the Kwi as far as O Hpo O Meng and then returned to Hsen Wi. Shortly after his arrival the Chinese of Maw La-wu rose in rebellion and seized Maw Pang Hpôk and from there threatened to invade Hsen Wi. Sao Hkam Wat, however, drove them from Kyu Wing Kak back to China. But disturbances caused by the Chinese continued in the Kwi Mêng, at Maw Pang Yang, and at Möng Pat and Ye La, and Hkam Höng sent another army against them under Sao Mang Ti, who drove the Chinese rebels as far as Hsi Paw, where the Burmese troops fell upon them and captured the *Sawbwa* of Möng Pat, who was, however, rescued by his own people as he was being carried down to Ava. Ko Hseng Hsi Kang Rasa was the general in command of the Burmese troops in the Kwi Mêng and he fell in battle there at O Hpo O Meng. Upon this Sao Mang Ti went to the assistance of the Burmese army and fought both the Kwi and the Chinese. While he was still there Sao Lōng Hkam Höng died at Pang Pawng after a reign of twenty-four

years. Sao Mang Ti, his brother, returned in 1115 B. E. (1753 A.D.; the South Hsen Wi Chronicle gives the date as 1750) and was chosen *Sawbwa* by the people at Möng Môt, when he took the title of Hsö Um Hpa. He had three sons named Sao Naw U Möng, Hkun Hsēng Yi, and Hkun Hsam Hpo and two daughters Nang Hseng Hkam Mu and Nang Hsoi Hkam Möng, who were married to Sao Hkam Ho and Sao Hkam Leng. (The South Hsen Wi Chronicle says that Sao Mang Ti confiscated all his brother's property and consequently the dowager Nang Hsēng Pu returned to Yawng Hwe and gave birth there to a son called Hkun Nu, who afterwards became *Sawbwa* with the title of Sao Hswe Cheng. The account given of Sao Mang Ti's reign also differs considerably. The Burmese Government, it is said, persisted in demanding heavy tribute and levies of fighting men from Hsen Wi. Sao Mang Ti built a pagoda and dreamt that, if its spire inclined towards Ava, Hsen Wi was to be always under Burmese authority; if it remained upright, the State was to be independent, but, if it bent towards China, that country was to be the suzerain. Next morning he found the top of the pagoda leant towards Burma. He therefore abandoned Hsen Wi and went to live at Möng Ka in Chinese territory. He was followed there by his son-in-law Sao Hkam Hu, who had been fighting for the Burmese in Karenni. The king summoned both to Ava. Sao Mang Ti refused to go and died shortly afterwards in Möng Ka. Sao Hkam Hu went to Ava and died immediately after his arrival. His brother Sao Hkam Leng remained in Chinese service and was active in invasions of Hsen Wi and held the town for three years. Hkun Hsēng Awng Tun also commanded a Chinese army and invaded not only Hsen Wi, but also Möng Nai, where he maintained himself for 17 years.)

Maw Pang Yang again gave trouble and occupied Nawng Môn La-hseo. The Burmese sent an army under Bo Hsang Kang, and Sao Mang Ti gave the command of his forces to Sao Hkam Leng and they drove the Chinese out of Nawng Môn La-hseo and then marched down to Ava. In 1118 B. E. (1756 A. D., while Sao Hkam Leng was in Ava, his wife, the *Sawbwa's* daughter, took another husband. In the same year Prince Hswe Tawng (Shwedaung) rebelled and had to take refuge in Hsen Wi under the protection of Sao Mang Ti, where he settled in Ting Yit, but had to remove to Kun Lông. Sao Mang Ti supported the Shwedaung Prince in his rebellion against King Awng Zeya (Alaungpaya) in 1120 B. E. (1758 A. D.) and was driven to Küng Ma, where he built a pagoda, and shortly afterwards died.

Awng Zeya died in 1122 B. E. (1760) and was succeeded by Sao Mengtara Nawng Lôk (Naungdawgyi), and in the same year the

chief of Kwi Mêng again rebelled and established himself in Hsen Wi. A Burmese army under Mēng-kyi, Kyaw Ma Ting came up and invaded Kawn Kang, Möng Pat, and Möng Hkö Möng Ka. The Kwi Mêng *Sawbwa* fled to Maw Noi Möng Lem, where he put the *Sawbwa* to death and settled in Möng La.

Shortly after this the Mēng-kyi, Kyaw Ma Ting, came and established himself in Hsen Wi. He recalled Sao Hkam Pat from Möng Kawn and set him up as *Sawbwa*, and, having brought in Sao Kham Ho from Sè Hpang, took him down with him to Ava.

But soon afterwards Küng Ma rebelled and the Mēng-kyi returned and drove the Chinese back to Kyu Hsin and built a bridge over the Nam Kông (Salween.)

In the year 1125 B. E. (1763) Sao Hsam Kyap Me Tu (Sinbyushin) became King of Ava, and on the fourth day of the eleventh month of that year he appointed Sao Kham Leng to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi and he established himself under the name of Sao Lông Hkam Hsawng Hpa. In 1127 B. E. (1765 A. D.) troops from Ava came up under the command of Tēng Kyaw Bo Myawk Wang and Bo Mang Kawng and with reinforcements from Hsen Wi under the command of Sao Hkun Hsēng Awng Htôn marched to Möng Lem and the Hsip Hsawng Möng (Kēng Hūng.) The *Sawbwas* of these States fled to the Sao Wông Ti, who sent an army from China, which drove the Burmans and Shans back to Hsen Wi. The Chinese army then in the following year 1128 B. E. (1766 A. D.) invaded the whole of the eight Shan States on both banks of the Nam Kōng. Sao Hkun Hkam Hsawng Hpa surrendered to the Chinese General at Möng Myen (Mien Ning ?) and was brought by him to Möng Pawn, where he was established as *Sawbwa* with a Chinese title. He reigned for three years and died of cholera soon after receiving his insignia and was succeeded by Sao Hkam Pôt.

There was a Chinese Governor at this time living at Tima and Sao Hkam Pôt went to see him and was well received and sent, with two elephants as a present, to live in Wan Tēng.

Hsen Wi was again utterly destroyed and the Chinese General summoned the States of Möng Myen, Küng Ma, Möng Ching, Möng Ka, and Möng Ting to meet him at Hsen Wi.

But in the first month of the next year a Burmese army under the Myauk Wang Bo came up and expelled the Chinese from Hsen Wi and drove the Chinese Tajên to Möng Na and settled in Möng Sa. But the Chinese troops under the Tajên of Möng Wan attacked him and he retreated to Möng Ma and afterwards to Möng Yôk and Möng Yīn.

The Chinese troops then took possission of Wing Sè U, but the Myawk Wang *Bo* gathered five thousand men and drove them back and, with support from Sao Hkun Hkam Pôt, drove the Chinese beyond Sè Hpang, Möng Ching, and Küng Ma.

At the same time another Burmese army marched through Maw Noi, Möng Lem, and drove the Chinese from the Hsīp Hsawng Möng (Kēng Hūng).

In the following year, however, the Chinese Tajên came through Möng Ko and Möng Si by way of the Nam Lan and occupied Man Saw Sè U and appointed Wu Kung Ye Governor of the Shan States, and drove the Burmese from Hsen Wi to Hsi Paw and later from Hsipaw also. Wu Kung Ye then went to live in Loi Lông. (This Wu Kung Ye is probably the Burmese Thukhunye and the "Duke Fuhêng, the Manchu Generalissimo, a relative of the Empress," of Mr. Parker.)

A Burmese army under the Kyaw *Bo* and the Myawk Wang *Bo* then came up and drove the Chinese from Hsen Wi through the upper defile of Ho Kiu and then expelled Wu Kung Ye from Loi Lông (Tawng Peng) and drove him to Möng Yīn, where he died. (Mr. Parker says "he reached Peking only to die there.") Another Chinese force came from Kang Hsö, but was repulsed and driven back from Möng Yaw. The Chinese carried off some Chiefs and one hundred and thirty households with them to Ta Ri (Tali-fu) and kept them there.

[The South Hsen Wi Chronicle gives the story differently. According to this version, the Chinese General Sao Wong Kantarit came in 1129 B. E. (1767) with a large army, built a bridge over the Nam Tu at Ta Te above Hsi Paw and placed garrisons in Hsum Hsai and other places towards Burma. A Burmese army from Pegu and Martaban drove them back to Wing Hkao Hsan (Lashio), where the Chinese had a formidable fort. The Burmese fortified themselves on the south side of the Nam Yao at Lashio village and waited until the Myauk Win *Bo* marched up through Möng Lem and Möng Ma and attacked the Chinese from the east. The Chinese were then driven from Wing Hkao Hsan (the ramparts of which still remain). Then succeeded a series of *Wuns* and *Sikkès* in Lashio as to which the two chronicles are at variance].

In the year 1137 B.E. (1775 A.D.) the king Sao Mengtara Lông appointed U Ting Hpoi to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi and he removed his capital to the Nam Yao near Lashio, and therefore Lashio was formerly called Wing U Ting Hpoi, after the *Sawbwa* who reigned there for seven years and was succeeded by the Kyauksè *Wun*, who remained in charge for three years and was then replaced

by Sao Hswe Hking of Tön Hkam, who came from Yawng Hwe. He was the son of the *Sawbwa* Khun Hsēng Höng. Sao Hswe Hking took the title of Hsö Wai Hpa and moved the capital to Wing Hsup Pang Pawng. He reigned for twenty-three years and died in 1162B.E. (1800 A.D.)

[Hsi Paw invaded Möng Tung in the second year of his reign (1780), but was repulsed. The South Hsen Wi Chronicle gives further details. King Patung (Bodawpaya) succeeded Singu Min (Maung Maung) in 1781 and summoned the *Sawbwas* of Kawsampi to his capital. Eight of them went. Sao Hswe Cheng did not, and the other *Sawbwas* said that he was preparing to rebel. Sao Hswe Cheng was therefore arrested by the Set-taw *Wun* and the Danubyu *Wun* and taken to Ava, where he was sentenced to death. The *Aweyauk*, in whose charge he was, interested the Queen-mother in the prisoner. She represented the matter to the King, with the result that the *Wuns* were executed and Sao Hswe Cheng was restored to his State. This was in the year before the foundation of Amarapura and two years before the arrival of the Arakan image in boats built specially for the purpose by the King. During the *Sawbwa's* reign it is noted that in 1786 the *Sawbwas* of Hsi Paw and Mang Lön built capitals on new sites. In 1787 the Chinese sent messengers with valuable presents to Hsen Wi, Hsi Paw, and Lawk Sawk, and in 1788 the *Sawbwas* of all the Shan States united to build a fort at Möng Nai, because of an eclipse which happened in that year, while, the year after, a new *hti* was mounted on the Shwe Maw Daw in Pegu apparently for the same reason.]

The *Sawbwas* of Möng Mao, Möng Ting, Hsi Paw, Möng Sīt, Sam Ka, Keng Tawng, Nam Hkôk, Nawng Wawn, and Yawng Hwe attended Sao Hswe Cheng's funeral. He left seven sons and two daughters. One of the daughters, Nang Hsēng Santa, was married to the King Mengtara Lōng and had a son named Hsato Mang-hsa, but he died young. In the year 1163B.E. (1801A.D.) the King of Burma appointed Hkun Hsēng Höng, the eldest son, to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi with the title of Sao Hsö Kaw Hpa. In 1171B.E. (1809) Möng Het rebelled against him and four years later, when he was on a visit to Möng Ut, there was a general rising. He was summoned to Ava to explain how this had happened and from there was sent back by way of Möng Nai, Möng Nawng, and the Kawn Taü, but he died before he reached his capital. He built a bridge over the Nam Tu and reigned for fifteen years and he left a son, Sao Hswe Pawng, by a Burmese wife, but the King appointed a General named Hsiri Rasa Hsang Kyam of Möng Kawng to take charge of the State, which he held for three years and then died. He was succeeded by Hsiri Kyawdin Nawrahta, who, however, was recalled

to Ava in twelve months' time. Then, in 1181B.E. (1819A.D.), King Patung, Bodawpaya, died and his nephew, the next Burmese King, appointed Sao Naw Möng, a son of Hsö Wai Hpa, to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi with the title of Sao Lông Hsö Hôm Hpa. He died within the year at Möng Nai, where he had gone to see the *sitkè*, having only reigned five months (the Southern Chronicle says two years). The King then appointed his brother Sao Hkam Kawt with the title of Sao Lông Hsö Hūng Hpa. He was *Sawbwa* for two years and died at Möng Nai, whither he had been driven by the rebels Ching Lông Hsung Hko Awn, Hpraka Hkam Kai of Möng Pat, Hpraka Hkam Môn Hkam Hsen of Hsen Lem, Htao Möng Hpraka Hkam Man of Kat Kang, and Hēng Hkam Höng of Man Wap. The deceased *Sawbwa* left a son Hkun Hseng Mawng Hpo living in Ava, but in 1186 B. E. (1824 A.D.) the Sao Lông Mengtara appointed Sao Hkam Pak to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi. Before he took charge, however, he received orders at Möng Nai to go with the other Shan *Sawbwas* to fight the English at Rangoon. He took three thousand men with him and was killed in the fighting. In his absence the *Wun* Kyawzwa Myeng was put in temporary charge of the administration, and in 1189B.E. (1827 A.D.) Hkun Hsang Hkam Nan, another son of Hsö Wai Hpa, was created *Sawbwa* with the title of Sao Lông Hsö Yēp Hpa. He died in three years' time and was succeeded by his son Hkun Hsēng Hkam Nan, who died on his way up to Hsen Wi.

In 1193B.E. (1831) Sao Hswe Mawng, a son of Sao Hsö Kaw, was appointed *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi with the title of Hsö Wai Hpa, and reigned for seven years.

During his time the *Htao Möngs* of Möng Het, Möng Kyek, Man Sang, and Möng Yai rebelled and joined Mang Lön. About the same time the *Sawbwa* of Yawng Hwe also rebelled. He was sent to Ava and died there and his two sons also died, one of them at Pyang U (Pyinulwin) and the other at Ava.

Sao Hswe Mawng joined in the rebellion and marched to Pang Hkao, near the Tawngtaman lake to support the Sek-kya Mintha. Apparently he did not fight and was merely deposed.

In the year 1200 B.E. (1838) the Burmese King appointed Sao Hkun Hkam Leng, a son of the Queen Nang Hkam Kyi, to be *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi with the title of Hsö Hkan Hpa. During his reign the Yang Sawk (Red Karens) rebelled against Ava and the Hsen Wi *Sawbwa* with other Shan forces was sent to suppress them, which he did, but on his return to Ava he was put to death for some fault after having been *Sawbwa* for seven years.

In 1208 B.E. (1846) Hkun Hseng Naw Hpa, a son of Sao Naw Hpa Lông and grandson of Sao Hswè Cheng, was appointed *Sawbwa*

with the title of Hsö Sam Hpa, Sitta-pala Thudhamma Yaza. He had almost immediately to deal with a rebellion headed by Twi Taw Hkam Mawn, who was joined by the *Hēngs* and *Hta-möngs* of Kokang Taw Niu, Kun Lông, Kang Möng, Möng Kawn, and the Kawn Kang and drove the *Sawbwa* to Na Noi Kaling and thence to Hsai Hkao, Möng Yin, and Möng Tat. There, however, he gathered an army and drove the rebels to Möng Ti and Müng Ting, where he captured Twi Taw Hkam Mawn and put him to death and marched all the way to Möng Nawng. In 1211 B. E. (1849) he had subdued the whole of the subordinate States, but he died in the same year. The Southern Chronicle says he was put to death in Ava.

The Wun Paw La Nan Ta was then put in charge of Hsen Wi, but died in a year and was succeeded by the *Wun* Mawng Kyut. It was at this time that King Mindôn seized the throne from his brother. On his accession he appointed Kun Hseng Mawng Hpo to the charge of Hsen Wi. Hkun Hseng Mawng Hpo made a prisoner of Mawng Kyut and took him to Ava, where he was put to death. Sao Lông Hsö Sam Hpa was then appointed *Sawbwa* of Hsen Wi in 1215 B. E (1853). The whole State was very disturbed and he put the Paw Möng Hsung Tön Hkam and his son to death. Upon this the *Hēng* of Möng Nawng and the Ho Hsüng of Möng Ton went first to Möng Nai and then to Ava and obtained the separation of their own and other States from Hsen Wi. This was in 1216 B. E. (1854), and in the following year the *Sawbwa* Hsö Sam Hpa was summoned to Ava. While he was there the *Sitkè* Meng Kawng Rasa was put in charge of Hsen Wi. He was unable to suppress the disorders and left in eight months' time and was succeeded by another *Sitkè*, Hseng Kadaw, who obtained forces to support him from the Shan States to the south. He also was recalled after a year, and in 1218 B.E. (1856) Hkun Hseng Mawng Hpo was sent up again and took the title of Sao Lōng Hsö Kaw Hpa. But the disturbances continued. The *Paw Möng* of Möng Hsing overran and occupied Möng Nawng and Kesi. The *Htao-möngs* of these States made their way to Möng Nai and Ava and obtained permission to be independent of Hsen Wi. The order was issued in 1220 B.E. (1858).

In the same year Hsö Kaw Hpa (Maung Hpo) went back to Ava after three years' stay at Wing Hsup Pang Pawng. The Pagyi *Wun* took his place, but died in a year. The *Sitkè* Hseng Kadaw then came up again. He settled in Lashio, but soon returned to Ava and was succeeded by the Pa Hkan *Wun Mingyi*, who, however, died at Man Sang before he reached Hsen Wi. In 1226 B.E. (1864) Hsö Kaw Hpa once more returned, but was recalled in a year, to

be replaced by Shwe Pyi *Bo*, who settled at Lashio. In 1228 B.E. (1866) the Myingun Prince rebelled and the Shwe Pyi *Bo* and the Nga-ya *Bo* supported him. When the rebellion was over they were summoned to Ava, but committed suicide at Lashio.

In 1229 B.E. (1867) the *Sawbwa* Hsö Sam Hpa, who had been detained all this time in Ava, came back to Hsen Wi, but in the following year Tao Sang Hai rose against him and the *Sawbwa* was again recalled. *Wundauks* were sent up, one of whom stayed in Lashio and the other in Wing Hsup Pang Pawng, but they failed to overcome Tao Sang Hai, and in 1236 B.E. (1864) Hsen Wi town was burned. The next year Hsö Sam Hpa and the Nauk *Windawhmu* came up together, but they could not put an end to the disturbances and eventually he had to retreat to Möng Si, while in 1241 B.E. (1879) Hkun Hsang Tōn Hông, with the aid of a large body of Kachins, established himself in Hsen Wi town and maintained himself there.

Sao Naw Möng, the son of the *Sawbwa*, Sao Hsēng Naw Hpa Löng Hsö Sam Hpa, was kept a prisoner by King Thibaw in Mandalay until 1885. He was then liberated by the British troops and went up to Man Sang. After some stay there he marched north to attack Hkun Hsang Tōn Hông, but was defeated at Lashio and retreated to Na Nang. Here Hkun Hsang Tōn Hông attacked him in the following year and overran all the Kawn Kang, the present State of South Hsen Wi. Sao Naw Möng then fled to Möng Nai and was established in the following year as *Sawbwa* of South Hsen Wi at Möng Yai, while Hkun Hsang Tōn Hông received the northern half of the State with his capital at Wing Hsen Wi.

There is sufficient general correspondence in facts, names, and dates in this chronicle with those collected by Ney Elias to warrant the assertion that the story is the same, and that the "Kingdom of the Mao Shans" is the same as the Kingdom of Hsen Sè Man Sè and also the same as that of the Kingdom of Pông. The first and chief authority for this is Major Boileau Pemberton, whose account of

Kingdom of Pông.

it was derived from a Shan manuscript chronicle which he obtained and caused to be translated during his mission to Manipur in 1833. In this document the first King's name recorded is that of one Khool-lie (no doubt Hkun Lai), "whose reign," writes Major Pemberton, "is dated as far back as the "eightieth year of the Christian era, and from whom to the time of "Murgnow, in the year 667 A.D., the names of twelve Kings are "given who are described as having gradually extended their con-"quests from north to south, and the names of no less than twenty-"seven tributary cities are mentioned which acknowledged the supre-

"macy of Murgnow * * * . In the year 777 A.D. Murg-"now died, leaving two sons called Sookampha and Samlongpha "(these are the Hsö Hkan Hpa and the Sam Lông Hpa of the "manuscript translated above), of whom the eldest Sookampha "succeeded to the throne of Pông, and in his reign we find the first "traces of a connection with the more eastern countries, many of "which he appears to have succeeded in bringing under subjection "to his authority." The story is then told of Sam Lông Hpa's campaign against Manipur, Tipperah, &c., and of the poisoning of Sam Lông Hpa by Hsö Hkan Hpa, though in this history Sam Lōng Hpa is said to have escaped owing to a warning sent him by his mother.

"From the death of Sookampha in the year 808," continues Major Pemberton, "to the accession of Soonganpha in 1315 the "names of ten Kings only are given * * * , but about the "year 1332 A.D. some disagreements led to collision between the "frontier villages of the Pông King's territory and those of Yün-"nan.

"An interview was appointed between the Kings of Pông and "China to take place at the town of Möng Si, which is said to "have been five days distant from Möng Maorong, the capital of "Pông." [This may have been the Möng Si, which is now the centre of one of the Kachin circles of North Hsen Wi, but is more likely to have been Möng Sè, Yünnan-sen, though that is very much more than five days' journey.] "The Chinese sovereign, with "whom this interview took place, is named in the chronicle Cho-"wongtee (Sao Wông-ti), and Shuntee, the last Prince of the twen-"tieth imperial dynasty, is in the best chronological tables described "as having ascended the throne of China in the year 1333." [Mr. Elias thinks this must have been Cheng-tsu Wen-ti (A.D. 1403—1425) of the Ming dynasty and not Shun-ti of the Yuans, but since Wông-ti is simply Hwang-ti, the title and not the name, the fixing of an absolute date, if that were possible, would determine which Emperor it was.]

"The Chinese, however, determined on subjugating the Pông "dominions and, after a protracted struggle of two years' duration, "the capital of Mogaung (called in the manuscript Möng Kawng) "or Möng Mao Rong (which would appear to be Möng Mao Lông, "a very different place) was captured by a Chinese army, under "the command of a General called Yang Chang-soo" (the Theinni manuscripts seem to call him Wang Chung-ping or Sông-ping), "and the King Soonganpha with his eldest son, Sookeepha" (these would appear to be Hsö Hôm Hpa and Hsö Kēp Hpa, but the

story is very involved), "fled to the King of Pagan or Ava for pro-"tection. They were demanded by the Chinese General, to whom "the Burmese surrendered them, and were carried into China, from "whence they never returned."

On this Mr. Ney Elias remarks:—

"So far will be sufficient to follow Major Pemberton's story, for it is "evident, even from these few incidents, erroneous though some of them "are, that this Manipuri history of Pông is simply that of the Mau Shans, "antedated by nearly five hundred years at the commencement. The error "doubtless arose in the first instance from the absence of an intelligible "chronology in the original Shan record, and for want of fixed points in "the contemporary annals of neighbouring countries by which to set up "land-marks; but however this may be, we see that on arriving at the death "of Chau-ngan-pha Major Pemberton's date is only about one hundred "years in arrear of the correct date and that some four hundred years have "had to be distributed over the reigns of the intervening Kings. Thus it "is that twelve Kings are made to reign for 587 years, or an average of "nearly forty-nine years each; the thirteenth Murgnow (a name impossible "to recognize) reigns for the astounding period of one hundred and ten "years, the fourteenth for thirty-one years, and the remaining ten for 507 "years; giving an average for the whole twenty-four of very nearly fifty-"one and-a-half years, or more than double the usual period and sufficient "in itself to show the erroneous nature of the story from a chronological "point of view."

And if Major Pemberton's report has failed in this respect, it has hardly been more successful in fixing the site of the capital of Pông. "To the Munnipoorees," he says, "the whole country un-"der its ancient limits was, and is still, known as the kingdom "of Pông, of which the city called by the Burmans Mogaung, and "by the Shans Möng Mao Rong, was the capital. But Mung "Mao or Mung-mao-lung (great Möng Mao) exists to the present "day under this same name on the Shweli."

Mr. Ney Elias' information was picked up in Möng Mao, where the Shan chroniclers made that out to be the capital of the Shan States generally. The Hsen Wi Chronicle claims that honour for Hsen Sè or Hsen Wi. As a matter of fact, it seems very improbable that there ever was one capital unless perhaps Tali-fu. Major Hannay says the people he conversed with assigned "the south-west "corner of the province of Yünnan as the seat of the Empire "(of the Pôngs), and the capital Kai Khao Mau Loung was said "to have been situated on the Shweli river, or Lung-shuè of the "Chinese (the present Chinese name is Lung Kiang), which falls "into the Irrawaddy in latitude 24° north." Mr. Elias identifies this Ka-kao, or Ma-kao Mung-lung with Möng Mao, but as a matter of fact it is simply Möng Hkao (the old city), Möng Löng (the great city or country).

Into the subject of the origin of the Pông nation Major Pemberton does not enter, but alludes briefly to the traditional accounts given of themselves by the Ahoms to Dr. Francis Buchanan Hamilton in the early years of this century, a people whom he rightly regarded as springing from a common origin with the inhabitants of Pông. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's original writings are much scattered and difficult of access, but an apparently full prècis of his report on Assam is given by Montgomery Martin (Eastern India iii, 600 *et seq.*), from which the following account is epitomized :—

"Many years ago two brothers called Khunlai and Khuntai descended from heaven and alighted on a hill named Chorai Korong, situated in the Patkoi range, south from Gorgango, the ancient capital of Assam. Khunlai taking with him some attendants and the god Cheng (Seng, the image of one of his female ancestors) went towards the south-east and took possession of a country called Nora [this is also called Tai Lông (great Shans) and was called by their neighbours of Kasi or Moitay (*i.e.*, Manipur) the Kingdom of Pông], which his descendants continue to govern. Hkuntai remained in the vicinity of the hill Chorai Korong and kept in his possession the god Chung (Sung, the image of one of his male ancestors), who is still considered by his descendants as their tutelary deity. Dr. Buchanan believes the 'heaven' to mean some part of Thibet bordering on China, but the original word, whatever it may have been, he continues, has, since the conversion of Khuntai's descendants to Brahmanism, been translated *sworgo* (heaven) * * * The original territory occupied by Khuntai included two very long islands formed by branches of the Brahmaputra, together with some of the lands adjacent on both banks of that great river. The names of thirteen princes in regular succession from father to son are given, but no dates or indications from which dates could be inferred."

Here there is a sufficient general resemblance in the general story of Khun Lu and Khun Lai to establish a common origin, though names and details differ. Francis Garnier obtained a similar tradition of the origin of the Lao race along the Mèkhong ; in fact it would appear that each separate section of the Tai race, though they acknowledge in a general way a common origin and have a common legend, place the scene both of the origin and the fable in their own particular region. Garnier's story, told in the *Voyage d'Exploration*, &c., i, 473 is that, after a god called Phya Then had created the heavens and the earth, there were three princes, named respectively Lao-seun, Khun Khet, and Khon Khan, who founded kingdoms (*des muongs*) and who were exhorted by Phya Then to live in peace and to honour the spirits of the dead. He was not obeyed, however, and after punishing the inhabitants of the earth with a deluge (this also appears in the Kēng Tūng history), in which great numbers were drowned, the survivors begged for mercy and Phya Then sent them Phya Kun Borom to govern them and Phya Pitse Nu-kan (*le grand architecte du ciel*) to spread

abundance in the land. Kun Borom founded Muong Then in Tong King (perhaps this is the Muong Theng first occupied in 1887 by the French). He had seven sons, who founded various kingdoms as follows:—

(1) Kun Lang, who founded Muong Choa.

(2) Kun Falang, who founded Muong Ho (this is the name the Lao Shans give to the Yünnanese: Muang Haw).

(3) Kun Chon-soung, who founded Muong Keo, or Annam.

(4) Kun Sai-fong, the founder of Muong Zuon (*i.e.*, Möng Yôn-Chiengmai).

(5) Ngou-en, who founded either Muong Poueun (perhaps the present Muang Phuen north of Luang Prabang) or Ayuthia, *i.e.*, Siam.

(6) Kun Lo-koung, who founded Muong Phong or Muong Sai-koun (Saigôn).

(7) Kun Chetcheun, who founded Muong Kham Kheut Kham Muong or Muong Poueun.

Here again appears a suggestion of the common Tai folks-myth slightly varied by the different branches of the race, while each branch applies it to the country which it knows. The most singular fact about the Shans, however, is that the one settlement which has maintained its independence as a kingdom and has become civilized beyond all the others, the Kingdom of Siam, should contribute absolutely nothing towards tracing the origin of the race. So far as appears, the Siamese have no history worthy of the name earlier than the founding of their first national capital, Ayuthia, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century of our era, and "the best "authorities believe the Siamese to have migrated, only shortly be-"fore the founding of Ayuthia, from the hill country towards the "north and to have displaced the aboriginal Karens, by whom the "country now called Siam was inhabited."

With regard to the name of Pông there can be little doubt that it is merely the Manipuri appellation for the whole of the once united Shan States of Upper Burma and Western Yünnan. The name is not known to the Shans themselves any more than it is to the Burmese, the Chinese, or the Kachins. There can be little doubt that it was the mediæval Shan Kingdom called by the Chinese Nan-chao, which is the Çarajan of Ser Marco Polo, while the second chief city called by the same name is doubtless Tali-fu. This Kingdom of Nan-chao had existed in Yünnan since 738, and probably had embraced the upper part of the Irrawaddy valley, for the Chinese tell us it was also called Maung, and it probably was iden-

tical with the Mung Maorong of Captain Pemberton. The city of Tali was taken by Kublai in 1254. The circumstance that it was known to the invaders (as appears from Polo's statement) by the name of the province, is an indication of the fact that it was the capital of Carajan before the conquest.

The Kingdom of Nan-chao.

We may now proceed to consider the evidence collected by Mr. E. H. Parker as to the earlier history of the Shans. What follows is taken from his book, *Burma with special reference to her relations with China*, and from a mass of translations which he has made of the Chinese annals of various border States.

Mr. Parker says, quoting chiefly the annals of the Chinese dynasty of T'ang, a book a thousand years old :—

"The Chinese had clearly defined relations with the Shan or Ailao Empire of (modern) Tali-fu in the first century of our era, and in A. D. 90 (elsewhere the date A. D. 97 is given) one Yung Yu, King of T'an, sent tribute to China through the good offices of the Ailao, receiving an official seal from China. The Chinese seem to take it for granted that Yung Yu of T'an was of the same race as a later Pyû (Burmese) King named Yung K'iang."

[Since, however, they transformed Aungzeya, the assumed name of Alaungpaya, into Yung Tsihya and connected him with the same Yung "family," the connecting link is of practically no value. In any case, Mr. Parker thinks that the T'an State really lay much farther west than Burma and was only originally known to China because its envoys approached China through Burma and Yünnan.]

Mr. Parker continues—

"The Ailaos were next called Nan-chao when they re-appeared upon the Chinese political stage. There can be no question of identification, for the Annamese still call the Laos of Upper Siam by the name Ailao, and the Chinese tell us that Nan-chao was the 'southern' or *Nan* of the six *Chao* or 'princes,' adding that *Chao* was a barbarian word for prince." [It is so still in Siamese and Lao Shan. The British Shan form is Sao]. "Nan-chao we are told bordered on Magadha, which quite explains how the Kshatriya princes could find their way by at least one route to Burma. To the south-west were the Piao (still pronounced Pyu in Cantonese, which is the best Chinese representative dialect). During the 8th century the T'upo (usually now called T'ufan) or Thibetans struggled with China for mastery over Nan-chao and the Nan-chao King Kolofung annexed both the Pyu and also part of Assam. It is from this time only that trustworthy Burmese history can be said to begin, just as genuine Japanese history begins in the fourth or fifth century, when relations with China had become constant. From this period India may be said to disappear as a political factor from Burmese history."

But even earlier than this the Chinese had come into contact with the Shans and Burmese. One hundred years before the Chris-

tian era, the Chinese Han Emperor, Wu Ti, sent an expedition to Tien (which Mr. Parker notes is a name still applied to Yünnan in the literary style). It may be assumed that the King of Tien was a Shan. His capital was at Peh-ngai, and this was an important Shan centre 800 years later. At any rate the King of Tien became an ally of the Chinese, and joined them in suppressing the K'un-ming tribe. This name K'un-ming is still applied to a lake near Yünnan-fu. Mr. Parker is of opinion that the name of Wu Ti, or *Imperator martialis*, is the origin of the name Uti or Udibwa applied by the Burmese in official correspondence to the Emperor of China. This Emperor left a name in China not inferior to that of Cæsar in Europe.

It appears to be certain that about A. D. 50 the Ailao king Hien-lih, while engaged in warlike operations against a neighbouring tribe, trespassed upon Chinese territory. He was attacked and with all his band, estimated at about 18,000, became tributary to China. After this numerous other chiefs of neighbouring tribes submitted with their people and together made up a population of about half a million, who were grouped together to form the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang. One of the first Chinese Governors of Yung-ch'ang entered into a treaty with the Ailao, according to which each male had to pay a tribute of a measure of salt and two garments, "with a hole in them for the head to go through." Later Governors did not retain their hold and there were numerous frontier wars with China. There seems reason to believe that, at this time, the Burmese or Pyu, as distinguished from the Talaings or Môn, were more or less under the power, or influence of the Shans, or at any rate were connected with them in some way, and therefore it is possible that the King of T'an, Yung Yu, who sent tribute to China in A. D. 97, and received an official seal, was a King of the Burmese. But since "it is perfectly clear from Chinese history " that adventurers from India founded kingdoms in Java, Malaya, " Camboja, and Ciampa, and it is also clear that envoys or mer- " chants from Alexandria, or some other Roman port, visited China " in A. D. 166," it seems unnecessary to insist upon the identity of T'an with Burma. The envoys of Marcus Aurelius reached China by way of Ciampa, then known as Jih-nan, but more anciently known as Yüeh-shang, which the Chinese confuse with Mien-tien, a quite modern name for Burma. The Roman emissaries or merchants called their country Ta-ts'in, and Ta-ts'in conquerors went to China with Yung Yu's envoys previous to the visit of the Ta-ts'in envoys to China through Jih-nan. Hence probably the confusion. The presents of these envoys were called tribute according to the engaging Chinese habit and T'an may as well have

been Alexandria as Burma. The envoys may be supposed to have landed in the Talaing Kingdom and to have marched from Moulmein through Chiengmai and Chieng Khong to Muang Theng or Laichao and so on to Vinh on the coast of Annam. Mr. Parker, from whose account this is condensed or adapted, continues: "China "was shortly afterwards (A. D. 220) split up into three empires, one "of which was Sieng-pi Tartar (a Tungusic dynasty akin to the "modern Manchus). Accordingly the Ailao drop out of sight for "some centuries, until at last the powerful Chinese dynasty of "T'ang consolidates the empire into one cohesive whole again. "But the celebrated Chu-koh Liang, a general serving one of these "three great empires, which was practically the modern Sz-ch'wan, "did a great deal of solid work in Yünnan When I entered the "first gorge of Sz-ch'wan, 10 years ago, I found that stories about "Chu-koh Liang were repeated as if he had lived only a hundred "years ago. If my memory does not fail me, a town not far from "Momien (Têng-yüeh) was, and perhaps is, known to tradition as "the city of Chu-koh Liang. He died in A. D. 232 and the 'in-"'vasion of the Chinese,' under the third king of the old Pagan "dynasty, mentioned by Captain C. J. F. S. Forbes, doubtless "refers to him. For 400 years after this there is a complete blank. "The Ailao have now (A. D. 650) become the Nan-chao."

The Nan-chao Empire was extensive. It touched Magadha on the west, so that the relations of both the Burmese and Shans with India, which are referred to by the late Captain Forbes and rejected by him as too traditional for belief, may very well have been true and would be worthy of credit, if they were recounted in a less legendary form. On the north-west Nan-chao reached Thibet, from which kingdom the Burmese are assumed to have come. To the south was the "Female Prince State," a name then applied to Camboja, whose queen married an Indian adventurer. The occurrence of female rulers among the Shans is, however, far from uncommon, though when the lady entered into a formal alliance she usually yielded direct authority to her husband. It was otherwise when she contented herself with mere butterfly connections. On the south-east of Nan-chao were the Tongkinese and Annamese, then called by the Chinese Kiao-chi, "splay toes," a name which implies that Chinamen wore shoes and the Tongkinese did not, though it does not explain why the Tongkinese should have received the nickname to the exclusion of all other races which went barefoot. To the south-west were the P'iau (the Piu of the Cantonese), that is to say, the Burmese. The T'ang Dynasty Annals give no boundaries to the north or north-east, presumably because the Nan-chao Empire was considered a part of China. There were two chief towns, one at,

or near, the modern Tali-fu, the other somewhere near the modern Yung-ch'ang-fu.

"The Nan-chao Empire seems to have been highly organized. "There were Ministers of State, censors, or examiners, generals, "record officers, chamberlains, judges, treasurers, ædiles, ministers "of commerce, &c., and the native word for each department is "given as *shwang*." This may or may not be a Chinese perversion of the Shan *Hsüng*, or *Hsen*, officials whose duties now-a-days are provincial rather than metropolitan. "Minor officers managed "the granaries, stables, taxes, &c., and the military organization was "by tens, centurions, chiliarchs, deka-chiliarchs, and so on. Mili-"tary service was compulsory for all able-bodied men, who drew "lots for each levy. Each soldier was supplied with a leather coat "and a pair of trousers. There were four distinct army corps or "divisions, each having its own standard. The king's body-guard "were called *Chu-nu katsa*, and we are told that *katsa* or *katsü* "meant leather belt. The men wore *chuti*, helmets, and carried "shields of rhinosceros hide. The centurions were called *Lo-tsa-"tsz*." These names, if they really were Shan and not Chinese inventions, have been lost since the Shans ceased to be a conquering power. "Land was apportioned to each family according to rank: "superior officials received forty *shwang* or acres (the tone of this "word being unlike the tone of the first-mentioned word *shwang*). "Some of the best cavalry soldiers were of the Wang-tsa tribe, west "of the Mèkhong. The women of this tribe fought too, and the "helmets of the Wang-tsa were studded with cowries." Mr. Parker thinks these may have been the Wa, but this can hardly be. The modern Wa have no ponies and look upon them as highly dangerous animals. The Shans and the hill tribes generally are as poor horsemen now as the Gurkha is.

"There were six metropolitan departments and six provincial "viceroys in Nan-chao. The barbarian word for department was "*kien*." This is obviously the *kēng* of present times, which in Lao Shan and Siamese becomes *chieng* and along the Mèkhong is frequently pronounced, and sometimes written, *sieng*, whence the French form *xieng*. The Burmese transformed it into *kyaing*. The forms *kaing* and *kiang* are freaks of the British military officer and of railway promoters. The word may be compared with the Wa *ken*, meaning a circle, or community of villages under one chief, as in Ken Taü and Wa Pēt Ken, beyond the Nam Hka The term is also used in Kokang in the circles of Ken Pwi and Ken Fan.

"It is unnecessary to enumerate all the Nan-chao departments; "but it is interesting to note: Peh-ngai, the capital of the King

"of Tien, Yünnan; Mêng-shê, the ancient seat of the Mêng family "of Nan-chao rulers [this is doubtless the modern Mangshih, called "by the Shans Möng Hkawn; the term 'Mêng family' is due to "the wooden-headed Chinese persistency in ascribing clan names "to the Shans, which induces them to transform the title Sao "into Sz or Su and call it a family name. Mêng is doubtless the "Shan Möng, a State or fortified town]; and Tai-ho (Tali-fu)."

"The people were acquainted with the arts of weaving cotton "and rearing silk-worms: in some parts—the west of the country—"there was considerable malaria, and the salt-wells of K'unming "or modern Yünnan-fu were free to the people. West of Yung-"ch'ang a mulberry grew, the wood of which was suitable for "making bowls, and gold was found in many parts, both in the sands "and in the mountains. West of Momien (T'êng-Yüeh) the race of "horses was particularly good" (probably Tawng Peng Loi Lông is meant).

"When the King sallied forth, eight white-scallopped standards "of greyish purple were carried before him; two feather fans, a "chowry, an axe, and a parasol of king-fishers' feathers having a "red bag. The Queen-mother's standards were scallopped with "brown instead of white. She was called *Sin Mo* or *Kiu-mo*, and "the Queen-wife was called *Tsin-wu*" (the chief wife of a *Sawbwa* "of the present day is called the Maha Dewi)."

As a special mark of honour, the chief dignitaries wore a *kimpolo*, or tiger-skin, which suggests the modern *tha-mwe inggyi* or fur coat, formerly only worn by officials. The women's hair was gathered into two locks and plaited into a chignon: their ears were ornamented with pearls, green-stone, and amber. Female morals were easy previous to marriage, but after marriage death was the penalty of adultery. It took three Nan-chao men to drive an ox-plough: one led, one drove, and the third poked up the animal. All ranks, even the nobles, engaged in this leisurely agricultural work. There were no *corvées*, but each man paid a tax of two measures of rice a year.

The history of the Chinese dynasty of T'ang gives a list of the kings of what it calls the Royal Family of Mêng. The record of these is complete after about the beginning of the seventh century of our era. From this list Mr. Parker developes a curious theory that "each son takes as the first syllable of his own name the "last of his father's." Thus Tuh-lo is succeeded by Lo-sheng-yen, and he by Yen-koh. This idea of hereditary syllables seems to be purely fanciful, or an invention of the Chinese mind, devoted to ancestral worship. In modern days the Shan takes his name on much the same system as the Burman, without any reference to

the name of his father, and in any case the *Sawbwas* are always known by a title, assumed after their accession. This has no connection with their birth name, and to use the latter is, with the Shans, as it is among all the other Indo-Chinese races, if not a crime, at any rate an insult.

The names given are so disguised as to be almost beyond recognition; much as Symes called a *Myosaye* a *Mewjerry* and another writer playfully converts Upa-raza into Upper Rodger. However that may be, it is recorded that towards the middle of the eighth century King Koh-lo-fêng made T'ai-ho (Tali-fu) his residence; *Tai-ho* means great peace in Chinese, and it may thus be compared with Yan Gôn (Rangoon). The further statement of the Chinese Chronicles that the Shan word for "peace" is *Shan-po-t'o*, and that this name was adopted after a successful war, gives one pause. The whole of the names are a sort of missing word puzzle and very much of an *Ælia lælia crispis* riddle character.

Koh-lo-fêng received a title from China and succeeded to his adopted father's throne in A.D. 748. A war with China now took place, owing to the imprudent behaviour of a neighbouring Chinese Governor, and the result was that Koh-lo-fêng styled his kingdom the Great Mêng Empire, and threw in his lot with the Thibetans, who conferred upon him a seal and the title of *btsanpo-chung*, or "Younger brother Gialbo," *i.e.*, ruler equal to the ruler of Thibet, but ranking slightly after him. Koh-lo-fêng caused a marble slab to be engraved with the reasons which drove him to revolt, and this tablet M. Emile Rocher says, in his *History of Yünnan*, is still pointed out in the suburbs of Tali-fu. He does not mention whether it is in Shan or Chinese character, or indeed whether he actually saw it, and it is mentioned by no one else.

China was in difficulties with the Turks at this period, and Koh-lo-fêng took advantage of the opportunity to annex parts of the Empire, besides the land of the Pyu, the Burmese, and that of Sün-chwan, which would appear to have been an Assamese tribe. It is noted that polyandry existed among the people to the west of them. These tribes lived in cage-like houses, were scattered about without any central authority, clothed themselves with bark, and practised no agriculture.

The Chinese made several attempts to subdue Koh-lo-fêng, but met with successive defeats on the Hsi-êrh river, and on his death he was succeeded by his grandson I-mou-hsün, whose mother belonged to the Tuhkin race of savages. I-mou-hsün, however, had been taught by a Chinese literate Ch'eng-hui and was a man of some education. He found the Thibetans very troublesome and

inclined rather to be task-masters than allies. They established garrisons at all important points, levied men to fight their wars, and taxed the country very heavily. He, therefore, listened all the more readily to the advice of Ch'eng-hui and opened up communications with We Kao, the Chinese Governor of Ch'eng-tu, the capital of the modern Sz-ch'wan province. A letter was sent to Wei Kao, in which I-mou-hsün complained of the tyranny of the Thibetan *Blon* or Governors and explained how it was that his grandfather had been really forced by ill-treatment to abandon China. He wound up the letter by suggesting that the Ouighour Turks should be directed to join him and China in an expedition against Thibet.

At that time the Ouighours, through whom the modern Mongols and Manchus derived their letters, were in occupation of parts of the modern Kan-suh Province, with their capital at the present Urumtsi, where they had for a considerable length of time been under the influence of the Nestorian Syrians. A Syriac stone still exists at Si-an Fu in Shen-si Province, and Ouighour letters are probably merely a form of Syriac.

The correspondence resulted in a treaty, four copies of which were drawn up at the foot of the snow-capped hill of Tien Ts'ang, which dominates the modern Tali-fu. One copy was sent to the Emperor of China, one was placed in the private royal temple, one in the public stone temple, and one was sunk in the river. I-mou-hsün then put all the Thibetan officials in the kingdom to death and their army was defeated in a great battle at the "Iron bridge," possibly that over the Salween, in West Yünnan. The Emperor then sent I-mou-hsün a gold seal recognizing him as King of Nan-chao. The Chinese Envoy, Ts'ui Tso-shih, was received at T'ai-ho with great pomp. Soldiers lined "the roads and "the horses' harness was ablaze with gold and cowries. I-mou-"hsün wore a coat of gold mail and tiger-skin, and had twelve ele-"phants drawn up in front of him: he *kotowed* to the ground, "facing north, and swore everlasting fealty to China. Then followed "a great banquet, at which some Turkish women presented by a "former Emperor sang songs. Their hair was quite white, as "they were the only two survivors of a once large musical troupe."

I-mou-hsün now entered upon a career of conquest and, besides uniting the six Shan principalities into one, annexed a number of neighbouring States, some of whom are stated to have lived in raised houses which suggests Upper Burma, while others varnished or gilded their teeth, a statement which immediately recalls the Mongolian Province which Ser Marco Polo visited four hundred years later.

I-mou-hsün sent his sons to be educated at Ch'êng-tu Fu in Sz-ch'-wan and became more and more bound to China. The Thibetans were again defeated, and amongst the prisoners taken were a number of Abbasside Arabs and Turkomans from Samarkand. About this time a Corean General in Chinese employ had carried the Chinese arms into Balti and Cashmere, and the Abbasside caliphs had regular relations with China. It is, therefore, clear that there were Mahomedans in Tali-fu even before the time of Prince Kublai and Nas'reddin.

I-mou-hsün died in A.D. 808 and was succeeded by sons and grandsons, who did no credit to their Chinese training. One of them was killed by his own general, who afterwards marched on Ch'êng-tu Fu and carried off a number of prisoners, among them skilled artisans, who "placed Nan-chao on a par with China in "matters of art, literature, and weaving."

In 859 A.D. one Ts'iu Lung, who seems to have been a Shan official rather than a member of the "family of Mêng," became ruler of Nan-chao, assumed the title of *Hwang-ti* (Emperor), and with an energy equal to his arrogance, declared war on China, besieged Ch'êng-tu, and before he had to retire, left "eighty per "cent. of the inhabitants of certain towns in Sz-ch'wan with "artificial noses and ears made of wood." He did not take Ch'êng-tu Fu, but he conquered Chiao-chih (Kè-shö, the modern Hanoi) and overran Annam. But the war which he began, and his son and grandson continued, ruined Nan-chao, and in 936 A.D., after some ephemeral dynasties had ruled over what they called the great Ch'ang-ho State, the great T'ien-hing State, and the great I-ning State, a Chinese official Twan Sz-p'ing, who may have been semi-Shan, established himself as King of Ta-li. Mr. Parker says "this is the beginning of the *tributary* "State of Ta-li. It must be mentioned, however, that China "was again divided into two empires. First the Kitans and then "the Nüchêns (ancestors of the Manchus) ruled in the north, "and the Sungs, with capital at Hangchow, ruled south of "the Yangtsze. Hence we find that the Russians still call the "Chinese *Kitai*, it being with the Kitan dynasty that they first "had relations. Marco Polo's *Manzi* is the Southern Empire of the "Sungs, it being still the custom for Northern Chinese to apply the "term Man-tsz, or barbarians, to the Southern. This epithet no "doubt dates from the time when the Shans, Annamese, Miao-tsz, "&c., occupied nearly all South China, for it is essentially to the "Indo-Chinese that the term Man-tsz belongs."

It seems certain that the Nan-chao Empire now split into two. At any rate the country round Ta-li became more and more Chinese,

while the western portion, which is no doubt the Kingdom of Pông of the Manipur Chronicle and of the list of his conquests made by Anawra-hta, remained Shan and split up into a variety of States, possibly every now and again united under some energetic *Sawbwa* of one State or the other. Kublai conquered the Ta-li State in 1254 and put an end to the Twan family. He put the King's Ministers in charge with the title of *Ssüan-fu-shih* or pacificator, and left to them the duty of subduing the neighbouring tribes. This seems to be the origin of the similar titles now bestowed on the Chinese-Shan *Sawbwas*. Mr. Parker says "This brings us to the "period whence the history of the border *Sawbwas* begins. Even "now the southern portions of Yünnan are in part administered by "Shan *Sawbwas*, or by Chinese adventurers, who have become "Shans in character. The centre of Shan power was slowly but "surely driven south. As Captain Forbes very judiciously suggests, "'previously to the destruction of the Pagan monarchy in A.D. 1284, "'the Tai race, of which the Shans form a branch, had been gradu-"'ally forced out of their original seat in Yünnan by the advance "'of the Chinese power under the great Emperor Kublai Khan. "'It was about this time that a portion of the race formed the King-"'dom of Siam.' Dieu Van-tri, the Chief of the Muong Shans (of "Tong King) is not a Shan, but a Canton Chinaman named Lo, "who still holds the Ming seal, and has always rejected the over-"tures of the Manchus. The name Dieu is simply the surname "Tao given by the Chinese."

Among the early pacificators or conciliators was the *Ssüan-fu-shih* of Luhch'wan, which Mr. Parker thinks was "probably the "Chinese name for the Shan Kingdom of Pông, for many Pông "events and names described in the Manipur Chronicles tally, ex-"cept as to date, with similar events and names described in the "Chinese Chronicles of Luh-ch'wan, which State then included the "present Chinese *Sawbwa*ships of Lung-ch'wan and Mêng Mao, at "least, if not more. The only other Chinese protected *Sawbwa*-"ship which dates from 1260 is that of Kan-ngai, or Kan-ngeh, "as the Mongol history writes it. Both these States were sub-"ordinate to the Mongol Military Governor of Kin-chi'ih, or "'golden teeth,' generally and probably rightly considered to be "the Zardandan of Marco Polo. The modern Burmese-protected "Shan *Sawbwa*ship of North Hsen Wi, called Muh-pang by the "Chinese, also submitted to the Mongols, who passed through "it on their road to attack Annam. It becomes a question whether "the Pông State of the Manipur Chronicle did not rather refer to "Hsen Wi, which originally included Mêng-mih or Möng Mit. "Be that as it may, during Kublai's reign the whole of the Shan "*Sawbwa*ships included between Manipur and Annam were at least

"nominally subject to the Mongol dynasty of China." The disintegration of the Shan Kingdom of Nan-chao opened up the way to Burma and led to the expeditions which resulted in the overthrow of the Empire of Pagan by the Chinese. Mr. Parker doubts whether the Mongols ever got to Pagan, still less to Tarôpmaw, but thinks it possible that Shan auxiliaries may have done so. The Hsen Wi Chronicle, translated above, practically says that this was the case.

The Shans were unable to hold their own against the Chinese or were weary of the constant fighting in Nan-chao and so spread south-east, south, and south-west. Thus were formed the various Lao States, Luang Prabang, Nan, Chiengmai, and Ayuthia, the capital of Siam itself, where Pallegoix places the commencement of Shan domination or occupation in A.D. 1350, while in Burma the Shans established themselves at Pinya, Myinzaing, and Sagaing in addition to the more northerly districts which had probably always been within their territory. The Burma, that is to say, the country ruled by the Burmese of those days, was a petty State, no more powerful than Pegu, or Assam, and certainly not to be compared with the Nan-chao Empire. At the same time that the three Shan usurpers displaced the Anawra-hta dynasty of Pagan, another Shan adventurer named Māgadu from Chiengmai established himself at Martaban as King Wareru of Pegu, and this Wareru dynasty maintained itself from A.D. 1287 to 1540. It had no relations whatever with China, but seems to have been tributary to the Shans of Ayuthia, that is, to the Siamese. This no doubt accounts for the statement in the Hsen Wi Chronicle that Maw-lamyeng was a tributary State of the Shans of the north.

Mr. Parker says "the Shan or Thai race was thus in the thir-"teenth century supreme in Siam, and nearly all over Burma, ex-"cept in Taungu, whither a large number of discontented Burmans "took refuge. The northernmost Shan States were at the same "time, at least nominally, under the over-rule of the Mongols of "China. A short paragraph in the history of the Chinese Ming "dynasty (which succeeded the Mongol dynasty in 1368) says that "the Mongols 'appointed Comforters of Pangya and other places "'in 1338, but withdrew them in 1342.' Doubtless this means that "both the Panya and Sagaing houses accepted Mongol vassal "titles for a short period. Meantime what Colonel Phayre calls the "'Mao Shan from Mogaung' carried war into the Panya do-"minions, and carried off the king (1364). Colonel Phayre also "quotes from the 'Shan Chronicle discovered by Pemberton at "'Manipur in 1835,' an event 'not noticed in Burmese history. "'About 1332 a dispute arose between the King of Pông (so the

"'Chief of Mogaung is termed) and the Governor of Yünnan. A "'Chinese or Mongol army invaded the country, and after a strug- "'gle of two years the capital of Mogaung was taken. The King "'Sungampha fled to Sagaing, and on demand was surrendered to "'the Emperor of China. The sons of Sungampha succeeded to their "'father's kingdom.' Here again we shall be able to show that "Colonel Phayre has been misled by placing too much faith in the "Shan Chronicles. Not only does Burmese history not mention "any such event at that date, but the Mongol history fails to men- "tion it too, though we have seen that the Mongols had officers "stationed in Burma between 1338 and 1342. The fact is the "Manipur Chronicle is exactly a century wrong and the whole story "belongs to the period 1432—1450. 'Sungampha, King of Mo- "gaung' was really Szjên-fah, *Sawbwa* of Luh-ch'wan. The "Chinese annals of Momien gives the whole story most intelli- "gibly. He attacked the *Sawbwa*ships of Nantien, Kan-ngai, Mo- "mien, and Lukiang, in consequence of the Chinese Ming Emperor "having first deprived him of his Chinese vassal title for impro- "perly fighting with Muh-pang (Hsen Wi), and, having next placed "Luh-ch'wan under the Chief of Mêng-yang (to which probably "Mêng-kung or Mogaung then as afterwards found an appendage) "Sz-jên-fah, *i.e.*, the Phra Sz-jên, thereupon took possession of "Mêng-yang. He apologized in 1442, but the Chinese declined to "compromise and demanded his extradition from Burma. This was "granted in exchange for the promise that Mêng Yang (Mohnyin) "should be given to Burma."

Mr. Parker is certainly right as to the date. The mistake of Colonel Phayre arose from the Shan custom of counting by cycles (explained above) instead of by era. But the whole story is told by Ney Elias of Chau Ngan Pha of Möng Mao. We thus have a comparison of names: Sungampha is Chau Ngan Pha or Sz-jên-fah and the Hsen Wi Chronicle makes him Sao or Hsö Ngan Hpa, while the Burmese call him Tho Ngan Bwa. Moreover, the Kingdom of Pông would seem to be a convertible title for Mogaung, for Möng Mao, or for Mr. Parker's Luh-ch'wan. The conclusion is irresistible that the Kingdom of Pông was a general title, like Prester John, for whatever Shan State happened to be most power-ful or most prominent for the moment. Where the original Kingdom of Pông was (unless it was Nan-chao) and where it had its capital at any particular time can apparently only be ascertained by a collection of all the histories of the greater Shan States when these can be obtained. Mr. Parker practically admits this when he says "the Pông State of the Manipur Chronicle was more "probably Luh-ch'wan than Muh-pang, although Muh-pang

"(Hsen Wi), or Mêng Pang is to the ear the more suggestive name. "Luh-ch'wan, however, is a purely Chinese designation, and it is "quite possible that it, as well as what the Chinese call Muh-pang, "was included in the region called Pông by the Manipur Shans. "At any rate the boundaries of the then Shan States were bewilder- "ing and kaleidoscopic in their changes. *Su-ngam* is plainly *Sz-jên*, "the character *jên* having still the power *Nyêm* or *Ngiang* in certain "Chinese dialects. That *fah* means *phra* (*Hpa* in Shan; *Bwa* in "Burmese; as in Sao-hpa, *Sawbwa*) is plain: firstly, because the "Momien annals speak elsewhere of a Shan *Sawbwa* arrogating to "himself the title of *fah* and, secondly, because other Chinese books "speak of Sz-jên, Sz-ki, and Sz-puh (which it may be noted in Shan "would be Sao Ngan, Sao Hki, and Sao Pu) without adding the "syllable *fah* at all. Finally, Colonel Phayre tells the same story "over again from the Burmese history under date 1444, where "Sz-jên is called Tho Ngan Bwa, *Sawbwa* of Mogaung (the "Burmese *th* and the Shan *hs*, it may be remarked, are identical "characters) and remarks in a note: 'The circumstances here "'recorded have some resemblance to the events of A.D. 1332-33.'"

If follows therefore that, while the history of the Shans remains to be written, the history of Burma, as at present accepted, requires a certain amount of emendation, and that Chinese contributions imply such mental gymnastics that careful editing is required. The reference of the Ming history to Mien-chung (Central or Middle Burma) is particularly interesting, since it shows that the Mien State of those times was a mere fragment of the old and independent Mien dominions of Anawra-hta and that the Shans were the dominant power. The "Khun-mhaing-ngai Shan Chief "of Un-Boung," whose name puzzles Mr. Parker so much, was Hkun Möng Ngoi, of Ôn Pawng, which was the old capital of the modern State of Hsi Paw. Details will be found in the history of Ông Pawng Hsi Paw. The only thing that is clear is that in the hands of the Shan Chiefs the fragments of Burma changed rulers in a way which can only be understood when more materials than are at present available are gathered together and tabulated.

Mr. Parker has thrown much light on the history of the Shans by his translations from the Chinese. If it be granted that these annals have at least some of "the empty, anachronous, and bom- "bastic pride" with which he so sweepingly charges all Burmese history and what Shan Chronicles are known, it may be possible to construct a "less hazy and mangled account of the rise and pro- "gress of Burma" than at present exists.

His conclusions may be accepted: "The Burma of the Pyu was "at first under the tutelage of India, subject at times to the fitful

"military domination of the Shans. After a brief spurt of national "glory under Anawra-hta (or Nawrat'a Menzaw as he is also called) "and his grandson Alungsithu, the Burma of the Mien fell under "the tutelage of China, subject again at times to the occasional "military domination of the Shans. A second spurt of patriotic "life took place under Tabeng Shwe-t'i, the 'Brama King of "Pegu,' who, though of Burmese race, was a product of Taungu, "and was not of the ancient royal Burmese lineage, nor were his "successors legitimately born to him. Then followed depopulating "wars between Peguans and Burmans, with Siam and the other "Shan States, with Aracan, Manipur, &c., during which transition "period civilization retrograded, and Europeans began to intervene. "A third spurt was made by the Alompra family. Chinese in- "fluence was gradually thrown off under the Emperor Tao-kwang, "though it is true complimentary missions were sent in 1811, "1820, 1830, 1833, 1834, and 1843 and British tutelage took its "turn. Like the Chinese, who, with intervals of national dynasties "under the families of Han, T'ang, and Ming, have passed half "their time under Tartar rule, or concurrently with it, so the Burmese, "with intervals of glory under the Anawra'ta, Tabeng Shwe-t'i, "and Alompra houses, have passed half their time under Shan "rule, or concurrently with it. The neighbouring Hindoos, "Annamese, Cingalese, Cambodians, &c., have been snuffed out of "political existence in common with Burma, and the Shans or "Tais, though weakened by distribution over China, Tong King, "British Burma, &c., are the only one of the competing races in the "peninsula which has maintained, under the name we give them of "Siamese, an independent political existence to the last."

All this can only be called a preparation for a history of the Tai race. In British territory apparently no records exist. All have been burnt. It is possible that really old histories may yet be found in the Shan-Chinese States. Up to now all that can be considered to be established is that the Kingdoms of Nan-chao, Pông, and Möng Mao Lông are different names for the same empire and that the Tai race came very near to being the predominant power in the Further East.

Tai racial characteristics.

The relationship of the Tai to the Chinese races seems unmistakeable and appears no less clearly from their personal appearance and characteristics than from their language. They have been closely connected with the Chinese as neighbours and, at one time or another, as rivals or subjects for many centuries; but this does not seem enough to account for all the affinities which exist. The research, which has not been long begun, points distinctly to the

fact that the Chinese and the Tai belong to a family of which the Chinese are the most prominent representatives. Physical resemblances are most conspicuous among the Tai Hkè, the Shan Chinese, who are nearest to, and perhaps in, the home of the whole race, but they are carried on through those of the Tai, who have been most influenced by the Burmans, to the Lao and Lü, whom the Môn races have affected, down to the Siamese who have been modified by the Cambodians. Since the Môn and the Karen are also nearer or farther relations, the greatest divergences should appear among the Burmese Shans. But even among them type of face, shape of eyes, and complexion all point to an affinity with China.

Mere similarities of words do not prove race descent, but they help towards it. It is not enough to say that *Ma* both in Chinese and Shan means horse, that *p'ing* and *ping* mean level, *tsao* and *sao* early, *liang* and *ling* light as day, and that *wan* means bowl in both languages, or that the Chinese *chih* is very like the Shan word *se* for paper, and that *kuan* and *hkun* mean practically the same thing, nor is the fact that six out of the ten primary numerals in Tai and Chinese are very nearly the same, necessarily conclusive. Nor is it enough to quote Monsieur Terrien when he says that the proportion of the respective loan words between "the Taic languages" and Mandarin or Standard Chinese reaches a total of three hundred and twenty-five out of one thousand words which he compared. But when we find that in addition to this the grammatical structure of sentences in Chinese and in the Tai languages is the same and quite different from that of Burmese and the Thibeto-Burman languages generally, there is strong presumptive proof of relationship. The place of the object of the verb and of the possessive in Shan are identical with the Chinese instead of being inverted as in Burmese. Moreover, the use of couplet words of related meanings used together is characteristic both of Chinese and of the Tai languages. In these phonetic couplets one word has the dominant meaning and, as Dr. Cushing says, the other word seems to be a shadow word used for the sake of euphony. Thus the Chinese say *lu-dao* for a road, and the Tai *tang-hsin*, where *lu* and *tang* are the words with the inherent meaning. Dr. Cushing's opinion is that "these shadow words (in Shan) are probably words emptied of their ancient signification, for some of them "are found to be in use in Chinese dialects, where they have the "same meaning as the substantial word in the Shan phonetic couplet. Thus *ka* in Shan means 'to be shiny' and the phonetic "couplet is *ka-ki*. In Shan *ki* has no apparent meaning, whereas "in Chinese *ki* has the meaning 'to be shiny.'" When all these points of similarity are taken into account, the conclusion that

Chinese and Tai are sister languages is irresistible. Whether Karen and Môn-khmer will also turn out to have been derived from the same common stock is not so clear, but it seems very probable.

The Shan country.

The country between Assam and China is the point from which a number of great rivers start southwards in parallel courses, at first within a very narrow span of longitude, and afterwards spreading out into a fan which covers the country from the Yellow Sea to the Bay of Bengal. They all run in deep narrow rifts, and the ridges which separate them continue to run southwards almost as far as the rivers themselves and in chains almost as sharply defined as the river channels. These mountain ranges widen out as the river valleys widen, and lose their height as tributary streams break them up into herring-bone spines and spurs, but they still preserve the same north and south direction, though here and there they re-enter and form the series of flat-bottomed valleys, or wide straths which make up the Shan States. Of all the rivers the Salween most steadily preserves its original character and flows swiftly through a deep narrow gorge between high ranges from its source till it reaches the plain land which it has itself piled up over the sea in the course of ages.

It runs nearly through the centre of the British Shan States and they are situated towards the fringe and nearly in the centre of the fan, which has for its ribs the Brahmaputra, the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Mèkhong, and the Yang-tze. The Salween with its mountain banks has always formed a serious barrier, so that the branches of the Tai race on either side differ in dialect, in name, and even in written character, but their general features differ no more than the appearance of the country, which is simply a plateau roughened by mountain chains splitting up and running into one another, while still preserving their north and south tendency. The general height of the plateau is between 2,000 and 3,000 feet, but the cross ridges and the drainage cut it up into a series of valleys or plains, some long and narrow, some rounded like a cup, some flattened like a saucer, some extensive enough to suggest the Irrawaddy valley on a miniature scale. It is no doubt this physical character of the country which has affected the national character and has prevented the Tai from living at peace with one another and uniting to resist the encroachment of ambitious neighbours. It also made obvious and easy for the conqueror the old maxim *divide et impera*, the more so since the hills everywhere are inhabited by various tribes all more or less wild.

The Tai are seldom found away from the alluvial basins and do not look upon themselves as a hill people at all. The larger plains

are intersected with irrigation canals, while in the smaller the streams are diverted by dams into channels which water the slopes, or bamboo wheels are used where the river-banks are high and the extent of flat land justifies it. Everywhere the cultivation is more careful and laborious than in Burma, and in many places cold season crops, such as tobacco and ground-nuts, are grown. The most extensive rice-plains are those of Möng Nai, Lai Hka, Hsen Wi, and Yawnghwe, and there are many other States, where though the area is smaller there is wet cultivation far beyond the needs of the working capacity of the population.

In some parts, as in the Myelat, parts of Möng Nawng and Kehsi Mansam and in South Hsen Wi State east of Loiling, comparatively dry uplands have been cultivated so regularly and for so many years that hardly a tree is to be seen except in the village enclosures and about the religious buildings. Here, except in rare strips along the banks of the streams, the cultivation is all dry, what is called *hai* in Shan and *taungya* in Burmese, and the same *hai* cultivation is practised on the hill slopes. In such places, though rice is usually the chief crop, cotton, various leguminous crops, ground-nuts, and the like, are largely grown. Chillies, onions and such products attract the attention of some districts, sugarcane, as in the Yawnghwe neighbourhood, of others, while the tobacco of the Lang Kö valley in the Mawkmai State is celebrated throughout the hills. In Loi Lông Tawng Peng very little, but tea is grown, and this is also the main cultivation of the Pēt Kang district of Kēng Tūng and of a few circles elsewhere.

Everywhere there are large numbers of cattle, and it seems probable that some of the more easterly Cis-Salween States, where there is much grazing country, will devote themselves more and more to cattle-breeding. Buffaloes are chiefly used for agricultural work and bullocks as transport animals. Some areas, such as the Myelat, Kehsi Mansam, Tang Yan, and Möng Keng are full of caravan traders, and they outnumber the agriculturists pure and simple, but there are pack-bullock owners in all parts and agriculture is the general industry. The manufacture of coarse paper from the bark, and of pottery of all kinds, where the soil is favourable, occupy the inhabitants of whole districts here and there. Thus, though rice is grown everywhere, it is very unequally distributed and there is consequently a very considerable carrying trade within the limits of the Shan States themselves as well as with the plains of Burma. No caravan is allowed to enter Loi Lông Tawng Peng which does not bring an amount of rice proportionate to the number of pack-bullocks and, though the rule is not so strict in the tobacco-growing Lang Kö valley, or in the paper manufacturing tracts of Keng Lön in

Möng Nai, motives of self-interest practically impose it upon the caravan traders.

In the deep narrow valleys of tributaries of the Salween there are many orange groves. The most noted, however, are those of Kantu Lông (Kadugyi) in the Mawk Mai State, where the fruit has a size and a flavour unequalled not only in the Shan States, but in the most famous groves of Seville, or Florida, or of China. Otherwise the country is poor in fruit, though the mangoes of Mawk Mai are almost equal to those of Mandalay. Peaches, plums, pears, cherries, and apples grow wild, but they are seldom eatable and never good. At heights of 3,500 feet and upwards raspberries grow abundantly and, after a few showers of rain, will bear comparison with those grown in English gardens. Blackberries are found, but are very woody. The walnuts in the Shan States mostly come from China, but there is at least one large walnut forest in the Wa States, on the western slope of Nawng Hkeo hill.

Much valuable timber exists in the forests of Karenni and in the States of Mawk Mai, Kēng Tawng, Möng Pan, Lawk Sawk, Hsi Paw, and in Möng Pu, but the teak has been worked in the most ruinous way, so that in some places the forests are permanently ruined and in others the British occupation came barely in time to save them. Most of the other timber is only used locally and cannot be exported at a profit. Of forest produce stick-lac is the chief. Cutch is hardly boiled except on the western fringe bordering on Burma. Since the British occupation the cultivation of potatoes has been greatly extended and improved in the Southern Shan States and the growth of wheat has been begun by Mr. Hildebrand. As roads are improved and extended and markets opened, both of these promise to bring much money into the States. At present the cost of carriage hampers their development.

Crops of the hill tribes.

The great majority of the tribes on the hills only grow hill-rice for their own eating, but some of them cultivate cotton for export and all of them grow poppy. Opium is not grown for sale, west of the Salween, except on Loimaw in South Hsen Wi and a few other circles, but east of the river the district of Kokang grows a very great deal and enormous quantities are produced in the Wa States and among the Northern La'hu. The wild Wa live chiefly on beans, the La'hu on maize and buck-wheat, and the Mūng on Indian-corn. Any rice they grow is for the manufacture of liquor. In the more settled parts the hillmen grow a good deal of cotton for export, but most of them are content with growing enough of this, or of vegetables, tobacco, or surplus opium to supply themselves with salt, beyond which they want little from the outside world. None, except the

Kachins here and there, own pack cattle and they never go beyond the local market at the foot of their hills and there frequently not oftener than once in the month. A few of the nearer Kachins own a pack bullock or two and travel considerable distances, but otherwise none of the mountain people show trading instincts.

Shan trade.

The Shans on the other hand are great traders, but usually only on a very petty scale, partly from want of capital and chiefly because until quite recent years the roads were either very unsafe or were so burdened with tolls and exactions that profit was nearly impossible. Since the pacification of the country the volume of traffic has steadily increased and promises to become very considerable. Under native rule the Natteik pass and the Hsum Hsai, Hsi Paw, Hsen Wi tracks were the chief trade routes, but there were a number of other smaller passes used all along the line of hills from Bhamo to Toungoo. Many of these were execrably bad, but they were used to avoid the extortions of the Burmese officials. When the demands became very great on one route it was disused for a season or two and the caravans went some other way.

Since the opening of the railway to Mandalay and the construction of cart-roads from Meiktila to the headquarters of the Southern Shan States and from Mandalay to Lashio, these Government roads attract all but the purely local traffic, and are constantly used except when the rains make them impassable. The chief exports are pickled and dry tea, bullocks, ponies, skins, horns, crude sugar, leaves for cheroot wrappers, potatoes, lac, and a variety of fruit and other miscellaneous articles. The imports are chiefly cotton and silk piece-goods, yarn, twist, salt and salted-fish, betel-nuts, brass and other metals, and earth-oil.

Caravans go down to the plains from all parts of the Cis-Salween States. The country beyond that river is usually served by an entirely different series—some belonging to the west, some to the east of the Salween. The only caravans which go all the way through are those of Chinamen and Hui Hui, who use pack mules and therefore go much faster and farther. Some of these are settled in the Shan States at Pang Lông, Loi Maw, Kehsi Mansam, Nawng Wawn, and other places; but the majority of them lie up for the rains in different parts of Yünnan. Parties of *kônhap*, pedlars or hucksters, go in larger or smaller companies, not only over all the British Shan States, but to Nan, Hprè, and other of the Siamese Shan States, and at one time many went as far as Luang Prabang (Möng Lōng Pā Wang). Latterly, however, French bureaucracy has frightened them out of this. The trading instinct is very

strong and will inevitably bring much more money into the country than would be possible if the people were purely agricultural.

Minerals.

Coal has been found in many places in both the Southern and Northern Shan States, but as far as has yet been ascertained most of the fields are of poor quality and in fact it would appear rather to be lignite than coal. The researches made as yet have been, however, rather superficial and limited, and it is possible that when the Mandalay-Salween Railway is opened, the Lashio and Nam Ma seams will be found to be more valuable than at present is thought. Lead is worked in Maw Sön and Kyauk Tat in the Myelat and at many other places, notably at Kat Maw near Taküt. Silver is also abundant. The great Bawdwingyi mines in Tawng Peng have been unworked for over a generation, but there are very rich mines in the Nam Hka valley in the Wa country and silver ornaments are universal and abundant all over the hills. Gold is washed in very many streams, but so far no specially rich deposits have been discovered. There are tourmaline mines in Möng Lông, but they are not formally worked, and the rubies found there and in the Nam Mao (Shweli) are of poor colour and size.

Old Tai capitals.

The great number of ruined cities and the wide extent of ground which these covered show that at one time the Shan States must have been very much more populous and more prosperous than they are now. The number of them is partly accounted for by the Indo-Chinese habit of having a new capital for every ruler of particular note or energy, or for a new dynasty. A reference to the Hsen Wi Chronicle will show that even in comparatively recent times the capital was frequently changed. But it is the oldest cities which were the largest in extent and the most formidably defended. The situation of these seems to show the line of Tai movement and the places which they held in the days of their independence. Thus they are frequent in the Northern Shan States in many parts of Hsen Wi. It will suffice to mention Sè Lan, Pang Hkam, Möng Si, Wing Sang, on which Möng Yaw now stands, and Wing Hpai, where the ramparts, hundreds of years old, were still strong enough to keep out the Hsi Paw *Sawbwa's* robber bands in 1887. The line of them then rather trends to the south-eastward. There are a few, but not so many, in the Southern Shan States. Near the Salween the nature of the country contracts them to mountain fastnesses rather than walled cities, but towards the Mèkhong they again appear, some of them in the depths of almost impenetrable jungle like Wing Kè on the Nam Kôk, others hidden in seas of elephant grass like Chieng

Hsen, until, in the Siamese Shan States, they become as numerous as they are in the neighbourhood of the Nam Mao.

There is nothing so tantalizing as the absolute ignorance of the people as to everything but the names of these ancient cities, and nothing that is so calculated to excite despair as to the possibility of writing a history of the Tai. In the midst of a forest, which might almost be called primæval, the traveller comes upon a vallum, on which there are trees of 8, 12, 15 feet girth. Examination shows that it encloses a space from half a mile to a mile and a half square and that round the outside runs a moat 15 feet or more wide and 10 feet deep, but filled now with great forest growth or cane-brake, instead of water. The mouldered rampart is 10 to 20 feet high and must have taken thousands of men years to build up. Yet now there is absolutely nothing inside it, but blank jungle, unless other ridges show that there was an inner city, or that the whole was divided into three compartments, as seems to have frequently been the case. Here and there a tumulus suggests that there may have been a brick building, a palace, or a pagoda, or a refuge tower, but the *pipul* trees have strangled it and the white-ants have covered it with earth. It is possible that some of these may have been like the woodland fastnesses of the Celts, which Cæsar describes in Britain, designed to afford the people a retreat and protection for themselves and their flocks in times of invasion, but it seems more probable, in the absence of all reference to such works, that they were really once cities. Nothing can be more complete than the effacement of all trace of human dwellings in Chieng Hsen and Sè Lan, which we know to have been powerful capitals.

Some of these monuments to the vanity of human wishes have not even names of their own now. Of others it is said that they were Chinese cities, which we know from the business-like, if vainglorious, Chinese annals to be quite untrue. The Lao of the Siamese Shan States are particularly fond of ascribing their erection to the Lawa. The wild Wa are undeniably skilled in defensive fortification of a kind, but it is of an entirely different character. The commonest answer, however, is that the constructors were the *nagas*, "Gorgons and hydras and chimaeras dire." Where the ruins are not more than a couple of centuries old and are admittedly Tai, all that one can learn is that they have not been inhabited for, say, fifty generations, and that they were depopulated during the wars. As the Burmese overran the country they took care to demolish the walled cities, and practically the only one which remains in the British Shan States is that of Kēng Tūng, which is not very old and is distinctly dilapidated.

The Southern Shan States.

In what is for administrative purposes called the Southern Shan States, Burmese suzerainty was enforced from a much earlier date than in the Northern Shan States charge. In fact it seems by no means impossible that the Môn, or the Burmese, held the Southern Shan States before there were any Tai there. All the Southern States, where they have histories at all, refer to a time when they got their *Sawbwas* from the north, mostly from Möng Mit, that is to say, from some part or other of the Nam Mao Tai Kingdom. The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that the Tai only came to the south to the States of Lai Hka, Möng Nai, Yawng Hwe, and so forth after the Kingdom of Ta-li was broken up by Kublai Khan. Their traditional histories all refer rather to visits in *Sekya Hpaungdaw*, aërial barges and what not, of Peguan or Pagan Kings, than to the Hkun Lu and Hkun Lai, the *Htao-möng*, and the like of the Northern States. Where they have any history at all, the earlier portion is all taken up with Burma rather than with the region we know the Tai race came from, until the time when the Mao Shans, or their tributaries, or offshoots, the Mogaung and Mohnyin *Sawbwas*, conquered Upper Burma and ruled there as kings for a time. It is precisely at this period that we find *Sawbwas* coming from the north to the Southern States. The old families are said to have died out, or intrigue at Ava imposed a new line, or there were matrimonial alliances ; any sort of a tale is told except what seems possibly the true one, that the Tai only came south in force at this time. This may be only conjecture, but, if it is not the case, the singularity of the facts will have to be proved by details which are not yet available. Who were the aborigines of these Southern States if this theory is correct is no less of a puzzle, but the balance of probability seems to be that they were Karens. If further investigation proves that the Cambodians, the Hka Muk, the Wa, Palaung, and cognate tribes are of the Môn race which has been asserted, then this race may have been the predecessors of the Tai. But it seems more probable that the Karens were displaced by the Shans. The presence of the Red Karens and the Taungthu seems to point to this and especially the conflicting traditions of the latter. The people of Thatôn in Lower Burma relate that they came from a place of that name in the hills. The Taungthu of Hsa Htung (the Tai form of Thatôn) say they came from Tenasserim. Both may be right. The Karens may have been driven south by the Talaing or Burman Kings and later may have re-colonized their original home or reinforced the remnant that remained there.

However that may be, it is quite indisputable that the Kings of Burma received tribute and controlled successions in the Southern

Shan States long before they had any permanent control in Hsen Wi, where their first exercise of authority was no earlier than A. D. 1604 or 1605, when the Mao Shan Kingdom came to an end. From that time the Tai were never free from Burman interference, however little the suzerainty may have been acknowledged in the remoter States to be of practical effect. In the Southern States it very soon became an active and oppressive reality, dwindling gradually to the eastward and to the north-east, but for many years constantly creeping on, notwithstanding the enterprise of the Chinese from the other side. In these three centuries at any rate, the power and prosperity of the Tai principalities steadily declined. They were worn down not only by the aggression and rapacity of the Burmese and Chinese, and by the intestine wars, in which there is abundant proof that they always indulged, but by the advances of the Kachins. Whether these hillmen were crushed out by the Chinese, or whether over-population forced them to migrate, it is certain that for the last two centuries they also have passed south-eastwards and have driven the Tai from much territory between China Proper and Burma, until Shan names of mountains, streams, and villages are the only remaining witnesses of former occupation. The once powerful States west of the Irrawaddy now only possess a meagre and much Burmanized population, while the border principalities to the east from Hsum Hsai to Yawng Hwe, and in a lesser degree even to Möng Nai, have suffered almost as much from the deliberate policy of the Burmese Kings and have only survived because they had the mass of their fellow-countrymen behind them.

Decay of Shan power.

No connected history of these two, or two and a half centuries can be written because there was no cohesion or connection. What details have survived must be picked out under the heads of the various States. The Burmese policy was not by any means directed to maintain peace and quietness. The sons or brothers of the ruling *Sawbwas* were always kept at the Avan Court, not only as hostages for the good behaviour of the Chief of the State, but that they might be reared under Burman influence and withdrawn from sympathy with those of their own race, so that when they in time came to rule, their loyalty to the suzerain might be ensured; moreover, the policy was to foster feuds between the different *Sawbwas*, and rival aspirants were left to settle their claims to the succession in a State by force of arms. The victorious claimant might be confirmed as *Sawbwa* by Royal patent, but he would not be, unless he was able to pay for it, and when the civil war was over, his forces were too exhausted to permit him to resist Burman demands. If a Chief seemed so prosperous that he might become impatient

of Burman control, conspiracies were fostered against him. Such troubles were easily managed among a hot-tempered people, such as most hillmen are. There was probably never a time when the gates of the temple of Janus were closed, when there was peace in all the Shan States. Consequently there were permanent bands of marauders or dacoits, collected from all parts, who were always ready to take the opportunity for indiscriminate plunder which the disturbed condition of some State might offer. In this way it was not uncommon for a prosperous and populous district to be utterly deserted for a time owing to these internal troubles, and the State of Hsen Wi, which till the middle of the century was the most powerful of the States, is the most notable example. Besides all this, or rather in consequence of all this, there were frequent, more or less extensive, rebellions against the royal authority, Some of these were soon put down. Some, like that in Hsen Wi, dragged on for years. The extraordinary thing was, and it was pointed to as the justification of the Burman policy, that other States always willingly supplied armed contingents to suppress the rebel for the time being. Such risings were always put down in the same way. Towns and villages were ruthlessly burnt and everything portable was carried off. It is little wonder therefore that the greatest of the modern Shan capitals would hardly form a bazaar suburb to one of the old walled cities.

Burmese administrative system.

The chief seat of Burmese administration in the Shan States was at Möng Nai and the title of the Burmese Resident was *Bo-hmu Mintha*, but he was seldom, if ever, in permanent residence. Dr. Richardson, who visited the Shan States in 1837, gives the following account of the system (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1869, under date in the Journal 20th February):—

"The *Bohmoo Mengtha* Meng Myat Boo (General Prince Meng Myat Boo, a half-brother of the King's son of a Shan Princess), the General who commanded at Melaun during the late war, is, and has been since the peace, governor of all the Shan countries from Mobie nominally, but really from Mokmai, south, to the Chinese frontier, north, and from Nattike, the top of the pass from the valley of the Irrawaddee, up to the Shan country, west, to three days beyond the May Koong (Broad river), or great Cambodia River, east. He himself generally resides in Ava, but visits his Government occasionally, in one of which visits he rode from Monay to Ava in three days. His deputy, who constantly resides in Monay, leaving as usual his family as pledges in Ava, is the *Tsetkay Daughee*, who has several officers under him; and there are at the court of each of the other *Tsoboas* two *Tsetkays*, also appointed from Ava. These *Tsetkays*, particularly the chief one, lord it over the *Tsoboas*; to him the chief authority belongs and all the external relations of the country is committed; and the royal orders are sent to Monay, from whence they are forwarded by

the *Tsetkays*; but the Monay *Tsoboa* has no authority to call any of the others. The lesser *Tsoboas* have no *Tsetkays* and are looked upon as merely *Myotsas*."

The manners and pretensions of the *Sikkè* are described under the date February 22nd.—

"I sent the Shan interpreter and some of the most respectable of the traders to notify our arrival to the *Tsoboa* or *Tsetkay Daughee* and claim protection from the mob. They were stopped by the latter Chief, whose house was nearer us than the *Tsoboa's*. He questioned them in the most arrogant manner as to who they were, where from, and what they wanted. They said they had been sent by me to the *Tsoboa* or himself to notify my arrival; told him who I was, and that I had a letter and presents for the *Tsoboa* from the Commissioner of Moulmein, by whom I had been sent on a friendly mission to open the gold and silver road trade. They also explained to him that we were not aware of the existence of his appointment till we reached Mokmai, and at the same time begged that he would send some one to keep the people from crowding on the tent, as they were doing, with which request he at once complied and sent a *Taunghmoo*, and some people armed with rattans to drive them out; to the first part of the message he replied that I should not see the *Tsoboa* until he was fully informed of our errand, that we had no right to enter the Kingdom by this road, that Barney, as he called the Resident, was at the golden footstool, where we ought to have gone and begged permission before coming here. In the evening a *Seray*, or Secretary, came out to my tent; he mentioned to the people outside, though not to me, that he had been sent by the *Tsetkay*. He was dressed in a handsome and heavy fur jacket, with the hairy side in, though the thermometer in the tent was about 86°. I discovered afterwards that this was a sort of official dress with all the Government officers here, though I should think anything but pleasant in these latitudes. He questioned me as to what I wanted here, and wished to know why I had not brought letters to the *Tsetkay*, &c. I told him my visit was a disinterested one, for I wanted nothing but to open the gold and silver road that the people here might exchange what they did not at present want with our peoples for what they did, to get the protection of the Government here for our people who might hereafter come on the same errand, to assure them of the good feeling towards them at Moulmein, and to promise protection and facilities for traders to their people visiting it, &c. I explained again the reason of my coming unprovided with letters to the *Tsetkay*, &c., by the fact of the Commissioner of Moulmein not being aware of the existence of such an officer, &c. My visitor had served in the late war; he had been a sort of Aide-de-camp to the old General of the Shans, Maha Nay Myo, &c.; had taken part in the affair at Wattigam, and bore a part at Zimbike, when the old General was killed, with several of the Shan *Tsoboas* and two of the three wives of the Laygea *Tsoboa* who, dressed in male attire, were for some superstitious cause expected to have done good service against our troops at the seven stockades near Rangoon. The Burmans suffered most severely here,; the Shans, who had not engaged us before, were not prepared to run away soon enough. He gave a sad description of their sufferings from cholera and starvation for many days after the storming of their stockades. His visit lasted about an hour and

a half. We parted great friends and he continued during my stay most attentive and friendly."

The *Sikkè* was, however, very much the reverse. He first insisted that Dr. Richardson "must, according to custom on visiting the "Chief, first go to the *Yeum-dau* (the *Lum*, or court-house), where "there would be an assemblage of all the lesser Chiefs; here taking "off my shoes, I must wait till Meng Nay Myo Yadza Norata (the "Secretary) should report my arrival to the *Tsetkay* at his own "house, and return to conduct me there, from whence I should pro-"ceed to the *Tsoboa's* place." This Dr. Richardson refused to do and said that in Ava "I had never taken off my shoes, but in the "palace, the houses of the princes, and at the *Hloat-dau*, where I sat "side by side with the *Woonghees*." This demand was therefore dropped, but when he went to the *Lum* the *Sawbwa* was not there and he "was stopped outside the flank about a foot high (*Coontsen*), "which surrounds the central pillars of the *Yeum*, and requested to "seat myself there. Close to me were all my own people and the "people of the town; inside the flank before mentioned were the "*Tsetkay Daughee*, Meng Myat Boo's representative (and Gover-"nor in his absence of all the Shan States); the royal *Tsetkay*, an "old man whom I took for the *Tsoboa*, two *Nakhans*, and two *Bo-"dha-ghees*. Meng Nay Myo (the Secretary) seated himself by "me." The *Sikkè* then "commenced conversation in a most insult-"ing and overbearing strain, which he kept up during the whole "interview. He told me I had trespassed in coming here without "an order from Meng Myat Boo and the King, through Barney, "the Resident," and continued to say much more that "was exceedingly discourteous to use the mildest term." Dr. Richardson protested against this style of reception a day or two later through his interpreter, and the *Sikkè* moderated his tone "and told him that "as they were situated here, a very few Burmans amongst a con-"quered and distinct people, the customs were necessarily different "from what they were in Ava; that the *Tsoboa*, whom I should meet "today, was never allowed to come inside the *Coontsen* * * * "As the *Tsoboa* was to sit outside, of course I could make no "further objections."

The *Sawbwa* accordingly came "with four gold *chattahs* and "about 50 or 60 men armed with muskets, *das*, and spears, and "a number carrying *thanleats*. When the old gentleman came "in I bowed to him, which he returned and seated himself close "beside me. The morning was cold, and either from that cause "or agitation he trembled considerably." When the letter was read the *Sawbwa* said he had already heard of the contents; that "he "was the King of Ava's slave and afraid of rendering himself liable

"to punishment (*yazawot*) if he allowed me to proceed." Accordingly Dr. Richardson was delayed considerably over a month in Möng Nai. His relations with the officials and with the *Sawbwa* fortunately greatly improved in that time. The latter is described "as a man of perhaps 68 years of age, of the common height "of Burmans, fair even for a Shan, though those on this side of the "Salween are much darker then to the eastward, notwithstanding "that they are a few degrees farther north; his manners are mild "and gentlemanly. * * * His *hoa* or palace has a gilded roof "of five stories; the *pyathat* or royal spire, surmounted by a *hti* "(*chattah*) or gilded iron ornament so called; the hall in which I was "received, about 40 feet square exclusive of a large verandah which "surrounds it; the centre portion, a square of 30 feet, is raised "about 18 inches, with four rows of pillars, which support the high "roof, three in each row and 10 feet apart; the innermost four of "the two centre rows are gilded, and the *Yaza Bolen* (throne), "which is a very handsome one, is lower and of better proportions "than those of the Siamese Shan *Tsoboas* I have seen. The gold "appears burnished at the distance at which I sat, though the art "of burnishing is not known to the Burmans. At each side of the "throne stood a large white muslin umbrella, furled, with two rows "of gold plate attached to fringes near the outer edge; on it were "a small gold crown, a sceptre, a *chowree*, an *ottar daun*, and the "royal red velvet slippers, forming the five insignia of royalty "(*Meng Hmeauk Yasa Ngaba*). The only other furniture in the "room was a gilded chair and a common clumsy Burman bed-"stead. There might be about 100 muskets ranged in different "parts of the hall."

Dr. Richardson was told that at this time the Burman force maintained in the Shan States was about 10,000 men, that there were 12 *Sawbwas*, four of them beyond the Salween, and that the contingents they were expected to furnish to the Burmese Government amounted to over 90,000 men. While he was still in Möng Nai the *Sawbwa* was ordered to proceed to Ava in person with a thousand men to aid in the suppression of Prince Tharrawaddi's rebellion. The State of Kēng Hūng was said to be the most populous and that of Hsen Wi the most extensive. The *Sawbwa* of the latter State was murdered about this time, "beaten to death with "clubs by his Shan subjects at a *poe*, to which he had gone with "a few followers. He was the son of the last *Tsoboa* (a perfect "savage) by a Burman woman he saw only for a few days at Ne-"aong Ewe. After his birth the woman married a Rangoon man, "where the boy followed her, and was loose in the country for some "years. He then came to Ava and entered himself among the

"young Prince's followers. His father dying without other known "children, he was raised to the *Tsoboa*ship about six years ago. He "was a confirmed bad character and, living about the palace in Ava, "had learned, with the vices of the capital, drinking and opium "smoking, to consider himself more as a Burman than a Shan, "and had imbibed the Burman contempt for the latter, by his oppres- "sion of whom he had succeeded in making himself so detested "that his death as related was the consequence." This showed how one Shan State was going to ruin and that the largest. Of affairs in Möng Nai the picture is no less suggestive. Dr. Richardson says the Shans "complain much of the oppression and insolence of "their Burman rulers. The members of the *Tsoboa's* families are "frequently insulted in the streets if they go out without their gold "*chattahs* or attendants. The Burmans, who are very numerous "here (of an estimated total of 1,600 houses, 350 were Burmese) "live entirely on the natives, contribute nothing to the expenses "of the country, or to the occasional royal exactions of money, "the levying of which is the province of the *Tsoboa*. Many of "them, styled *Keun-dau-mye*, not even called soldiers, have no "means of subsistence but preying on the natives, and many acts "are committed with impunity by them, which are severely punished "in the Shans, who complain they are looked on as little better than "dogs."

If this was the state of affairs at the centre of administration, it may be imagined that it was certainly no better elsewhere. A considerable military force was also maintained at Pèyakôn, opposite Möng Pai, whither the Myelat *Wun* moved his headquarters after the Myingun rebellion had stirred up the Red Karens to special activity. It may be noted that the men here at the time of the British annexation were Myedu people, and the policy always was to keep the soldiers as far as possible away from their homes. Smaller detachments were stationed in other parts, and every chief or, at any rate, every *Sawbwa* had a resident Burmese official to keep an eye on him. Beyond the Salween, however, the *Sawbwas* were much more independent and in fact paid very little attention to the orders of the Burmese residents. In fact de Carné says that the Burmese officers' dislike and antagonism to the French excited the anger and opposition of the Chief, who actually showed the utmost courtesy to the French party out of sheer obstinacy.

The character of the local Government, however, depended largely upon the personal character of the native Prince. Notwithstanding Burman supervision, the *Sawbwa* always retained the general administration of the affairs of the people and the collection of taxes, and the Shan Chiefs always assumed the same insignia and habits

of royalty as the Burmese Kings. The chieftainship was hereditary, but the appointment of the successor from a *Sawbwa's* family rested with the King of Burma. The *Sawbwas* all had powers of life and death and were virtually absolute in their authority when not interfered with by the Burman official. The local Government was therefore strong or weak, just or oppressive, according to the character of the Prince, and taxation was seldom interfered with when the demands of the Burman Government were satisfied promptly. *Sawbwas* noted for oppressive measures were few in number, for in such cases their subjects migrated to neighbouring States. Often, however, the Chiefs were driven to the exaction of heavy taxes to meet the demands of the Burman Court and were thus forced in to a course not agreeable to themselves. It was a series of such exceptional exactions which caused the Möng Nai *Sawbwa* to revolt against King Thibaw.

Of the people Dr. Cushing says: "The Shans are a thrifty "people. Being the inhabitants of a mountainous region, the neces-"saries of life are not so easily obtained as in the fertile deltas of "the Irrawaddy and Mènam. They are good agriculturists, but "excel in trading, by which they supply themseves with food and "merchandize not obtainable in their own country. The houses of "the better class exhibit a cleanliness and comfort not found "among Burmans of the same rank. They have much independence "of character, but are given to jealousies and personal dislikes "which have kept them divided politically and socially. In war-"fare they are often cruel and vindictive, not only seeking to put "to the sword all men of a hostile region, but often slaughtering "the male children who fall into their hands. In time of peace "they are cheerful, hospitable, and ready to render help to one "another. An innate restlessness gives rise to frequent change of "residence in the Shan country itself, so that often a good per-"centage of the population in a principality is not native born to "that principality."

The number of the Shan States.

It is practically impossible to determine how many Shan States there were under Burmese rule. The Burmese used always to number 99, a favourite number with them, but no details of this number were procurable or, when supplied, they were found to be manifestly wrong. The phrase is as meaningless as the name Ko Shan Pyi. As a matter of fact, except with the larger States, those always governed by *Sawbwas*, there was continual change. There was probably at no time much coherence or inter-dependence between neighbouring villages or groups of villages; and as it needed but a Royal order to make any group into an independent State, how-

ever small, the indefiniteness and confusion of the political divisions in Burmese times is not surprising. The King's interference was frequent and took various forms. He always exercised the right of nominating heirs from among the Chiefs' families. Sometimes in case of a dispute a principality was split up and a portion given to each of two claimants. Unruly Chiefs were deposed or driven into exile. Others were bought out by palace intrigues. Occasionally Shan Princes were imprisoned in the capital. In latter years there were two or three ex-*Sawbwas* of Hsen Wi in more or less close confinement in Mandalay, and the forty-nine *möngs* of that State had been greatly reduced even before the times of King Thibaw, by the creation of independent charges, such as Möng Nawng, Kehsi Mansam, Möng Hsu, and Möng Sang; not unseldom a Burmese Officer was put in as Governor for a longer or shorter time. Now and then a powerful Chief was shorn of part of his territory for the benefit of a more acceptable person, the father or brother perhaps of a favourite queen, or a weak Chief was made to give up territory to an energetic soldier more capable of defending it and doing the King's service.

The Myelat.

The people of the Myelat were foreigners equally to the Shans and to the Burmese, and their rulers were as often as not Burmans pure and simple, sent up by the order of the King, or at the recommendation of the Myelat *Wun*. The *Ngwekunhmus* differed very little, if at all, from the *Shwehmus* of the Katha district, and they were only a little more permanent in maintaining ruling families because of the greater inaccessibility of the Myelat. There are practically no Shans in that territory, and Shan is not only not spoken, but is not often understood. A reference to the accounts given in another chapter will show that the inhabitants are almost certainly descendants of Burmese colonies, voluntary or enforced. The Intha of the Yawng Hwe Lake are descendants of a colony planted many centuries ago by a King of Pagan, who took a number of prisoners from Tavoy and settled them at at Inle-ywa. The Danus would appear to have come of their own accord, or, if driven from home, chose their own place for settlement. The Taungthus, though not Burman, would seem to have a similar history. But, because the country lay beside that of the Shans and was more obviously connected with it physically, than with the plains, the Myelat people were always treated by the Burmese as tributaries and not as part of the Burmese nation.

Titles of Chiefs.

The title of *Sawbwa* was by no means necessarily hereditary, except in such States as Hsen Wi, Möng Nai, and the Trans-Salween States, who concerned them-

selves little about Burmese orders or wishes. Mawk Mai, Möng Pai, and Yawng Hwe appear to have held the higher title for longer than most and Möng Mit was almost always a *Sawbwa*ship, but, as far as the Burmese were concerned, Lai Hka was quite a recent creation as a *Sawbwa*ship, and Hsi Paw was considerably below Hsum Hsai in estimation, though now Hsum Hsai is a mere district of Hsi Paw. The ruler of Lawk Sawk appears almost always to have begun as a Myoza and only to have received the higher title by dint of rendering some service or living long enough. The essentially haphazard, corrupt, or emotional system of Burmese government makes it impossible to determine precise facts, and the Shans themselves call every ruler *Sao-hpa*, whether he is titular *Sawbwa* or Myoza.

It appears that there never was any formal or authentic precedence list in Burmese times. Of Cis-Salween Chiefs Hsen Wi always ranked first, until the State became a mere chaos, and Möng Nai next. But it would appear that as a rule the relative rank of Chiefs was as unstable as that of French Ministries under the Republic. If one *Sawbwa* had priority over another, or one Myoza over another, it was due to age or favouritism. The oldest Chief took first place, so far as there was any first place, quite irrespective of the extent of his territories. Moreover, this was complicated by the fact of the despatch of Thami-kanya to the capital. Every Shan Chief had to send daughters of his house to the King. If one of these girls was promoted to the rank of one of the four Queens, or was even a favourite minor Queen, her father or brother was correspondingly favoured on audience days, while a perhaps much more powerful Chief was passed over because his womankind were mere maids-of-honour. Thus in the time of King Mindôn the Möng Nai Queen was one of His Majesty's favourite wives, and in those days the *Sawbwa* of Möng Nai not only took rank above all others, but had his territory greatly enlarged. Apart from this and the granting of special insignia for special services, it would appear that all *Sawbwas* were considered to be on equal terms, except where considerable age, or extreme youth, made a marked difference. If this was so with the *Sawbwas*, it was much more so with the Myozas, though some of them, from the ancient existence of the State as a separate territory, were usually considered to rank at the head, unless their youth, or the considerable age of some of the other Myozas, made an obvious distinction.

Durbars were held at Möng Nai only very irregularly and most often when the ruler of some State had died, though it does not appear that this was enforced by any customary law, or that the opinion of the assembled Chiefs as to the succession was asked, or

had any weight if given. These assemblages were held in the *Lum*, the building referred to by Dr. Richardson. In this there was a long raised platform running east and west in the centre of the audience hall. At the western extremity of this the *Bo-hmu Min* sat on a dais facing the east. In front of him sat the *Wundauk*, who appears to have accompanied the *Bo-hmu* when he paid his visits from the capital. Behind the *Wundauk* sat the *Sikkè-gyi*, then the *Nakhans* and other subordinate officials, and at the eastern end were ranged the body-guard. To the left of the *Bo-hmu Min*, below this platform, was a square enclosure fenced with red cords. In this the *Sawbwas* arranged themselves at their pleasure, or according to mutual agreement, the Möng Nai *Sawbwa* occupying the post of honour, that nearest to the *Bo-hmu*. The *Sawbwas* were nearly in a line with the *Wundauk*, that is to say, a little to the left front of the *Bo-hmu*. Beyond them and facing the *Nakhans* were the Myozas, also in a red-fenced enclosure, like that of the *Sawbwas*. Behind these enclosures were others, in which were gathered the *Amats*, and *Myozayes*—the officials of the *Sawbwas* behind the *Sawbwas* and those of the Myozas behind their masters. The *Ngwekunhmus*, if any were present, took rank with the *Amatgyis* of a *Sawbwa*.

At the Palace in Mandalay the Shan Chiefs sat straight in front of the throne behind the Princes of the blood and the Ministers of State, who took station left and right of the throne, otherwise the arrangement seems to have corresponded with that in the Möng Nai assemblages. It is stated that the *Sawbwa* of Möng Nai in King Mindôn's time (father of Hkun Kyi, the first *Sawbwa* under British rule) in right of being one of His Majesty's fathers-in-law, sat occasionally with the Princes of the blood, but only by special orders and not as of right.

Titles of Shan Sawbwas.

Kēng Hūng (Kyaingyòngyi)	Zawti Nagara Mahā Wuntha Thiri Thudhamma Yāza.
Kēng Tūng, Kēng Cheng (Kyaington, Kyaingchaing).	Pyinsala Ya-htā Mahā Wuntha Dhamma Yāza.
Möng Nai (Monè) ...	Kambawsa Ya-htā Mahā Wunthiri Pawāya Thudhamma Yāza.
Hsenwi (Theinni) ...	Thiri Ya-htā Mahā Wuntha Pawāya Theta Thudhamma Yāza.
Yawng Hwe (Nyaungywe)	Kambawsa Ya-htā Thiri Pawāya Mahā Wuntha Thudhamma Yāza.
Möng Pai (Mobyè) ...	Kambawsa Mahā Wuntha Thiridhamma Yāza.

Möng Pan (Maingpan) ...	Kambawsa Thiri Mahā Wuntha Dhamma Yāza.
Lai Hka (Lègya) ...	Kambawsa Ya-htā Mahawuntha Thiri Thudhamma Yāza.
Möng Pu (Maingpu) ...	Kambawsa Ya-htā Wuntha Thiha Dhamma Yāza.
Mawk Mai (Maukmè) ...	Kambawsa Ya-htā Mahā Wuntha Thiri Yāza.
Loi Lōng (Taungbaing) ...	Mahā Thiri Pappada Thuya Yāza.
Möng Mit (Momeik) ...	Gantala Ya-htā Mahā Thiri Wuntha Yāza.
Hsawng Hsup (Thaungthut)	Mawriya Mahā Wuntha Thiha Yāza.
Wuntho ...	Mahā Wuntha Thiri Zeya Thohōnbwa.
Kale, Teinnyin ...	Mawriya Thiha Mahā Wuntha Dhamma Yāza.
Kanti ...	Mahā Wuntha Duyein Yāza.
	Titles of Myozas.
Hsum Hsai (Thônzè) ...	Thiri Ya-htā Mahā Wuntha Thudhamma Yāza.
Möng Pawn (Maingpun) ...	Thiri Mahā Tho-nganbwa.
Sam Ka (Saga) ...	Mahā Yāza Tho-nganbwa.
Hai Lông (Hèlôn) ...	Mahā Zeya Tho-nganbwa.
Kantarawadi (Karenni) ..	Pappada Kyawgaung.
Kyemmöngs (Kyamaings)	......
Hsi Paw (Thibaw) ...	Kambawsa Mahā Wuntha.
	Myoôks.
Möng Lông (Mainglôn) ...	Nemyo-minhla Raza.
	Ngwekunhmus.
Maw Hsön (Bawsaing) ...	Nemyo-thiri Kyawdin.
Poi La (Pwehla) ...	Nemyo-thiri Raza
Pangtara (Pindaya) ...	Nemyo-raza Nawrata.
	Da-kunhmus.
Pong Mu (Pôn-mu) Da-kunhmu.	Thiri Mahā Raza Tho-nganbwa.

British occupation.

The administration of the Shan States was at no time justly or consistently carried on. After the death of King Mindôn it fell into complete disorder, like that of every part of King Thibaw's dominions. The *Sawbwa* of Kēng Tūng was the first to revolt. He took offence at the appointment by King Mindôn of a Hsenwi-hpa or *Sawbwa* to the State of Kēng Hūng (Chêli) without reference to him and to the exclusion of the Kēng Tūng nominee. King Thibaw issued an order confirming this Chief, and upon this the *Sawbwa* of Kēng Tūng executed the Burmese Political Officer resident at his court and massacred the majority of his guard, about thirty in number. He then proceeded to destroy the capital of Kēng Hūng and to instal his own candidate, who was subsequently taken under Chinese protection.

King Thibaw was quite helpless to punish this insubordination and apparently thought it wiser to ignore it altogether rather than to expose his weakness.

Repeated demands for money made the *Sawbwa* of Möng Nai desperate and with the Kēng Tūng success before him, he also massacred the Burmese garrison in his capital. Sympathy, family connection, and similar grievances induced the *Sawbwa* of Lawk Sawk and the Myoza of Möng Nawng to join him, but these western Chiefs were more accessible and the Burmese forces drove them to take refuge beyond the Salween with the Kēng Tūng *Sawbwa* in 1884. At Kēng Tūng the fugitive *Sawbwas* plotted means of regaining their lost dignities and with this object conceived a plan for placing at their head a Prince of the Burmese Royal house, and either overthrowing King Thibaw and replacing him by their own leader, or establishing an independent sovereignty in the Shan States. The person selected by the confederates as their leader was the Limbin Prince, a son of the Einshemin or Crown Prince. The Einshemin was the brother of Mindôn Min and in his lifetime the most influential and the most popular member of the Royal Family of Burma. He was killed in 1866 by his nephew, the Myingun Prince, now living in Saigon. His son, the Limbin Prince, escaped to Lower Burma on the accession of King Thibaw, was educated in Rangoon, and was for some time employed as a Myoôk or subordinate Magistrate. He was removed from his appointment for incompetence and because he took advantage of his liberty to attempt to raise a rebellion in Upper Burma. During the year 1885 he was living under nominal surveillance at Moulmein, and here the agents of the exiled *Sawbwas* at Kēng Tūng found him. He accepted the invitation and left Moulmein in October 1885, about a month before the despatch of the British expedition to Mandalay. On the arrival of the Limbin Prince at Kēng Tūng the allies collected their forces and, aided by the *Sawbwa* of Kēng Tūng, proceeded to take steps to regain their former possessions. By this time the Burmese Government had been overthrown and the Burmese troops had been withdrawn from the Shan country. An open field was left for the contest for supremacy in each State.

The allies crossed the Salween in February 1886 and at once attacked Möng Nai. This State and its dependency Kēng Tawng after the flight of the rightful *Sawbwa,* Hkun Kyi, had been administered by an unfrocked monk called Twet Nga Lu, who had married the mother of Saw Maung, a child who had been appointed *Sawbwa* by the Burmese Government. Aided by his allies, Hkun Kyi drove Twet Nga Lu from Möng Nai, and re-established himself in that State, but Twet Nga Lu maintained himself for some time

in Kēng Tawng, though the Möng Nawng Myoza, a cousin of Hkun Kyi's, was re-established immediately to the north of him. Sao Weng, the exiled *Sawbwa* of Lawk Sawk, also regained his State without trouble. During his absence it had been handed over temporarily by the King to the *Sawbwa* of Yawng Hwe, Sao Mawng, who put in an *Amatchôk*, or chief minister, as administrator.

In order to understand the somewhat complicated relations between the several States during the year 1886, it must be remembered that the object of the allied *Sawbwas* was not only to recover their own States, but also to establish the Limbin Prince as an independent sovereign. They were bound to the Limbin Prince by solemn oaths of allegiance, and it was necessary to the success of their plans that all the Shan States should either join the confederacy of their own free-will, or be compelled to do so by force of arms. The plans of the allies had been concerted before the outbreak of war between the British and Burmese Governments, but they were not at first modified by the overthrow of the Burmese monarchy. The *Sawbwas* probably believed that the British Government would for a time at least be sufficiently occupied by the settlement of Upper Burma proper and that it would be possible to consolidate their leader's power in the Shan States without interference. The active members of the confederacy were the important States of Möng Nai, Lawk Sawk, Mawk Mai, and Möng Pawn and the Myozaships of Möng Nawng, Möng Sit, Kēng Hkam, Möng Ping, Hsa Htūng, Wan Yin, Nawng Wawn, Nam Hkôk, and Ho Pông, while many of the *Ngwekunhmus* of the Myelat joined, because they were afraid to do anything but agree with their powerful neighbours. The majority of the Chiefs of these States were related by blood or marriage. The few who were not, found themselves so surrounded by members of the confederacy that they had no choice but to join. The States of Lai Hka, Möng Küng, and Kehsi Mansam had, under orders from Mandalay, furnished contingents for the attack on Möng Nai, when Hkun Kyi had to fly, and it would seem that they were attacked immediately by the allies, probably as much to give the Kēng Tūng troops payment and employment in the way of looting, as to enable the returned exiles to recover their plough-cattle or to take those of other people. At any rate, Lai Hka was burnt and ravaged from end to end and considerable portions of Möng Küng and Kehsi Mansam fared nearly as badly.

Sao Mawng, the *Sawbwa* of Yawng Hwe, as we have seen, had been put by the Burmese in charge of Lawk Sawk. As soon as Sao Weng had re-established himself in his State he proceeded in his turn to revenge himself on Yawng Hwe. The *Sawbwa* Sao Mawng, who had been in Mandalay at the time of its surrender to

the British, had hardly reached his own State when he was attacked and wounded, whereupon he retired to Taw Gin, near Hlaingdet in the Meiktila district. A half-brother of his, Sao Chit Su, was named *Sawbwa* by the Limbin faction, but he was almost immediately expelled by Sao Ông, who then had to defend himself against Sao Weng from the north and the States of Nawng Wawn, Wan Yin, and others in the valley of the Tam Hpak immediately to the east. Sao Ông received a certain amount of assistance from Sam Ka and some of the Southern Myelat States and so held his own. Meanwhile he tendered his allegiance to the British Government and asked for support.

The Hsi Paw *Sawbwa* had only just re-established himself. Exactions and intrigues in King Thibaw's reign had forced him to fly from his State. He took refuge in Rangoon, whence, after some dramatic experiences, he was banished to Karenni. Sawlapaw, the Chief of Eastern Karenni, gave him a force on the outbreak of the war with King Thibaw, which enabled the *Sawbwa* to take possession of his old State. He promptly took advantage of the general turmoil to lay hands on the neighbouring principalities of Hsum Hsai and Möng Tūng. This kept him fully occupied and he had no connection with the Limbin party either way.

The neighbouring State of Hsen Wi had been in a state of chaos for a whole generation, since Sang Hai rose against the *Sawbwa* Naw Hpa in 1856, and it remained so. In the extreme south the situation was little better. There the Red Karens had only been kept under by the Burmese garrison at Pèyakôn. This was withdrawn and the old bickering and raiding immediately began again between Möng Pai and the Karenni States. Moreover, Sao Chit Su, the few-days *Sawbwa* of Yawng Hwe, had taken refuge with the Möng Pai *Sawbwa*. Sao Ông anticipated trouble there and rightly or wrongly was thought to have egged on the Western Karenni Chief Po Bya to attack Möng Pai. In revenge the Möng Pai forces, with the assistance of those of Loi Lông, attacked Ang Tēng (Indeing-gôn) at the southern end of the Yawng Hwe Lake, and incursions were made into whatever parts of the Myelat promised plunder.

Over on the south-eastern frontier Mawk Mai and Möng Pan had a private quarrel of their own which they prosecuted with vigour.

Thus every part of the Cis-Salween States was in a state of war. Everywhere villages were burnt and property destroyed; whole districts became depopulated and the emigration of the Shans, which had been constant for years, became something very like evacuation by every one except the actual combatants.

This was the state of affairs throughout 1886. Yawng Hwe was invested on every side but the west, and hostilities were carried on in the usual Shan fashion, which consists in a sudden advance, the construction of stockades, desultory firing, and an attempt to starve the enemy out, or to rush their works when the bulk of the defenders are absent in search of food. Everywhere else there were triangular or quadrangular duels.

In January 1887 a column under Colonel Stedman (now Sir Edward Stedman) marched up from Hlaingdet with Mr. A. H. Hildebrand, the Superintendent of the Shan States. Some desultory opposition was encountered on the road, at Kyap Sakan in the terai, at Nam Hkum on the edge of the plateau, and at Kugyo, not far from Taunggyi, where the Lawk Sawk *Sawbwa* made a stand in a fortified position, from which he was driven without difficulty by our troops. These were practically all the warlike operations that were necessary. The column reached Yawng Hwe on the 10th February, and four days later a site for the establishment of the headquarters of the Superintendent with a garrison and fortified post was chosen at the village of Möng Hsawk on the eastern side of the Lake. This station has since been known as Fort Stedman.

The work of pacification proceeded rapidly. On the march up all the northern and central *Ngwekunhmus* of the Myelat had tendered their submission in person. At Yawng Hwe the Myoza of Sam Ka immediately proffered his allegiance. A small body of troops went from Yawng Hwe to Möng Pai, passing undisturbed through Nam Kôk and Sa Koi, and at Möng Pai the *Sawbwa* himself tendered his unreserved submission to the Assistant Superintendent as the representative of the British Government and advocated the establishment of a British force at Pèyakôn.

Meanwhile the Superintendent had called upon Möng Nai and Möng Pawn, the most prominent members of the Limbin confederacy, to submit to the British Government and to keep peace among themselves. They did not, however, immediately submit, but withdrew their forces from the borders of Yawng Hwe and retired to their own territories. The Limbin Prince himself, who had been established at Wan Yin, moved first to Ho Pông and eventually to Möng Nai. The States of Lai Hka, Möng Küng, and Kehsi Mansam had already made submission in Mandalay and they now took advantage of the state of uncertainty which prevailed among the Chiefs of the Limbin confederacy to raise a mixed force, with which they marched upon Möng Pawn. The Möng Nai *Sawbwa* was too fully engaged in driving Twet Nga Lu out of Kēng Tawng, which he succeeded in doing with assistance from Sawlapaw, to

determine on any definite course. Mawk Mai had attacked Möng Pan with considerable success until Hkun Lông, the Mawk Mai *Sawbwa*, was killed by a stray bullet, whereupon his forces retreated to their own State. Both Twet Nga Lu and Möng Pan represented themselves as subjects of the British Government, and Sawlapaw, who had assisted Hkun Kyi of Möng Nai, and whose daughter had married Möng Nai's nephew, was known to be bitterly hostile to us. The whole situation was therefore very involved and critical.

The Lawk Sawk *Sawbwa* Sao Weng continued to maintain an attitude of hostility; threatened the northern Chiefs of the Myelat, and incited attacks on the communications between Fort Stedman and the base at Hlaingdet. Promises of pardon and immunity had no result. The Superintendent therefore proceeded to Lawk Sawk. The *Sawbwa* fled before the arrival of the column and Lawk Sawk was occupied practically without opposition. Sao Weng had no one with him but his Kēng Tūng mercenaries and he returned straight to that capital, where he remained until its submission in 1890, when he moved on to Kēng Hūng.

From Lawk Sawk the Superintendent marched through Möng Ping to Ho Pông, where he had arranged to meet the Limbin Prince and his most energetic supporter, the Möng Pawn *Sawbwa*. They did not appear, but the Myozas of Ho Pông, Nam Hkôk, and Nawng Wawn did. These were all supporters of the Limbin Prince and the last-named was uterine brother of the Möng Pawn *Sawbwa*. He represented that Möng Pawn was closely pressed by the forces of Lai Hka and other States professedly acting for the British Government. The British column therefore moved on there and a cessation of hostilities and the reconciliation of the Chiefs was effected on the actual scene of a fight in the best manner of the light opera stage.

The Möng Pawn *Sawbwa* was a man of much force of character and had been the practical leader and certainly the spokesman of the Limbin confederacy. Upon his submission all the other Southern Shan States submitted. A party under Captain Wallace, of the 27th Punjab Infantry, proceeded to Möng Nai with the Assistant Superintendent, where the full submission of the Möng Nai *Sawbwa* was received and the Limbin Prince voluntarily gave himself up and handed over his flag. A visit was paid to Mawk Mai, where the aged and abdicated Kolan *Sawbwa* had just died, and the three British Officers and one sepoy who formed the party were received with great honour. At the special request of the Möng Nai *Sawbwa* the British flag was hoisted in Möng Nai and the detachment then returned to Fort Stedman, whence the Limbin Prince was sent

to Rangoon and afterwards at his own request to Calcutta, where he lives in receipt of an allowance from Government.

Thus by the middle of June 1887 the whole of the Southern Shan States had been brought under the influence of the Superintendent and were free from disturbances. But the north, except Hsi Paw, was still in a state of complete anarchy. The Hsi Paw *Sawbwa* visited the Chief Commissioner in Mandalay early in 1887, and as he was the first Shan *Sawbwa* who placed himself without reserve in the hands of the Government beyond the borders of the Shan States, he was received with much consideration. He was present at the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, and on this occasion, as a special mark of grace and favour, His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was pleased to remit for ten years the tribute payable by his State. It was also arranged that the States of Möng Lông and Hsum Hsai, which border on the Mandalay District, and the State of Möng Tūng, which lies to the south-east of Hsi Paw, should be considered as subordinate to the *Sawbwa* of that State. On his return to Hsi Paw the *Sawbwa* was accompanied by Mr. J. E. Bridges, the Deputy Commissioner of Mandalay, who stayed some time in the capital and endeavoured to arrange for the pacification of Hsen Wi. Matters there, however, were far beyond the possibility of settlement, except on the spot. At one time Hsen Wi consisted of forty-nine *möngs*, each ruled over by a tributary chieftain. In addition to this national division it was partitioned by the Burmese into five tracts—northern, southern, eastern, western, and central. But since the year 1856, when the *Sawbwa* Hsüng Naw Hpa, who acceded to the dignity in 1848-49, became involved in a struggle with Sang Hai, who had commanded the Hsen Wi contingent which helped to repulse the Siamese attack on Kēng Tūng, the State had become more and more involved in violent and continuous civil war. The Burmese Government deposed and re-appointed the *Sawbwa* ; appointed another *Sawbwa* and imprisoned and then reappointed him ; sent a long succession of *Wuns* and *Sikkès*, *Windawhmus*, and Military *Bos*, but entirely without success in restoring order. In 1877 indeed Sang Hai was compelled to retreat beyond the Salween, but the relief was only temporary, and in the meanwhile Möng Nawng, Kehsi Mansam, Möng Hsu, and Möng Sang, formerly integral parts of Hsen Wi, had become separate States under Chiefs who held their dignities by direct grant from the Burmese Government instead of being subordinate to Hsen Wi, and the northern division had fallen permanently into Kachin hands, while the fertile Alèlet in the centre had been reduced to a condition of chaos. Sang Hai died, but he was succeeded by Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông, an adven-

turer who had married the daughter of Sang Hai after acting as chief fighting leader for some years. Hkun Sang was by birth a Mang Lön man and is said to have Wa blood in his veins. On Sang Hai's death he immediately assumed the offensive with the assistance of the Kachins, and in 1878 finally drove Hsüng Naw Hpa from the capital and maintained himself in the Wing in defiance of Burmese *Sikkès* and other officers, who were fain to administer what was left of the Central and Western divisions from Lashio as their headquarters. These portions of the State, however, continued to be disturbed until 1881, when Sang Aw, known as the *Paôkchôk*, established himself at Möng Yai as ruler of Hsen Wi Alèlet, which then included all Hsen Wi that was left, outside of the north in Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông's hands, and the south which had been broken up into new States. The Burmese officials had practically no authority beyond the Lashio valley and the road thither, and for the rest of King Thibaw's reign they were unable to improve their position.

This was the state of affairs when Upper Burma was incorporated in British India. As elsewhere, the Burmese garrison in Lashio was immediately withdrawn, or disbanded itself. Hsüng Naw Hpa, the quondam *Sawbwa* of all Hsen Wi, was at this time living at Möng Si, a Kachin circle to the north-east of the Wing or Myoma, as the Burmese called the capital, where Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông was established, and the *Paôkchôk* was in Möng Yai. They were all of them more or less quiescent. Naw Möng, the son of Naw Hpa, had been detained throughout King Thibaw's reign as a prisoner in Mandalay and the British occupation set him free. He immediately set out for Hsen Wi and on his way up passed through the camps of both the Myinzaing Prince and that of Saw Yan Naing, the son of the Metkaya Prince. He made for the western part of the Alèlet and gathered supporters round him in the Man Sè neighbourhood. When he had sufficient force, which was not till the beginning of 1887, he marched over the hills to the Lashio valley, where he was met and defeated by Hkun Sang with his Kachins. Hkun Sang thereupon proceeded to drive back the forces of Naw Hpa, which apparently made a badly concerted movement from Möng Si. He then marched on the Alèlet. Saw Yan Naing had by this time been driven not only from the Ava neighbourhood, but also from the Pyinulwin subdivision and had retired to Man Sè. Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông overthrew him on his march and drove him into Loilông Tawng Peng and then proceeded to defeat Naw Möng and the *Paôkchôk*, Sang Aw, in detail. His success was much contributed to by predatory raids of bands from Hsi Paw, who burnt out the whole of the south of

the Alèlet and finally ruined the greater part of that tract. By August 1887 the *Paôkchôk* and Naw Möng were driven from Hsen Wi altogether and Hkun Sang took possession of Möng Yai. The two fugitives made their way to Möng Nai and began communications with Mr. Hildebrand at Fort Stedman, under whom all the Shan States, both north and south, were now placed. Mr. Hildebrand opened a correspondence with Hkun Sang at Möng Yai. The Hsi Paw robber bands were withdrawn and for the first time for many years there was peace in the Shan States. The incessant fighting which had been going on had, however, prevented the sowing of crops, and everywhere there was much distress, which in Lai Hka was so great that a considerable number of people died of actual want of food.

In the open season of 1887-88 Mr. Hildebrand proceeded with a considerable military force on an extended tour, which took him through all the Shan States hitherward of the Salween, lasted for over five months, and ended at Mandalay without a single shot having been fired. In the course of his march Mr. Hildebrand received the personal submission of all the *Sawbwas* and Myozas, confirmed them in their positions as tributary Chiefs, settled their relations with the Government and with each other, fixed the amount of tribute to be paid by each Chief, and generally established the supremacy of the British Government. The general peace has not since been disturbed except by enterprises begun or concocted beyond the area then in the Shan States charge.

At Möng Pai an attempt was made to settle a dispute between the *Sawbwa* of that State and Po Bya, one of the Western Karenni Chiefs. This was afterwards brought before Sir Charles Crosthwaite in Rangoon by the Möng Pai *Sawbwa* in person and by the sons of Po Bya. It was agreed to condone past offences and to abstain from disputes in future, but this settlement proved of little value owing to the hostile attitude of Sawlapaw, the Chief of Eastern Karenni, and the absence of any arrangement with the other Western Karenni Chiefs.

After the column had started Twet Nga Lu, who had come to Fort Stedman during the rains to prefer a claim to the *Sawbwaship* of Kēng Tawng, but had been told that it could not be entertained, raised a band of followers in Keh si Mansam and raided and burnt Kēng Tawng. He was driven out by the Möng Nai *Sawbwa*, passed into Möng Pan, and burnt that capital and was then forced to take refuge in Chiengmai territory. At Möng Pan, where four Siamese Commissioners and the British Vice-Consul of Chiengmai were met, promises were given that he would be restrained from

hostile action, but these were not very competently fulfilled. The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss the question of the right of the British and Siamese Governments to the small States of Möng Tôn, Möng Hang, Möng Kyawt, and Möng Hta, as well as to Möng Hsat. The former four territories had been dependencies of Möng Pan and only sought protection from Chiengmai when the quarrel between Mawk Mai and Möng Pan threatened them with danger. Only a temporary arrangement could be made at this meeting and this gave an advantage to Twet Nga Lu, of which he did not fail to avail himself, while the British and Siamese Governments were discussing the future administration of these States.

From Möng Pan Mr. Hildebrand went to Möng Nai and there held what no doubt the Shans considered the first durbar in the Shan States. A meeting had been held in the end of 1887 at Fort Stedman, but only the western Chiefs and the *Ngwekunhmus* of the Myelat were present. At Möng Nai on the contrary, with the exception of the *Sawbwas* of the north and these western Chiefs, the rulers of all the principalities were present, and a reconciliation was effected between the Limbin Prince's allies and their victims. Here also the general question of the tribute payable by the Shan States, as well as the separate questions of the individual amounts, were finally settled. At first the *Sawbwas*, through their spokesman, the intelligent and self-reliant *Sawbwa* of Möng Pawn, raised objections to the assessment of tribute on the principle of the *thathameda*, a principle which had been adopted in the time of Mindôn Min. They professed a wish to return to the primitive custom of sending to the ruling authority valuable presents in acknowledgment of its suzerainty instead of the fixed sums demanded in comparatively recent years by the Burmese Government. These objections were finally overruled and the tribute question was settled with the concurrence of all the assembled Chiefs for a period of five years from the 1st December 1887, after which the amount was to be liable to revision.

From Möng Nai the Superintendent marched through Lai Hka, Möng Küng, and Kehsi Mansam to Möng Yai, where he was met by a northern column which had been touring through Tawng Peng and Hsen Wi with Lieutenant Daly as Political Officer. Except that in Tawng Peng their rear had been fired into, this party had been equally peaceful and it brought in Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông. It may be noted here that the name Kun San Tôn Hôn, which was given to this personage by the Burmese and accepted by us when Shan matters were not so well known, is from the pedantic

point of view absolutely incorrect. His "little name" was Sang Yawn Ko and he belonged to Tôn Hông village. When fortune smiled on him he dropped the Yawn Ko and adopted the title Hkun, which properly is applied only to members of a ruling house. Thus his name is Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông, as we say William of Cloudeslee.

Naw Möng and the *Paôkchôk* (which seems to be the Wa title *Pachôk* and may be compared with the old Nam Chao style *Pa-shi* meaning Governor) had come from Möng Nai with Mr. Hildebrand and a meeting of all the heads of circles and elders of Hsen Wi was held in Möng Yai. As a result the already mutilated State of Hsen Wi was further dismembered. The north and east were given to Hkun Sang with the title of North Hsen Wi *Sawbwa*, and what was practically the old Kawn Kang, or Alèlet was assigned to Naw Möng as *Sawbwa* of South Hsen Wi. The *Paôkchôk*, who was ill and aged, was to remain a pensioner of South Hsen Wi. A couple of months after the column had gone, his party rose against Naw Möng, who fled to Hsi Paw. Before Lieutenant Daly arrived to restore him, the *Paôkchôk* paid all debts by dying of dropsy. Lieutenant Daly and the *Sawbwa* then summoned together the principals in the rising. They came and were arrested and the *Sawbwa* sentenced a number to imprisonment.

The Superintendent had meanwhile marched down to Mandalay, receiving on the way the submission of the *Sawbwa* of Loi Lông Tawng Peng, who had failed to come in to Lieutenant Daly.

The long absence of the Superintendent and of the bulk of the garrison from Fort Stedman seems to have given rise to the supposition that the British troops had been or were about to be withdrawn. In March 1888 Sawlapaw, the Chief of Eastern Karen-ni who had declined to meet the Superintendent when invited to do so some months before, and who had already annexed part of the State of Sakoi on his borders, became still bolder and took the settlement of a longstanding feud with Mawk Mai into his own hands. A band of Red Karens attacked Mawk Mai; the *Sawbwa* fled from his Wing across the Salween, and it was pillaged and burnt. Sawlapaw then proceeded to set up as *Sawbwa* a man named Hkun Noi Kyu, a cadet of the Mawk Mai family, who agreed to hold the State as a feudatory of the Karenni Chief. This success no doubt emboldened Twet Nga Lu. He attacked and occupied Möng Pan, driving out the *Sawbwa*. The Möng Nai *Sawbwa*, by order of Mr. Hildebrand, sent a party to expel Twet Nga Lu, but they were defeated and pursued up to the gates of Möng Nai, with such vigour that Twet Nga Lu was able to establish himself there

early in May 1888 and Hkun Kyi fled to Möng Pawn. The Assistant Superintendent was therefore hurried up from Mandalay in the middle of April. Meanwhile somewhat serious hostilities had broken out between minor States in the south of the Myelat, fomented by the Yawng Hwe *Sawbwa*, owing to actual or wilful miscomprehension of the orders of the military officer at Fort Stedman. These were dealt with, peace restored, and the *Sawbwa* fined Rs. 10,000, and then a column marched east. A mounted surprise party under Lieutenant Fowler of the 1st Biluchis succeeded in capturing Twet Nga Lu and all his leaders seven days after the rebel entry into Möng Nai and this put an end to the rising. Six of the leaders were executed after trial by the *Sawbwa* of Möng Nai, and Twet Nga Lu himself was shot by his guard.

The column with the Assistant Superintendent after restoring Hkun Kyi then marched south to Mawk Mai, which was evacuated by Hkun Noi Kyu and the Karenni. The former made his escape to Siamese territory and has not since given any trouble. The Karenni retired to their own territory and a British post was established at Mawk Mai with a small detachment at Möng Nai. At the end of June 1888, however, Sawlapaw made another attack on Mawk Mai, where the *Sawbwa* had been re-established. The Karenni were easily repulsed and Lieutenant Fowler then immediately assumed the offensive, drove the Red Karens out of their works at Kantu Awn with very severe loss, and finally expelled them from Mawk Mai. The British force was so small comparatively and inflicted such heavy punishment that no further trouble was experienced on this side.

The result of these distarbances was the permanent establishment of a British Civil Officer at Möng Nai. About the same time the Northern Shan States were separated from the south and made into a separate charge.

It will be noted that these risings were purely local matters and it may be remarked that the Shan States, as a whole, were the only part of Upper Burma which practically accepted British authority without opposition. Within little over a year after the first occupation of the country the ruler of every State had made personal submission to the Superintendent and had agreed to accept his position as a tributary of the British Government on fixed conditions. The intention of the Government to maintain order and to prevent private wars between the several States, while at the same time allowing to each Chief independence in the administration of his territory to the fullest extent compatible with the methods of civilized government had not only been declared, but had been exemplified.

Trade began to revive almost immediately, ruined villages and towns were re-occupied and re-built, and the people began to resume their ordinary pursuits, which it may be said have never since been disturbed except in the frontier States, and there only for reasons which were purely local and differed in each case.

The season of 1888-89 was mainly occupied in dealing with Sawlapaw, the Chief of Eastern Karenni. Immediately after the defeat of his forces at Kantu Awn in Mawk Mai and probably before he was aware of it, Sawlapaw wrote to the Superintendent of the Shan States recounting his grievances against Mawk Mai and peremptorily ordering the withdrawal of British troops from that State. This letter was returned. In August 1888 Sawlapaw seems to have begun to apprehend that punishment would be inflicted on him for his attack on Mawk Mai. He wrote to the Superintendent of the Shan States and also to the Commissioner of Tenasserim, asking that the British Government would arbitrate the dispute between him and the *Sawbwa* of Mawk Mai from whom he claimed Rs. 24,00,000 as compensation. These letters being couched in unsuitable phraseology, were returned to Sawlapaw by the hand of his messengers. Early in September the Superintendent of the Shan States was furnished with an ultimatum to be sent to the Eastern Karenni Chief if he should not tender his personal submission to the Superintendent as the representative of the British Government. The ultimatum required Sawlapaw to come to Fort Stedman in person, to pay an indemnity of two lakhs for the damage done to Mawk Mai and to cover the cost of the despatch of troops to the relief of that State, to surrender five hundred serviceable muskets, and to pay annually Rs. 5,000 as tribute. The Superintendent was instructed to endeavour to secure the submission of Sawlapaw without recourse to arms, and the despatch of the ultimatum was withheld till the middle of November in order to afford Sawlapaw an opportunity of making terms. On the 19th December, after all attempts to secure Sawlapaw's submission had proved fruitless, it was finally decided that the punitive expedition for which preparations had been made should go forward.

The preparations included the despatch of a strong column under Brigadier-General H. Collett, C.B., from Fort Stedman, and of a second column from Lower Burma by way of the Salween district, which borders on Eastern Karenni on the south. The object of the Northern column under General Collett was to overcome any resistance that might be offered by Sawlapaw and to take and occupy his capital, Sawlôn. The object of the Southern column was to co-operate with the main force to prevent the escape of

Sawlapaw to the south and to cover the Salween district, into which it was apprehended the Karenni might send parties of raiders. The necessity for this was soon apparent, for on the 17th December, two days before the arrival of the Southern column under Colonel J. J. Harvey at Papun, Sawlapaw had struck the first blow by sending a considerable force to attack and plunder Kyaukhnyat, a village north-east of Papun on the Salween river, where there is a police outpost. After plundering and partially burning the village, the Karens retired before the arrival of the troops sent to repel them. On the 26th December Colonel Harvey's force marched from Papun and took a stockade at Pazaung south of Bawlakè without difficulty and the column remained in occupation of this place for the purpose of covering the Lower Burma frontier. Except for one or two raids of no special importance, the Lower Burma districts were not disturbed after this.

The northern column, which was accompanied by the Superintendent of the Shan States, was opposed immediately on entering Eastern Karenni at Nga Kyaing, near Loi Kaw. Here on the 1st January 1889 a force of five hundred men was encountered by the Mounted Infantry under Lieutenant Tighe. Between one hundred and fifty and two hundred Karenni were estimated to have been killed, with a loss on the British side of four men killed and eight wounded. After this the opposition was of a very desultory kind only, though Surgeon-Captain N. Manders was wounded in the defile close to Sawlôn. This place was found deserted and was occupied on the 8th January. Sawlapaw had fled from his capital some days before and all endeavours to persuade him to return were unsuccessful. After three weeks therefore, on the 28th January 1889, at a meeting of the principal local officials and notables a new Chief of Eastern Karenni was elected. This was Sawlawi, the nephew and heir designate of Sawlapaw. Sawlawi agreed to hold the State of Eastern Karenni as a subject of Her Majesty, to abstain from dealings with foreign States, to pay an indemnity of three lakhs of rupees in three instalments, to deliver before the end of March 1889 five hundred serviceable muskets, and to pay an annual tribute of five thousand rupees. The payment of the tribute and the delivery of the muskets were guaranteed by the leading officials and timber traders of Eastern Karenni, most of whom had direct dealings with Moulmein.

The troops were withdrawn on the 30th January 1889. Since then Sawlawi has loyally carried out all his engagements with the British Government and has maintained order in his territory. He attended a durbar of Shan States Chiefs which was held in May of the same year. Sawlapaw before long came to live at Manmaü,

a village midway between Sawlôn and the Salween. He made no attempt to restore himself or to interfere with Sawlawi and died about eighteen months afterwards of cholera. The complete and definitive surrender of the Red Karens was the more satisfactory because it was so unexpected. For years they had been the terror of their neighbours and had extended their raids far into the Myelat, whence they carried off women and children to be sold in the Siamese Shan States. On the return march Mr. Hildebrand demarcated the boundary between the States of Möng Pai and Nammèkôn and effected a settlement of the disputes there, and the only other incident of note was that in 1889 the Möng Pan *Sawbwa* was formally placed in possession of the Trans-Salween States of Möng Tôn, Möng Hang, Möng Kyawt, and Möng Hta, which had been claimed by Siam and until this had not acknowledged the *Sawbwa*'s authority.

In the north, where there had been war for thirty years, it was hardly to be expected that there would be an immediate absence of disturbances. There was a slight rising in South Hsenwi which, however, was at once suppressed, and it was only after some trouble that Lieutenant Daly succeeded in inducing the Nam Hkam Myoza to recognize the authority of the North Hsenwi *Sawbwa*. During the Hsenwi civil war Nam Hkam and Hpang Hkam or Sè Lan had become practically as completely independent as Möng Nawng and Kehsi Mansam and the subordination to the split-up State was for some time stubbornly opposed. In this year also the ex-*Sawbwa* Hsüng Naw Hpa was induced to move from Möng Si to his son's Court at Möng Yai and thus a possible source of discontent was got rid of. The old man died within the year.

There was a good deal of resentment in the States of Hsum Hsai and Möng Long at their subordination to the Hsipaw *Sawbwa*, and the persons he put in charge of them were not very judicious appointments. This and their proximity to the plains, which made them an obvious place of refuge for dacoits and outlaws, rendered them a source of trouble and the population of both States tended rather to decrease than to settle down quietly. Tawng Peng Loi Lông, and Möng Mit were full of elements of disturbance in the presence near their borders of the Pretender Saw Yan Naing, besides *Bo* Zeya, Hkam Leng, and other dacoits and outlaws, and there was a good deal of ferment and some fighting in Möng Mit, an account of which is given elsewhere. On the whole, however, there was steady progress and the confidence of the Chiefs in the Government was confirmed and strengthened.

In the following year South Hsenwi was undisturbed, but in December 1890 the Northern State was the scene of a rising headed

by Hkun Yi, the *Sawbwa's* brother-in-law and son of Sang Hai, who intended him to be his heir. Hkun Yi was killed before the affair became serious, but later in the year there was trouble between the *Sawbwa's* officials and some Kachins in the outlying parts of North Hsenwi. This was smoothed over for the moment, but the Kachins were not satisfied, and this was the beginning of the discontent which had serious results three years later. The rest of the Northern States were undisturbed, but the condition of Möng Lông as a refuge for outlaws was still very unsatisfactory and Hsum Hsai continued steadily to lose population. A good deal of progress was made in the construction of cart-roads from Mandalay to Maymyo and Hsi Paw and from Meiktila towards the headquarters of the Southern Shan States, and both of these immediately began to be greatly used by caravans.

In the Southern States in 1890 the most important events were the work done by the Anglo-Siamese Commission and the submission of the great Trans-Salween State of Kēng Tūng, with which up till 1890 only a broken and resultless correspondence had been maintained.

At the time of the expedition against Eastern Karenni in 1888-89, which resulted in the deposition of Sawlapaw and the recognition of his nephew Sawlawi as Chief of the State, Siamese troops and local levies occupied a considerable tract on the east of the Salween which had for many years been inhabited by settlers from Eastern Karenni. This territory was claimed by the Siamese Government as part of the province of Chiengmai. In addition to this territory the Siamese Government advanced claims to the Trans-Salween tracts of Möng Maü and Mèhsakun, which had been considered appanages of the State of Mawk Mai, and maintained the claim, previously asserted, to the four small States of Möng Tôn, Möng Hang, Möng Kyawt, and Möng Hta, which had been made over in December 1888 to the *Sawbwa* of Möng Pan. In order that the territorial claims of the Siamese Government and various complaints preferred by Sawlawi concerning the action of the Siamese authorities in the tract peopled by his subjects across the Salween might be thoroughly investigated, the Government of India appointed a Commission to visit the disputed territory in the open season of 1889-90 and to examine and report on the questions at issue. It was originally intended that the points in dispute should be investigated by a joint Commission consisting of Commissioners appointed by the Indian and Siamese Governments. But, though Siamese Commissioners were appointed, the Siamese Government at the last moment declined to join in the enquiry, which was accordingly carried out *ex parte*. Mr. Ney Elias, C.I.E.,

was the Commissioner appointed by the Government of India and the party successively visited the Trans-Salween territory claimed by the Siamese Government and by the Chief of Eastern Karenni, the districts of Möng Maü and Mè Hsakun, and the four Möng Pan sub-States. In the disputed Karenni territory the Commission held a local enquiry and completed the survey of the country, but left the Siamese in possession, in Möng Maü and Mè Hsakun Siamese troops were also found established, but the Mawk Mai *Sawbwa* received charge of both States from Mr. Ney Elias. At Möng Tôn also the Commission found a small Siamese garrison in possession and this was required to withdraw. Mr. Ney Elias entrusted the administration of the four States to Hkun Pôn, the nephew of the Möng Pan *Sawbwa*, but as difficulties arose in respect of this arrangement Hkun Pôn was restricted to the administration of Möng Tôn, and the other three States were placed under the direct control of his uncle the *Sawbwa* of Möng Pan. The death, not long after, of Hkun Pôn of small-pox, put an end to all friction in this direction.

It had been at first intended that the Anglo-Siamese Commission should visit Kēng Tūng. This was found impracticable and the Superintendent of the Shan States was therefore detached from the Commission to visit it. With a party of twenty sepoys under Captain F. J. Pink, D.S.O., he reached there in March 1890. Negotiations were somewhat complicated by the murder of one mule-driver and the wounding of another by the *Sawbwa* almost immediately after their arrival; but the Chief paid satisfactory compensation and fully accepted the position of feudatory. It was decided by the Government of India that Kēng Tūng should be treated as a State in subordinate alliance with the British Government, preserving its independence as regards its domestic administration, but agreeing to regulate its external policy in accordance with the advice of the Superintendent of the Shan States. A *sanad* was granted to the *Sawbwa* by which he was recognized as Chief of the State by the British Government on these conditions. The State of Kēng Tūng is by far the most influential of the Trans-Salween States and has an area nearly twice that of Wales, North and South. Its complete submission was therefore a matter of some importance, and practically guaranteed the peace of the Shan States.

In March 1890 the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, for the first time visited the Shan States and held a general durbar of Shan Chiefs at Fort Stedman. Almost all the Cis-Salween Chiefs, attended by the notables of their States, were present and the *Sawbwas* of Möng Nai and Yawng Hwe were invested with the insignia of titles of honour conferred on them by the Viceroy

and Governor-General. The Chief Commissioner addressed the assembly, pointing out to the Chiefs and notables present the advantages which they derived from the introduction of law and order into their country, explaining the duties and responsibilities of the rules and the obligations of the people, and declaring the intentions of the Government in respect of the Shan States. In this year also orders were issued modifying the customary law of the Shan States in the matter of punishments for offences and the procedure in criminal trials. These were made as few and as simple as possible in order that the introduction of civilized methods might be gradual and intelligible to the Chiefs and people.

During the greater part of 1890-91 and 1891-92 systematic enquiries as to the population and revenue-paying capacities of the States were carried on and the Superintendents were for the most part engaged on frontier matters. There were some disturbances caused by Kachins in North Hsen Wi. Unsuccessful attempts were made to procure the submission of West Mang Lön, the only State west of the Salween which had not accepted British authority, and turbulence on the frontier between Kēngtūng and Siam culminated in the murder of a Siamese Survey Officer in June 1891. It was only towards the end of this year also that the Western Karenni Chiefs were brought under administration. Till then they had been treated as practically independent; they quarrelled among themselves and with their neighbours, and the Superintendent was not in a position to settle their disputes with authority. They were now granted *sanads*, a nominal tribute was imposed, and various intertribal disputes of old standing were settled by an officer who was now stationed at Loi Kaw for this purpose.

In the following year 1892-93 the demarcation of the frontier between the Southern Shan States and Siam practically assured the tranquillity of these States. The demarcation was carried out from the Salween to the Mèkhong along the line selected in 1890, and the Siamese Commissioners worked in perfect accord with Messrs. Hildebrand and Leveson. The Superintendent subsequently visited Kēng Tūng and settled various matters pending in the affairs of that State, notably the forest revenue and the tribute on account of the subordinate States of Möng Hsat, Hsen Yawt, and Hsen Maung, which were remitted up to 1897. Mr. Leveson formally reinstated Sawlawi, the Chief of Eastern Karenni, in his Trans-Salween possessions, which had been occupied by the Siamese since 1889.

The security which this certainty as to boundary gave was early exemplified by the complete failure of Teiktin Myat, a pretender who made his appearance early in the year in the Möng Pan State,

where he came from Chieng Mai with the intention of raising a rebellion. Teiktin Myat was promptly arrested by the Möng Pan *Sawbwa* and, on investigation, was found to be a person of feeble intellect who had adopted the part of Mintha at the suggestion of a monk in Chieng Mai. This prompt suppression of revolt compared very favourably with the temporary success of a "Minlaung" in Karenni at the close of the previous year, when the Loi Kaw post was actually attacked. The only harm done was that such an attempt should have been possible. The settlement of the frontier now gave an opportunity for the display of the general loyalty of Shans towards British rule.

In the Northern Shan States there were considerable disturbances. Kachin troubles had long been brewing in North Hsen Wi. The task of administering the constantly increasing hordes of Kachin immigrants proved entirely beyond the powers of the Shan *Sawbwa*. The Kachins held with some justification that he owed his position to them, and the attempts of his district officials to tyrannize over them produced a wide feeling of exasperation among these unruly tribesmen, which culminated in a successful attack on Wing Hsen Wi on the 12th December 1892. On the 15th Mr. W. A. Graham, the Treasury Officer at Lashio, proceeded to Hsen Wi with an escort of Military Police and dislodged the rebels, who then promised to submit to arbitration. Various disturbances, however, broke out in different parts of the State afterwards, but the Kachins everywhere declared that the rebellion was against the authority of Hkun Sang of Tôn Hông and not against the dominion of the British Government It was only in the extreme north-west near Nam Hkam that the object of attack could be said to be British troops, and there the troubles were to some extent connected with the rising on the Bhamo frontier and were fomented by outlaws from Burma living beyond the Chinese border. A band of them settled in Man Hang, a few miles north-east of Sè Lan, where there was a temporary British post, and soon after set upon a patrol of sepoys. Man Hang was therefore attacked; a number of stockades were taken, and the Kachins were driven out, but at the close of the fight Lieutenant Williams, the only British Officer with the party, was killed, and the sepoys returned to Sè Lan.

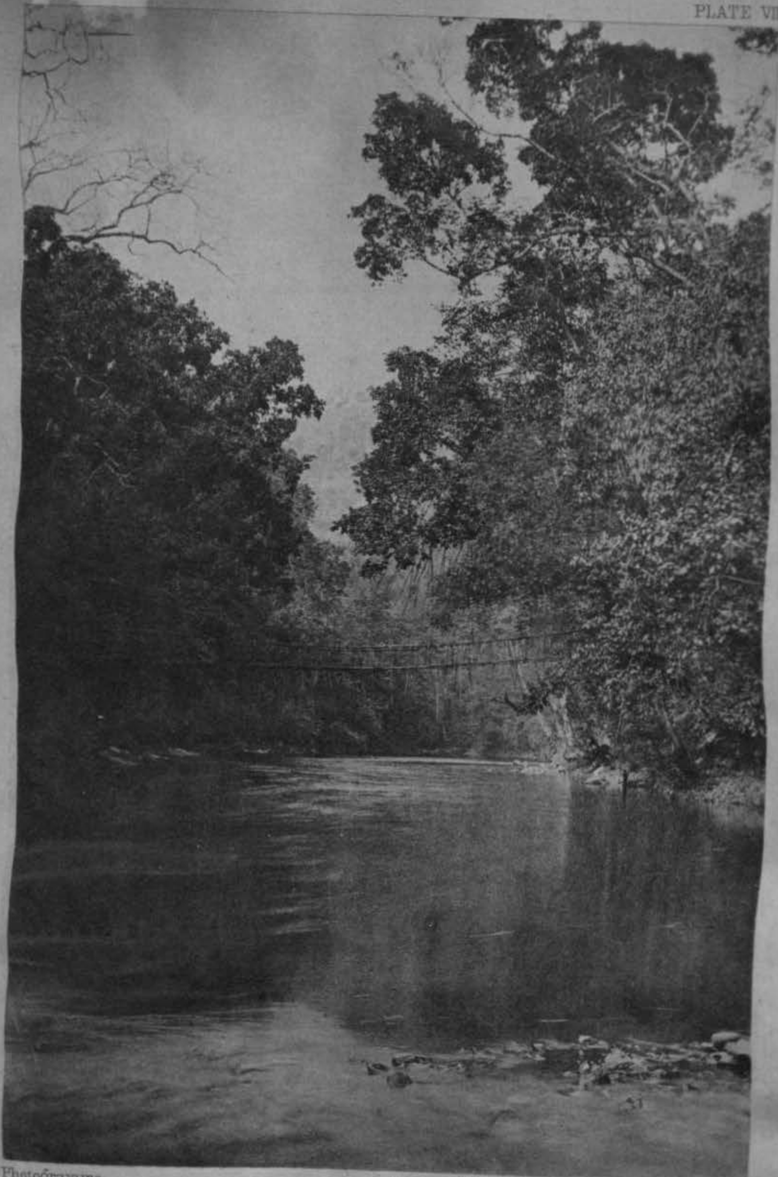
A military column was then hurried up from Bhamo, but after burning Man Hang found nothing to do, since the raiders had retired into Chinese territory, whence, however, they issued to burn Möng Ko, out of which they were driven by Kachins on the British side.

While these events were happening, the Superintendent was settling affairs in Mang Lön, in which State he had arrived before the outbreak. At the time of the annexation Mang Lön had been divided into two States, east and west of the Salween. The western State was ruled over by Sao Maha, a half-brother of the *Sawbwa* of the eastern or main State. Sao Maha corresponded with Lieutenant Daly, but refused to meet him, and the letters sent did not admit the suzerainty of the British Government. This state of affairs continued for six years after the annexation and for five after every other Cis-Salween Chief had admitted the authority of the Superintendents. In 1892, therefore, Tön Hsang, the Eastern Chief, was put in direct charge of both sides of the Salween. During the rains, however, Sao Maha obtained support from several minor Wa Chiefs, re-established himself in Na Lao, west of the river, and burnt some villages in East Mang Lön, with the assistance of his chief allies Ngek Hting and Loi Lön. He now again disappeared on the approach of the Superintendent, who marched through a great part of the Wa country, including the wilder territory, to assure the tribes of the peaceful intentions of the Government and to pledge them not to support Sao Maha. Since then West Mang Lön has remained at peace, but there have been several disturbances east of the Salween, promoted by Sao Maha and others from Chinese territory.

On his return west of the Salween the Kachins readily laid down their arms when assured by the Superintendent that their grievances would be enquired into. The solitary exception was at Pang Tap, near the Chinese frontier, where he was fired on. The village was burnt and several of those who were engaged in the attack at Man Hang were killed. As the result of enquiries held on the ground and at Lashio an Assistant Political Officer was appointed to North Hsen Wi to put a stop to the friction between the *Sawbwa* and his Kachin subjects. The duties of this officer were to collect revenue from the Kachins on behalf of the *Sawbwa,* to settle tribal quarrels, and generally to maintain order within the Kachin *möngs*. In many cases where Kachins and Shans were found living in the same circle the Kachin villages were formed into separate circles, each with its own headman, and a similar separation was made in some cases between Kachins of different tribes. The results have been eminently satisfactory and what troubles there have since been have been either purely local or have been due to the uncertainty of the boundary with Chinese territory.

Since 1893 peace and prosperity have been maintained throughout the Shan States and the only troubles which have occurred have been on the frontier. Indeed, it may said that from the very

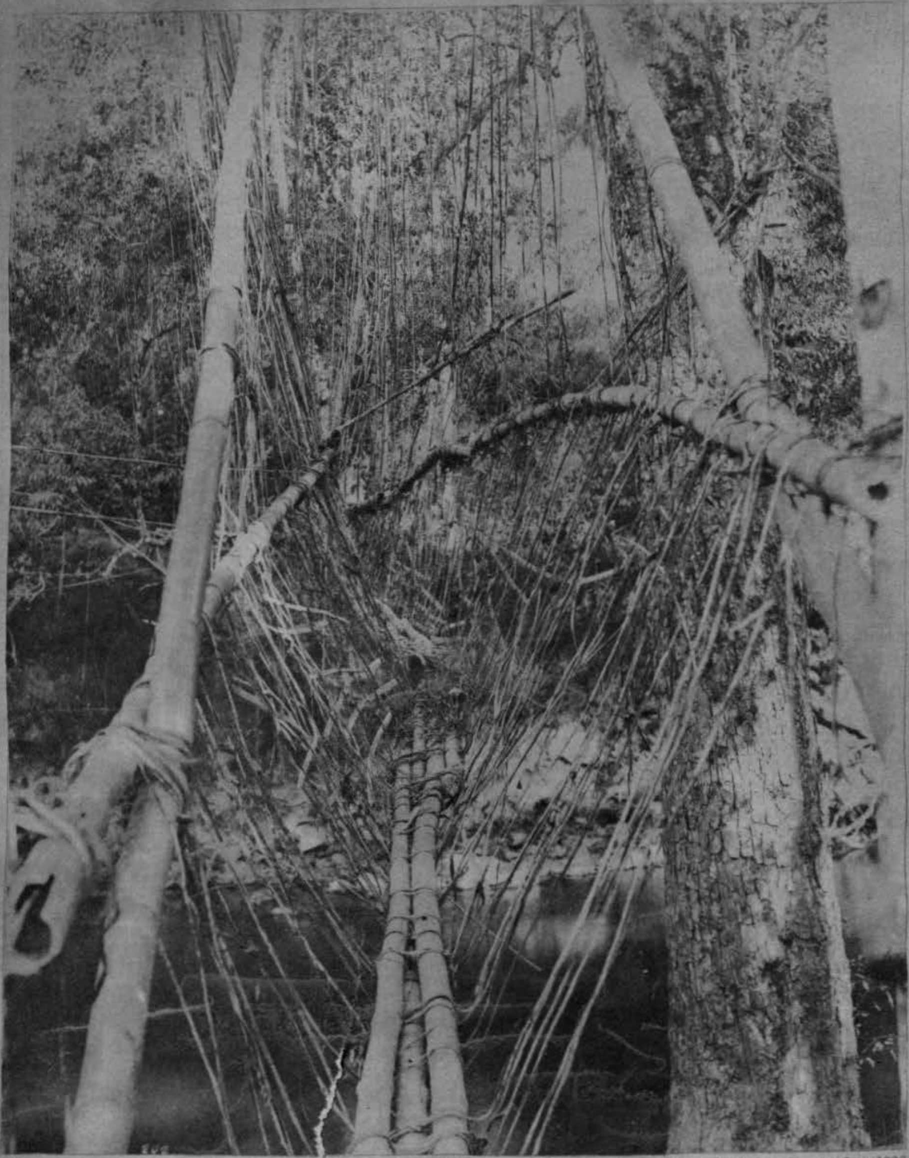
PLATE VII.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1899.

A WA BRIDGE, SIDE VIEW.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1899.

A WA BRIDGE, END VIEW.

first the Shans accepted our authority loyally and that the few disturbances there have been, arose either from disputed accessions, from the restless and predatory habits of the hill tribes, or from the machinations of outlaws driven out of Burma. The garrison in the Shan States has always been very small; the number of British posts even now can almost be counted on one hand, yet the amount of serious crime has always been less than in Burma and tends to decrease, except where there is an alien population. This is the more surprising since the country is so extensive and so difficult to get about in that even now, more than ten years after the British occupation, there are parts which no officer has ever visited.

It will be sufficient barely to note the chief events of each year since 1893, when the tribute to be paid by each State was fixed for the second period of five years. The sums demanded were purposely small with the object of assisting the development and repopulation of the States, and with the same object the *Sawbwas* were instructed to submit rough budgets to the Superintendents, showing their proposed receipts and expenditure for the coming year.

In January and February 1894, Mr. Leveson was engaged on an expedition to the Brè and Padaung country, which lies between the Karen Hill Tracts of the Toungoo district and the Western Karenni States. This expedition was undertaken in consequence of a raid committed on Lokadashè, a village on the north-eastern border of the Karen Hill Tracts. Until this expedition very little was known of the condition of the country of the Brès and Padaungs beyond the fact that the people were in a disturbed state. They were found to be practically lawless, the various villages were technically under one or other of the various Shan or Karenni Chiefs, but were either uncontrolled or were beyond their control. They were therefore placed under the general charge of the Civil Officer at Loikaw with considerable advantage to themselves and their neighbours.

Another expedition, conducted by Mr. Stirling in the same year along the Kēng Tūng frontier, also brought us into relations with various hill tribes other than the Shans and settled different frontier questions.

In the Northern Shan States the chief work was the pacification of the Kachins of Hsen Wi, by Mr. W. A. Graham, and the establishment of order in the hilly country at the point of meeting of the Tawng Peng Loi Lông and Hsi Paw States with the Ruby Mines district by placing a post at Möng Ngaw. The lax and corrupt administration of the border officials of Hsum Hsai and Möng Lōng States, subordinate to Hsi Paw, were chiefly responsible for this. The *Sawbwa* of Hsi Paw paid a visit to England during the

year. He was cured of a disease of the eyes which had threatened him with blindness and was received in audience by Her Majesty before his return. The State was administered by his eldest son Sao Hkè, who had spent two years in England studying engineering, but the control over the revenue exercised by some of the ministers resulted in so much disorder to the finances that, with the concurrence of the *Sawbwa*, an Adviser was appointed to Hsi Paw and Captain E. U. Marrett was the first officer who occupied the post. The results have been very satisfactory. Disarmament had previously begun and was now carried out thoroughly, monopolies were abolished, and the number of officials in particular was greatly reduced. The Myozas of Möng Lōng and Hsum Hsai were removed. The one had been too suggestive of King Log, the other of King Stork; and both districts have since increased in prosperity and population. There were, however, still some dacoities and serious crimes, among them the murder in Wing Hsi Paw of Mr. Lambert of the American Mission, but most of them were of the type produced by civilization rather than the want of it.

About this time also the Trans-Salween State of Kēng Tūng was declared to be on the same footing as that of other Shan States instead of being merely in subordinate alliance and a small garrison was established at the capital, where an Assistant Political Officer had been located for some time.

Many of the chiefs, notably of Möng Pawn in the south and South Hsen Wi in the north, began to do good work in the improvement of communications in their States, and at a durbar held by Sir Frederic Fryer in May 1895 Trans-Salween, Cis-Salween, and Karenni Chiefs met for the first time. This was the more noteworthy since, during the open season, Kēng Tūng was in much prominence owing to the presence of an Anglo-French Commission on its eastern frontier. After the final arrangements with France the Cis-Mèkhong districts of Kēng Cheng were handed over to Kēng Tūng and the capital of that State was made the headquarters of one of the Burma Regiments and of an European Political Officer, Mr. G. C. B. Stirling, who had been a member of the British Commission.

Peace and prosperity had been so marked that it became a pressing necessity to relieve the plethora of production which had ensued, and the construction of the Mandalay-Kunlôn Railway was begun. This must mark a date of far-reaching importance in the history of the Shan States, when the branch railway to their centre, the alignment of which is still under examination, is carried out. Even with the unmetalled roads existing, the Shan States as far east as Möng Nai were able for the first time in their history to supply rice to Burma during 1897. The Northern Shan States, partly owing to

the more mountainous character of the country, the greater preponderance of wild tribes, and the absence of certainty as to the boundary line which affords facilities to malcontents from Burma and elsewhere beyond the border, have not yet attained the same height of peace and security. Both in 1896 and 1897 there were hostilities with certain petty Wa communities, provoked on each occasion by these tribesmen. This did not, however, affect the tranquillity of the main body of the charge. The future policy to be adopted in relation to these Wa States has not yet been finally settled by the Government of India. So long as they do not interfere with Mang Lön, they will for the present be let alone.

The Administrative History of the Shan States.—Early in 1886 a notification was issued under the Statute XXXIII Vic. Cap. 3, constituting Upper Burma, except the Shan States, a scheduled district. At the same time the whole of Upper Burma, including the Shan States, was declared to be a part of British India. By section 8 of the Upper Burma Laws Act, 1886, the local Government is empowered, with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, to define the Shan States from time to time, and by the same section the Shan States are excluded from the operation of any Act not specially extended to them by the local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

In 1887 the Shan States were first defined under section 8 of the Upper Burma Laws Act. In November 1891 and again in July 1895 revised notifications defining the Shan States were issued. The Shan States, as at present defined by the notification of July 1895, are divided into—

I.—THE NORTHERN SHAN STATES, under the supervision of the Superintendent, Northern Shan States—

(1) Tawng Peng (Burmese Taungbaing.)
(2) North Hsen Wi (Theinni).
(3) South Hsen Wi (Theinni).
(4) Hsi Paw (Thibaw), with its dependencies Möng Lōng (Mainglôn), Hsum Hsai (Thônzè), and Möng Tung (Maingtôn).
(5) East and West Mang Lön (Mainglun), with their dependencies including Maw Hpa, Môt Hai, Hôk Lap, Mang Hseng, Mang Pat, and Ngek Hting.

All these are *Sawbwa*ships.

(6) All territories east of Salween river, not mentioned elsewhere in this notification, which on the 27th November 1885 owed allegiance directly or indirectly to the King of Burma and which still form part of Upper Burma.

These are the various Wa States and the communities of other races which maintain themselves here and there among them.

II.—THE SOUTHERN SHAN STATES, under the supervision of the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States.

Sawbwaships.

(1) Möng Nai (Monè), with its dependency Kēng Tawng (Kyaingtaung.)

(2 Möng Pan (Maingpan), with its Trans-Salween dependencies Möng Hta, Möng Hang, Möng Kyawt, and Möng Tôn.

(3) Lawk Sawk (Yatsauk), with its dependency Möng Ping (Maingpyin.)

(4) Yawng Hwe (Nyaungywe), with its dependencies Lai Hsak (Letthet), Anglewā (Inleywa), Kyawktap (Kyauktat), and Hsi Hkip (Thigyit.)

(5) Möng Küng (Maingkaing).

(6) Lai Hka (Lègya).

(7) Möng Pawn (Maingpun).

(8) Mawk Mai (Maukmè), with its Trans-Salween dependencies Mè Hsakun and Möng Maü.

(9) Möng Pai (Mobyè.)

(10) Kēng Tūng (Kyaingtôn) and its dependencies including Möng Pu, Möng Hsat, Hsen Mawng, and Hsen Yawt (Thinyut and Thinmaung) and the Cis-Mèkhong portion of Kēng Chēng (Kyaingchaing).

Myozaships.

(11) Möng Nawng (Maingnaung).

(12) Kehsi Mansan (Kyethi Bansan).

(13) Möng Si (Maingseik).

(14) Hsa Htūng (Thatôn) including Tam Hpak (Tabet) and Mang Lön (Letmaing).

(15) Wān Yin (Banyin).

(16) Nawng Wawn (Naungmôn).

(17) Sa Koi (Sagwe).

(18) Kēng Hkam (Kyaingkan).

(19) Ho Pông (Hopôn) including Hai Lông (Hèlôn).

(20) Nam Hkôk (Nankôk).

(21) Möng Hsu (Maingshu).

(22) Möng Sāng (Maingsin).

(23) Kēng Lön (Kyainglun).

(24) Loi Lông (Lwèlôn),

III.—THE MYELAT, under the supervision of the Superintendent and Political Officer, Southern Shan States.

Myozaships.

(1) Maw Nāng (Bawnin).

Ngwekunhmuships.

(2) Ye Ngan (Ywangan).
(3) Pwe La (Pwehla).
(4) Maw Sön (Bawzaing).
(5) Nam Hkōm (Nankôn).
(6) Pang Mi (Pinhmi).
(7) Loi Maw (Lwèmaw).
(8) Nam Tôk (Namtôk).
(9) Kyawkku Hsi Wān (Kyaukkuleywa).
(10) Pang Tara (Pindaya).
(11) Kyông (Kyôn).
(12) Hsa Möng Hkam (Thamakan including Makwe,) Loi An, Tawng Lā, and Mēng Hti.
(13) Loi Ai (Lwè E).
(14) Nam Hkai (Nankè).
(15) Maw (Baw).

IV.—STATES under the supervision of the Commissioner, Northern Division—

Möng Mit (Momeik), with its dependency Möng Lāng (Mohlaing) and Hkamti Lông (Kantigyi).

V.—STATES under the supervision of the Commissioner, Central Division—

(1) Hsawng Hsūp (Taungthut).
(2) Singkaling Hkamti (Zingalein Kanti).

Maw (Baw) remained until 1895 under the Commissioner of the Eastern Division and was then restored to its former position as one of the Myelat States, and Loi Lōng until the same time was included in the Myelat, but was then separated. The status of the Trans-Salween States was not definitely settled till the same year, when they were placed on the same footing as the other Shan States. Kēng Hūng and Möng Lem were then ceded to China, and Kēng Hsen, which had been in Siamese hands before the annexation, was also excluded from the Shan States.

Before the passing of the Shan States Act, 1888, the only way in which enactments could be extended to the Shan States was by notification under section 8 of the Upper Burma Laws Act. This section gives no power to modify any enactment to suit the circumstances

of the States. Except by the application of enactments in force in other parts of British India there was no power to regulate the administration of the Shan States. The authority and powers of the Chiefs and of their officials were exercised without any legal sanction. Towards the end of 1888 the Shan States Act was passed for the purpose of placing these matters on a more satisfactory footing. This Act came into force on the 1st February 1889. By section 3 the civil, criminal, and revenue administration of every Shan State is vested in the Chief of the State subject to the restrictions specified in the *sanad* granted to him. Under the same section the law to be administered in each State is the customary law of the State so far as it is in accordance with justice, equity, and good conscience, and not opposed to the spirit of the law in the rest of British India. The customary law may be modified by any enactment extended under the Upper Burma Laws Act, and it may be brought into accordance with justice, equity, and good conscience, and into conformity with the spirit of the law in the rest of British India by orders issued by the local Government under section 4, sub-section (1), clause (*d*), of the Shan States Act. By the section last quoted power to appoint officers to take part in the administration of any State, and to regulate the powers and proceedings of such officers, is vested in the Government, and section 5 of the Act enables the Government to modify any enactment extended to the Shan States.

The Northern and Southern Shan States.—In the Northern and Southern Shan States the criminal and civil as well as the revenue administration is vested in the Chiefs subject to the limitations laid down in their sanads, and to restrictions imposed by the extension of enactments and the issue of orders under the Shan States Act. The customary law of these States, except the Myelat, has been modified by Notification No. 11, dated the 19th November 1890, which specifies the punishments which may be inflicted for offences against the criminal law, limits the infliction of certain punishments to the more heinous offences, and prescribes simple rules of procedure in criminal cases. The Superintendents exercise general control over the administration of criminal justice and have power to call for cases and to exercise wide revisionary powers. All criminal jurisdiction in cases in which either the complainant or accused is a European or American or a Government servant or a British subject not a native of a Shan State is withdrawn from the Chiefs and vested in the Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents. The expression Assistant Superintendent includes any Assistant Commissioner, Extra Assistant Commissioner, or any officer appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to discharge all or any of the functions of

an Assistant Superintendent. The Subdivisional Officers, Maymyo, Mogôk, and Möng Mit, and the Adviser to the Hsi Paw *Sawbwa* are *ex-officio* Assistant Superintendents. In the cases above mentioned the ordinary criminal law in force in Upper Burma on the 30th May 1889 is in force in these States. In such cases the Superintendents exercise the powers of District Magistrates and Sessions Judges and the Assistant Superintendents powers of a District Magistrate under section 30 and section 34 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1882. The Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, if European British subjects, are also *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace in the States. The Superintendent has been specially empowered to withdraw from subordinate Magistrates such cases as he thinks fit. Each Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent exercises the powers of a Magistrate under the Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act, 1881, parts of which are in force in the States. The Superintendents are also Marriage Registrars under the Indian Christian Marriage Act, and District Judges under the Administrator-General's Act, 1874. In the cases in which the Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents exercise criminal jurisdiction the Lieutenant-Governor is the High Court, except where European British subjects are concerned. The Lieutenant-Governor also exercises certain powers under the Marriage Act.

Neither the Superintendents nor the Assistant Superintendents have power to try civil suits, whether the parties are Shans or not.

The Myelat.—In the Myelat a closer approach to the law in force in other parts of India has been prescribed. It was represented that the Myelat had always been administered according to the law in force in the rest of Upper Burma and it was thought desirable to maintain this practice.

The criminal law in force in the Myelat is practically the same as the law in force in Upper Burma on the 28th November 1889. In order that they may have jurisdiction in criminal matters the *Ngwekunhmus* of all the Myelat States have been appointed Magistrates of the 2nd class. The Myozas of Lwelôn and Sagwè are not Magistrates and exercise no criminal jurisdiction in their States. In the Myelat the Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent exercise the same criminal jurisdiction as in other States, except that their jurisdiction extends to all criminal cases and not merely to the cases in which Europeans and others above mentioned are concerned. The Assistant Superintendent has been empowered to hear appeals from sentences passed by Magistrates of the 2nd class. In other respects the law in the Myelat and the powers exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Superintendent, and the Assistant

Superintendent are the same as in the rest of the Southern Shan States.

States east of the Salween.—The Shan States Law and Criminal Justice Order, 1895, and the enactments extended by it do not apply to States east of the Salween. But the Superintendents have the same general control over the administration of criminal justice in these States as elsewhere in their charges; and the orders prohibiting cruel and unusual punishments and prescribing a simple procedure in criminal trials are in force in these States.

States under control of Commissioners.—In the Shan States, which are under the control of the Commissioner, Sagaing Division, the law is the same as in the Northern and Southern Shan States, except that, instead of the Code prescribed by the Notification of 19th November 1890, an order is in force restricting the power of passing capital sentences to the Chief of each State, and providing that in such cases the accused shall have a fair trial. Jurisdiction and powers, similar to those exercised by the Superintendents in the Northern and Southern Shan States, are exercised in Hsawng Hsūp and Singkaling Hkamti by the Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin district. The powers of a High Court are exercised by the Lieutenant-Governor in the same cases as in the Northern and Southern Shan States. The Christian Marriage Act is not in force in these States.

As regards the Shan States under the control of the Commissioner, Mandalay Division, Möng Mit, with its dependency Möng Lang, is being temporarily administered by the Deputy Commissioner, Ruby Mines district, as if it were a subdivision of that district, and is subject to the law in force in Upper Burma on the 9th May 1892 and to such enactments as have been specially extended since that date.

Practically no interference has been attempted in the administration of Hkamti Lōng. The notification which restricts the power of passing capital sentences to the Chief of the State is nominally in force, but no officers have been invested with powers in the State.

Karenni:—The States included in Eastern and Western Karenni are not part of British India, and are not subject to any of the laws in force in the Shan States, or in other parts of Upper Burma or in Lower Burma. But, for the purposes of the trial of European British subjects charged with offences in Karenni, the Superintendent, Southern Shan States, and every Assistant Superintendent in Karenni is a Justice of the Peace, with power to commit to the Recorder of Rangoon. For the trial of persons other than European Bri-

tish subjects, or persons jointly charged with them, the Superintendent is a Court of Session and the Assistant Superintendent a District Magistrate and a Court of Session, and the Lieutenant-Governor exercises the powers of a High Court.

In criminal cases in which the accused are European British subjects, or tried with European British subjects, the Recorder of Rangoon is the High Court for all the Shan States.

Appearance, dress, and characteristics of the people.

In person the Shans bear a great resemblance to both the Burmese and the Siamese, but as a rule they are fairer. They are muscular and well-formed and average at least an inch higher. The eyes are moderately linear; the nose is small rather than flat; the mouth is large and seems larger from the discolouration of the teeth and gums by constant betel-chewing. The hair is long, straight, and lank and rarely any other colour than black. They tattoo to mid-calf and also higher up the body than the Burman. Some of the *Sawbwa's* followers were in former days tattooed from the neck to the ankle, and occasionally some had even the face and the backs of the hands tattooed in blue. Ordinarily, however, the tattooing on chest, back, and arms is red, as it is with the Burman, and is in isolated patterns. Shan tattooers are considered specially expert, particularly in the tattooing of charms.

Their dress is a pair of trousers and a jacket; the pattern of the trousers varies considerably. Sometimes they are practically of the Chinese pattern with well defined legs, but among the better-to-do classes the seat is frequently down about the ankles and the garment generally is so voluminous as to look more like a skirt than a pair of trousers. The turban is usually white in the north, of various colours in the south, while the Shan-Chinese wear blue. The broad-rimmed, limp, woven grass hat is the great characteristic of the Tai of British territory. The hat is made in Chinese territory, but the Shan-Chinese do not wear it, nor do the Siamese Shans.

The women are fair-skinned, but perhaps as a whole are not quite so good-looking as their Burmese sisters. Their dress is certainly less coquettish than that of the Burmese or Siamese. The skirt is not open in front as it is with the Burma girl, nor is it tucked up between the legs as it is with the Siamese. It is, however, fastened in the same way by a half hitch at the waist. Coats are very seldom worn and appear to form no part of the national dress. The women in the British Tai States fold the dress over the bosom; in the Lao States the bust is exposed to the waist with old and young. A turban is worn on the head, which varies greatly in size in different parts. In the north it is sometimes as voluminous as the pug-

gari of a Sikh and in the south it is often merely the scarf which the Burma woman carries over her shoulders.

The people are a quiet, mild, good-humoured race, as little addicted to intemperance in drinking or opium-smoking as the Burmese. Goître is very common in the hills and is, as elsewhere, slightly more prevalent among the women than among the men.

Tai religion and customs.

The Tai race now is everywhere Buddhist. It seems very improbable that this was the religion of the Nam Chao Kingdom, which is more likely to have been *naga* or dragon worship, spirit-worship, or the worship of the dead, which is limited in China to the cult of ancestors, but in Tibet has overlaid Buddhism to such an extent that some of the hierophants profess themselves to be dead men; or it may have been Sivaism, the worship of the hero-gods of the hills, which was closely connected with the ancient religion of the non-Aryan Himalayan hill tribes. Siva was not incorporated by the Brahmans into their pantheon until about the commencement of our era. It is at any rate uncertain when Buddhism was introduced. The current legends in regard to it are manifestly untrustworthy and they give no real hint as to whether the religion travelled north from Thatôn, where it was established by Buddha Gôsha about A. D. 400, or came along the line of the Himalayas. We know that in the early days of the Pagan Kingdom *naga* worship was the prevalent religion. It still overlies the belief of the people, but the ancient animistic religion has an even stronger hold, not only over Shan but over Burmans. King Anawra-hta was a zealous reformer of religion and, as he married into the family of the Mao Shans, he probably made his influence felt at what was then the chief seat of the Tai race. But it would seem that Buddhism must have remained more or less corrupt and inert, for in A. D. 1562 Buyin Naung, another propagandist King, is specially recorded to have forced religious reforms on the Shans of the Upper Irrawaddy. It is certainly a fact, as Dr. Cushing says, "that where Burman influence among the Shans has been "greatest, Buddhism has its strongest hold on them. The Bud-"dhism of the principalities west of the Salween presents no such "laxity of practice on the part of the *pôngyis* as it does east of "the Salween." The monks of Kēng Hūng wear skull caps and smoke habitually; they trade in many places and own pack cattle; some of their *wats* are rather caravanserais, or even fortified positions, than monasteries, and they frequently carry swords and sometimes even guns when they go abroad. The monks of Siam also, it may be noted, are not very exact in their observance of the rules of the Book of the Enfranchisement.

PLATE IX.

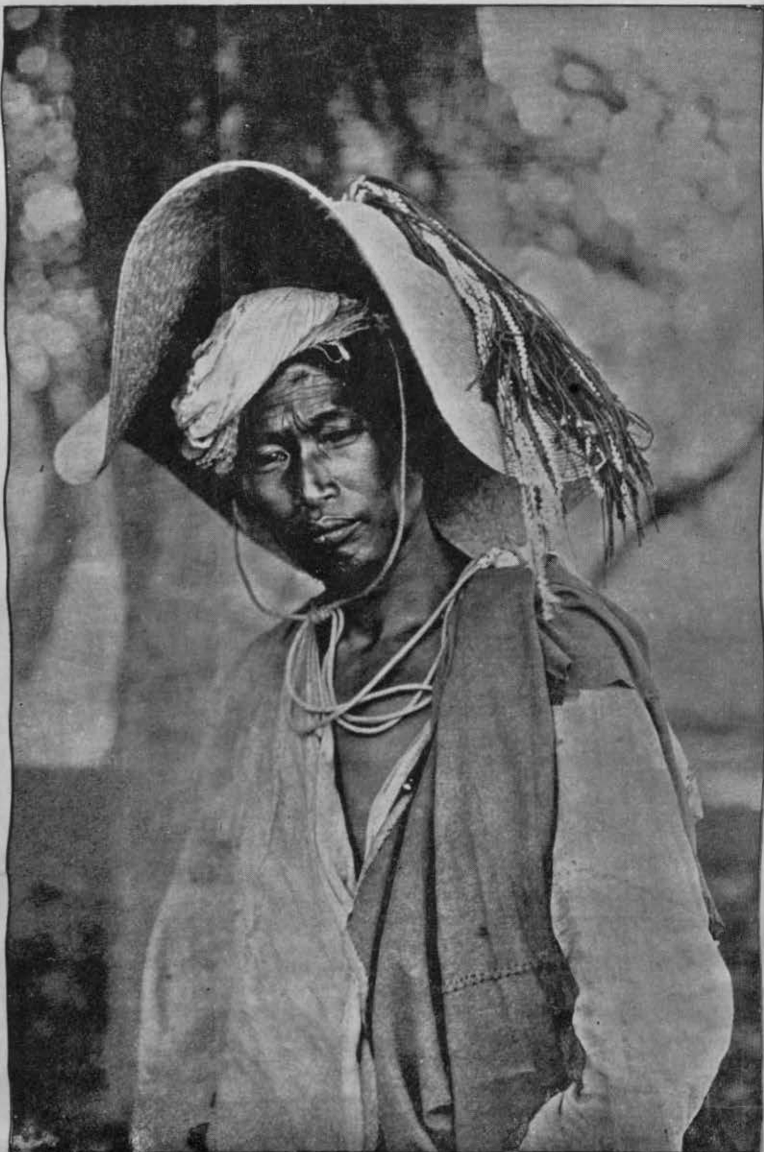


Photo.-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

A SHAN TRADER.

It is not yet certain where among the modern Tai the branch least affected by outside influences is to be found, and it is certain that the British Shans have taken many of their customs from the Burmese, or have assimilated their own to those of their conquerors. But it is by no means certain that in Upper Burma, at any rate, the Tai influence has not been the stronger. The prevalence of animistic religion there seems due to them, and the Shans are generally admitted to be abler astrologers and more potent tattooers than Burmans.

The following notes on their manners and customs differing or varying from those of the Burmese are furnished by Mr. W. R. Hillier.

Birth.—At birth no particular ceremonies are performed. The mother is not secluded, nor is the *couvade* practised, signs of which may be traced among some of the Karen tribes. No rules of diet are enforced on the woman during pregnancy, but after childbirth the mother is forbidden the following :—

(1) Sambhur flesh.
(2) The flesh of the barking deer ;
(3) The fish called *pamōng* (ပႃမွင်);
(4) Oranges ;
(5) Vermicelli ;
(6) Sessamum oil;
(7) ၽၵ်ၵုတ်, *hpak-kut* (a vegetable fern) ;
(8) Onions (ၽၵ်မီ), *hpak-mi* ;
(9) Tomatoes (မၵ်ၵိူဝ်သုမ်), *mak-kö-hsum* ;

for one month after the birth of the child. These things are said not to agree with a newly born infant. Immediately after childbirth the mother has her stomach bandaged and sits with her back exposed to a fire made of any wood which when punctured does not exude milky sap or gum. The woods generally used are :—

(1) မႆႉၼိမ်, oak, *mai-nim*.
(2) မႆႉၵုတ်, *mai-kut* (undetermined).
(3) မႆႉၵွၵ်, *mai-kwak* (a tree-fern).
(4) မႆႉမိုတ်, *mai-müt* (undetermined).
(5) မႆႉၵေႃ, *mai-kaw*, the chestnut.

The mother is considered unclean for seven days and before entering upon the duties of the household has to bathe and put on clean garments. Pine-wood (မႆႉပဵၵ်, *mai-pek*) is burnt and the

mother inhales the smoke and also inhales လရုင်ၼၵ် (*nigella sativa*) like the Burmese. This is to prevent a rising of the blood to the head, which might cause bleeding at the nose and mouth. If this happens, the woman is given a decoction of turmeric or some monkey's blood. The husband observes no special diet during the pregnancy of his wife or after her delivery, but it is considered undesirable that he should—

(i) drive pigs ;	(iii) bore holes in the ground ;
(ii) carry the dead ;	(iv) Fill in holes ;

(v) mock others.

After a month the child is bathed in water, into which, if the infant is a boy, there have been put gold, silver, precious stones, a 10-tola weight, a 5-tola weight, a 2-tola weight, and other standard weights down to one-eighth of a tola. If the infant is a girl, gold, silver, and all the ornaments of her sex are put in the bath water. If the child is of well-to-do parents, one and a half tolas weight of gold is tied as a pendant round the child's neck, and if of poor people, four annas weight of silver. The child is now named by one of the elders, who ties a cord consisting of seven threads round the wrist.

The name is given in the following order:—

First son—Ai, ဢႆ
Second son—Ai Yi, ဢႆယီ
Third son—Ai Hsam, ဢႆသံ
Fourth son—Ai Hsai, ဢႆသႆ
Fifth son—Ai Ngo, ဢႆငုဝ်
Sixth son—Ai Nôk, ဢႆၼုၵ်
Seventh son—Ai Nu, ဢႆၼူ
Eighth son—Ai Nai, ဢႆၼႆ
First daughter—Nang Ye, ၼင်ယေဝ်
Second daughter—Nang Yi, ၼင်ယီ
Third daughter—Nang Am, ၼင်ဢံ
Fourth daughter—Nang Ai, ၼင်ဢႆ
Fifth daughter—Nang O, ၼင်ဢုဝ်
Sixth daughter—Nang Ôk, ၼင်ဢုၵ်
Seventh daughter—Nang It, ၼင်ဢိတ်

These names are retained by both boys and girls, unless changed under the following conditions:—

(1) When the boy enters a monastery.

(2) When, after three or four years, the child is re-named with a name indicating the day of birth.

(3) When illness causes a change of name. This is especially the case when the child was born on a day unlucky according to the *Hpè-wan* (*v. post.*)

A boy when old enough to talk and learn, is sent to the monastic school, which he attends until he has learnt the first doxology. When he can repeat this three times without fault before the head *pôngyi* of the monastery, he exchanges his ordinary clothes for those of the holy order and remains in the monastery under a name given him by the *pôngyi*.

This name begins or ends with one of the following letters, according to the day of his birth:—

Sunday—Any vowel sound: as (Hsang) Aw.
Monday—*k*, *hk*, *ng*.: as Kaw-liya.
Tuesday— *s*, *hs*, *ny*: as Santa.
Wednesday—*y*, *l*, *w*: as Wilahsa.
Thursday—*p*, *hp*, *m*: as Pansēkta.
Friday—*hs*, *h*: as Hsawna.
Saturday—*t*, *ht*, *n*: as Nanta.

The name thus given is ordinarily retained for life. In the case of girls the name is given by an elder, not by a monk.

When illness, or bad luck, suggests a change of name, a ceremony is performed by which the child is supposed to be exchanged for—

(*a*) a piece of coarse cloth; it is then called Ai Man, or Nang Man=Master or Miss Coarse Cloth:

(*b*) a piece of silver; the name is then Ai or Nang Ngün= Master or Miss Silver:

(*c*) a pair of scales in which the child is weighed; if it weighs more than a viss, the name adopted is Ai or Nang Hsoi Hsa=Master or Miss More-than-a-viss: or

(*d*) the child is put into a pot and a make-believe of roasting it is gone through; the name then adopted is Ai or Nang Kaw=Master or Miss Roast:

(*e*) the child is thrown away by the parents, picked up by some one settled beforehand and restored to the father and mother; such children are called Ai or Nang Kip= Master or Miss Picked-up:

(*f*) the child is given to a visitor in the house, who restores it after a decent interval, with the result of the appearance of Ai or Nang Hkek=Master or Miss Visitor:

(*g*) advantage is taken of the full moon to lose and find the child again and so achieve the name Ai or Nang Môn= Master or Miss Full-moon :

(*h*) advantage is taken of birth-marks to give the name of Ai or Nang Mai=Master or Miss Marks:

and so on according to the inventiveness of the household. Such changes are most common in cases of sickness, but anything which tends to show that the child is exposed to hostile influences justifies them. If there is no apparent result, the child may be taken with other offerings to the monastery and thereafter called Ai or Nang Lu=Master or Miss Alms. Names got in this way may be changed in the case of a boy by his subsequent adoption of the yellow robe.

Marriage.—Marriage is permissible with any caste or creed. There is no trace of the Karen exclusiveness. If a person of either sex dies without marrying, the corpse before burial is knocked against a stump, which is assumed to represent husband or wife. If this ceremony were omitted, it is believed that the person would in the next transincorporation also die unmarried.

When a young man takes a fancy to a girl, he visits her at her parents' house. If she likes him, she goes off with him to the house of his parents. Next day the parents of the young man go to the girl's house, announce what has happened, make a present of salt and tea to her parents, hope that the incident may not be distasteful, and request that a day may be fixed for a more formal ceremony of union. When this is agreed to, the girl goes home to the house of her parents again.

In towns and among the better-to-do people the process is not quite so precipitate. The girl, having made up her mind, refers her wooer to the old people. His parents again obligingly carry on the negotiations. They take salt and sugar on such occasions and obtain the sanction of her parents to fix the day for the public ceremony.

This is done in accordance with the *Hpè Wan*, regard being had to the birthdays of man and maid; the position of the dragon, when each of these events happened, and for the time being; the *Nakats*, or stellar influences; and so forth. It should be calculated by an expert and is, whenever it can be afforded.

On the day appointed the relatives of both parties and the parties themselves meet in the house of the bride. The bridegroom brings

a viss of tea and a viss of salt tied together into a parcel, with what money he can afford to give the parents of the girl as compensation for her loss. This he deposits before the bride's parents and makes a formal proposal for the hand of their daughter. The parents untie the bundles and take out the money, whereupon one of the elders of the village carries the tea and salt out into the street, holds them above his head, and calls on earth, sun, and sky to bear witness to the union of the man and the woman. He then comes back into the house and ties a cord of seven threads round the left wrist of the bride and one round the right wrist of the bridegroom and the ceremony is over. The bridegroom distributes money among the village elders present and all sit down to a feast, after which the bride carries her things over to the bridegroom's house.

When all concerned approve the marriage, mutual consent is practically all that is necessary, and living together proclaims the fact.

Divorce is effected by mutual consent and the man gives the woman a letter of freedom to re-marry. If the wife claims a divorce and the husband is not willing, a payment of thirty rupees sets her free. If the husband alone claims the divorce, he forfeits all the household property. Where a couple simply agree to part and no fault on either side is alleged, if there are no children, each takes his or her original property and all joint stock is divided. If there are children, the girls go with the mother, and the sons with the father. The whole of the property is collected and father and mother each take one-tenth. The remaining four-fifths are then equally divided between parents and children, share and share alike. Where the *causa causans* is with the man, the woman is entitled to his house, garden, and all household goods, and the man is only allowed to remove arms, tools, and his immediate personal effects. Where the fault lies with the wife, she is sent back to her family, or turned out without anything.

A man may not marry his own or his wife's mother, grandmother, or aunt, or his sisters, and conversely with a woman. All other alliances are permissible. Polygamy is sanctioned, but not common, except with the wealthy. Polyandry is forbidden. A widow is free to marry and to act as she pleases. No one has a claim on her. Infanticide is unknown.

Diseases are cured by the use of medicines, which are chiefly herbs, by shampooing, and by exorcism when these fail and the illness is assumed to be caused by evil spirits. The dead are buried usually in the jungle, or in a grove near the village. The grave-diggers, before getting out of the newly dug grave, carefully

sweep it out with brambles or thorns to expel any evil spirits that may be there. The corpse is dressed in new clothes. Care must be taken that there is no mark of a burn on them. It is better to bury the body naked than in such clothes. Fire would consume the deceased in the next existence. Persons who have touched the corpse are required to bathe before they re-enter the village. There is no mourning dress for man or woman, no matter how close the relationship.

Law was administered by the *Sawbwas* and Myozas and their *Amats* and by *Hēngs* and *Htamôngs*, the district officials. The customary laws of the people were nominally founded on the *Dhammathat*, modified by the rulings of the sages and a great deal by local custom.

Murder could always be purged by money payment. In most places the amount was three hundred rupees, but in the north the rule seems to have been (*a*) three hundred and thirty-three rupees to the next of kin; (*b*) three hundred and thirty-three to the official deciding the case; (*c*) half this sum, or Rs. 166-8-0, to the *Amats*; (*d*) a quarter, or Rs. 83-4-0, to the clerk of the Court; and (*e*) one-sixth, or Rs. 55-8-0, to the bailiffs and messengers. If the murderer could not pay, his relations had to; if his relations could not, then his village; if the village could not, then the amount was recovered from the circle. If the murderer belonged to another race or State and payment was refused, the amount was taken by force, which usually resulted in reprisals. If two brothers fought and one was killed, the whole family forfeited their household goods, but not their land. When a murderer paid up the *wergild*, he was absolutely free and no slur or stain attached to him. At one time, however, a defaulter, with his whole family, was liable to be handed over as slaves to the relations of the murdered man.

As under Anglo-Saxon law there were *bots* for wounds and mutilations, so there were compensations fixed for flesh wounds or the loss of limbs.

The rules governing property and inheritance were practically those of the *Dhammathat* or of that code as interpreted in Burma. Wills might be made, but in cases of intestacy the rule was first downwards, then upwards, then side-ways, that is to say, children (and the surviving parent) had the first claim; failing children, parents; failing parents, brothers and sisters. The division was carried out in different ways. In some parts the chief wife got 50 per cent. of the estate and the children and other wives had equal shares of the remainder. In other places the whole property was divided into five parts of equal value. The chief wife, after paying

all debts, took one-fifth, and the remaining four were then shared equally by all wives and children, the chief wife included.

The *Sawbwa* on the foundation of a village or circle designated the limits of the land at its disposal. Within these limits land might usually be disposed of by the village headman or the elders. Original clearing and cultivation, however, conferred a title which vested in the original squatter, even if he ceased to cultivate. But if he left the State the right lapsed. Right to such land was inherited in the ordinary way and could be bought and sold. No strange community or individual, however, was allowed to settle in a State without the permission of the Chief. Migrations were, however, very frequent and new arrivals were almost always welcome.

Until King Mindôn introduced the *thathameda* system and coinage, revenue was paid in produce and all transactions were by barter. Silver has always existed in large quantities and passed by weight. The Shans, however, had a sort of coinage of a clam shell shape, and specimens of these old coins may frequently be seen hung round the necks of children. Latterly in most places the tax was levied according to the number of baskets of seed sown. But everywhere many circles and villages were exempted from payments in return for services of the kind known in English history as *grand* or *petit serjeanty*. Thus in the Hsen Wi neighbourhood one village supplied the *Sawbwa* with orchids, another with fruits, another with syces and mahouts, others with torches and the like, while everywhere there were villages exempted for supplying labour on the *Sawbwa's* fields, or servants for his household. Every male fit for war might be called out when necessary, but in all States there were families or circles which supplied the *Sawbwa's* body-guard by hereditary right, and therefore held houses and lands free.

The Shans will eat anything, fish, flesh, fowl or reptile; nothing is forbidden but human flesh, and the consumption of that was always permissible during certain forms of tattooing common among military officers of distinction. Cicadas and the pupæ of a large species of beetle (a scarabæus) are considered delicacies and may sometimes be seen for sale in the markets. Snakes are only regularly eaten by the Tai Dam (the Black Shans) of the Trans-Mèkhong country, who prefer them to any other form of diet, and it is possible they may have taken the habit from their neighbours, the Hka Mūks, but everywhere lizards are consumed.

Agriculture is everywhere the chief occupation and there is much spirit worship in connection with it, though there is no recognized Demeter or Ceres. The first-fruits of the crop are always taken as

an offering to the village monastery before any is eaten by the household.

The stealing of cattle is considered the most serious crime in the States and was at one time always punished with death. The Track Law was always vigorously enforced. This is laid down as follows in the *Manu Kye Dhammathat* :—

"The law by which the district to which the footmarks of stolen cattle are traced shall be caused to make good the loss.

"Oh King! If any one's horses, buffaloes or oxen be stolen, and the footmarks are really traced to any district, that district may be sued; if the fact be not ascertained, or there be no footmarks, there shall be no claim against the district. Wise men must note this. If horses, buffaloes, or oxen be lost, and the owner shall trace their footmarks into any village, the people of the village and the *thugyi*, that they may be free from blame, ought to go with him and point out the place where the foot-marks leave the village. If they do not show the place by which they left the village, they should be caused to replace them."

The owner tracks up the cattle to the limits of his own village or circle; there he makes over the foot-prints to the headman and the villagers of the next circle, who follow them to their own border and pass them on to those next responsible and so on till the animals are found or the tracks lost. Unless for very good cause shown, the village beyond which the foot-prints cannot be taken is always held responsible.

In their civil wars practically every one was called out. The warriors started with a few days' rice supply tied in a bundle at their backs and after that was eaten, lived on the country. Each man paid his devotions at the village shrine before he left. During his absence his wife was forbidden to do any work on every fifth day and remained within her house; each day she filled an earthen pot with water to the brim and put in fresh flowers and leaves. If the flowers withered or much water evaporated, it was considered a bad sign; each night she swept the floor and laid out her husband's bedding and she was on no account to lie on it herself. If she could, she sent food out to him, but this was impossible where long distances had to be travelled. The bands therefore burnt and ravaged wherever they went. A single check usually meant the failure of the expedition, but there were always bands of adventurers, who joined in hostilities for the sake of the plunder to be got, and these naturally joined the side which took the offensive. Mutilation of the slain was common. In every case the head was cut off and brought to the Chief, who rewarded the bringer with a larger or smaller sum, according to the rank of the victim. While the war was going on these heads were mounted on posts outside the

town as signs of victory, but they disappeared when the war was over.

Every Chief is called a *Sao Hpa* by the Shans. The lesser rank of Myoza was introduced by the Burmese and the name was never accepted by the Shans. Tributary Chiefs were called *Sao Hpa Awn*, little *Sawbwas*. Each Chief had a number of *Amats*, many or few, according to the extent of his territory. The *Amats* were chosen for their capacity and the title was not usually hereditary. The State was parcelled out amongst a number of district officials called *Hēngs, Htamōngs, Hsūngs, Kangs, Kès, and Kin-mōngs*. In the Southern Shan States there are few, except *Hēngs* and *Hta-mōngs*, and everywhere these are the more important officials. The word *Hēng* means one thousand and the original *Hēngships* no doubt were charges which paid one thousand baskets of rice to the over-lord, which seems also to be the meaning of the word Panna used in the Trans-Salween State of Kēng Hūng. The word *Hta-mōng* was anciently written *Htao-mōng* and means originally an elder. Officials below this rank, *Kangs* and *Kès* were mere headmen of single villages or of small groups, but many of the *Hēngs* were very powerful and had charge of territories more extensive than some existing States. Thus Mōng Nawng, until it was separated from Hsen Wi, was merely a *Hēng*ship of that State, and the present *Hēng* of Ko Kang is wealthier than many *Sawbwas*. In the north, however, *Hta-mōng* has a tendency to be considered the more honourable title.

The following folks-myth gives an account of the origin of the Shans and of their government :—

A man aged five thousand years started from the east in search of a wife and at about the same time a woman aged five thousand years started from the west in search of a husband. These two met in the middle of the Shan States and became man and wife. They had eight sons and seven daughters, who multiplied in their turn and produced a large population. The eight sons and their children claimed to rule the others and thus caused a confusion of tongues, and they then separated and went in various directions with their families and their herds. The names of the eight sons were Ai, Ai Yi, Ai Hsam, Ai Hsai, Ai Ngo, Ai Nu, Ai Nok, and Ai Nai, whose names are given to male children to the present day in that order. The two eldest were not able to agree as to who should be Chief, and they invited two kings from the north to come and rule over the Shan country. These two are said to be the sons of Hkun Sang, the king of the heaven, who had despatched them on purpose to save the Shan States from destruction. On their way

they met a man called Sang Hpan, who said he wished to follow them, and they accepted his services.

A little farther on they met another man Turiya, who was a singer, and him also they took with them and arrived at the place called Sampuralit, which is in the south-east of the Shan States. There they founded their city, and first they laid down the eight essentials of a city—

(1) A bazaar.
(2) Water-supply.
(3) Palace buildings.
(4) Other houses.
(5) Fields.
(6) Monasteries.
(7) War chiefs.
(8) Roads.

The two first rulers took the names of Mahā Khattiya Raza and Mahā Hsamhpeng Na Raza. The first of these improved agriculture and the second introduced weapons. They knew that Sampuralit was the place for the city, because when they arrived there they found a stone inscribed by the deities with rules for the governance of a country.

From the two sons of Hkun Sang are descended all the *Sawbwas* of the Shan States and from Sang Hpan and Turiya are descended all their officials.

The earth, it is stated, was reared out of the depth of the waters by white-ants, first of all in the shape of the Myin-mo mountain, with foundations reaching 84,000 *yuzana* beneath the surface and 84,000 *yuzana* above it. It was square in shape. Nine spirits came down from on high and separated earth, water and air. They then established religions and afterwards created man, animals, trees, flowers, fruits, and grain. They divided the world into 16 divisions. The details are those of the ordinary Buddhist cosmography.

PLATE X.



Photo-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

KACHINS.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KACHIN HILLS AND THE CHINGPAW.

(The basis of this chapter is the *Kachin Gazetteer* drawn up by Captains H. B. WALKER and H. R. DAVIES of the Intelligence Department, but additions have been made from all available sources).

THE Kachins (Chingpaw or Singpho) were the first of the frontier races with whom we came into contact. They inhabit the country on the north, north-east, and north-west of Upper Burma. During the last 50 years they have spread a long way to the south in the Northern Shan States and in the districts of Bhamo and Katha. Colonel Hannay of the Assam Light Infantry, in a work written in 1847, was the first to localize the Chingpaw tribes. Like previous authorities, Bayfield, Willcocks, and others, he places them generally "on the upper waters of the Irrawaddy," but says more specifically that their territory is bounded on the south-east and east by Yünnan (they have now overrun a great part of the western portion of that province), on the west by Assam, and on the south by the 24th degree of north latitude. He adds that their northern boundary comes "in contact with the Khumongs, with "whom and other tribes residing in the inaccessible regions bordering on Tartary they are closely allied."

No explorations have as yet determined their exact northernmost limits, but it is nearly certain that they extend as far as 28° 30′ north latitude.

At the present time, 20° 30′ is accepted as their southern limit, an extension of 3½° in 50 years. They probably would have extended much farther, if we had not annexed Upper Burma when we did, and indeed at the present moment there are isolated Kachin villages far down in the Southern Shan States and even beyond the Salween river. They are broken up into small communities each under its own Chief and, though wild and savage, are very good agriculturists. Their disunion has been at once a source of weakness to them and a cause of trouble to us, for there was no central authority which could be subdued or conciliated, with the result of securing general peace. Each petty tribe submitted or raided according to its own inclinations and interests, and as the district which we now administer (described below) covers not much under 20,000 square miles, the process of establishing satisfactory relations was not effected rapidly or without considerable trouble.

The Burmans and Shans stood in great awe of the Kachins. For some years before the annexation, it was a common thing for villagers in the Bhamo district to sleep in boats on the river, so that they might have some chance of escape from a sudden raid. Bhamo itself had been attacked in 1884 by a combination of Chinese and Kachins and was almost completely destroyed. The Shan traders were the victims of excessive black-mail, which the Kachins levied on all who passed through their territory. Above Bhamo no village, Burman or Shan, could exist without putting itself under the protection of some chieftain in the adjacent hills. The Kachin *Duwa*, or Chief, came down at irregular intervals and levied tribute, ranging from a demand for several buffaloes to a few handfuls of salt. The protection granted was somewhat anomalous and usually consisted in negotiating the release, of course on the payment of large sums, by the wretched Shan Burmans, of slaves captured from their village by other Kachins. Sometimes the protecting Chief made a retaliatory raid on the *Duwa* who had interfered with his clients, but more often he attacked a village of Shan-Burmans tributary to the offending village.

Bhamo was occupied by us on the 28th December 1885, and at first the Kachins seemed more curious than hostile. The occupation of Mogaung and our connection with the jade mines, led to our first direct relations with them. In February 1886 a British force, accompanied by Major Cooke, the Deputy Commissioner, visited Mogaung and received the submission of the local officials. The column went, one party by water and the other by land, to Sinbo, cutting a road for itself part of the way. The Kachins were troublesome, but not hostile. From Sinbo the journey to Mogaung was accomplished without opposition, either in going or coming. At the date of the arrival in Mandalay of the British Expeditionary Force, the Mogaung district was governed by the elder *Sawbwa* of Wuntho. He had been deputed thither in 1883 (two years after he abdicated in Wuntho in favour of his son) by the Burmese Government to put down a Kachin rising, which had devastated the whole neighbourhood. He was successful both in the restoration of order and in his subsequent administration. The *Sawbwa*, Maung Shwe Tha, left Mogaung at the end of 1885, and the Government was then carried on by a council of three persons, of whom the Chief was Maung Kala, who belonged to a family of Chinese extraction, long resident in Mogaung, and closely related to the Mogaung *T'u-ssu*, who ruled that district when it was tributary to China. He possessed an ancient Chinese official seal, which had always been found by the Burmese Government a potent means of controlling the Kachins. The other members of the council were

Maung Shwe Gya and Maung Sein. The former, of mixed Kachin and Burman blood, was in charge of the defence of the town, and the latter, a Burman, aided Maung Kala in the civil administration. The council appear to have governed wisely and to the satisfaction of the people. They beat off the attacks of Li Win-sho, a Chinese dacoit, who had a large and well-armed gang, and they kept up friendly relations with the Kachins.

Major Cooke appointed Maung Kala to be Myoôk and Maung Shwe Gya and Maung Sein to be his assistants, retaining the Burmese title of Nakhan. Two months after he had left Mogaung, in May 1886, Maung Kala was assassinated, and it was discovered that the Nakhan Maung Sein and two *ex*-officials had hired men to commit the murder. It was supposed that they intended to hand over the town to a self-styled prince who had appeared in the neighbourhood. Maung Shwe Gya and the elders of the force arrested and promptly executed Maung Sein and his accomplices. The Deputy Commissioner then appointed Maung Htun Gywè, a Bhamo official, to be Myoôk, and Maung Po Saw, son of Maung Kala, to be Nakhan of Mogaung. Maung Htun Gywè went to Mogaung, but came back almost immediately to say that he had been badly received and that he declined to stay there unless supported by troops. He was accordingly directed to stay at Sinbo and take charge of that part of the Mogaung district which adjoins the Irrawaddy. In September a man named Nga Kyi entered Mogaung territory and produced a patent of appointment as *Sawbwa* purporting to have been issued by the Wuntho *Sawbwa*. The Mogaung officials answered his invitation to them to submit by attacking and killing him. In consequence of this exhibition of spirit, Maung Htun Gywè was re-called and Maung Po Saw was appointed Myoôk. It was intended to send an expedition to Mogaung at the end of 1886, but the attitude of the Wuntho *Sawbwa* was at that time so suspicious that the column was diverted to Mawlu to watch him instead.

Meanwhile the Hpunkan Kachins began to be troublesome near Bhamo. While the Mogaung party was out two attacks were made on the village of Sawadi. The *Duwa* was ordered to come in to Bhamo, but failed to do so, and on the 12th April a party marched from Bhamo for Katran. They took several positions and advanced some way into the hills, but rain and want of dhoolie-bearers forced them to return, with Captain Wace, R.A., and Captain Lyle, of the Welsh Fusiliers, wounded, besides five rank and file.

On the 22nd May another column advanced from Mansi towards Katran. It was met by an apology from the *Duwa*, who said his son was responsible for the attack on Sawadi and sent

some weapons and presents. As the Chief did not come in person the advance was continued to Panyaung, 10 or 11 miles from Katran. Some resistance was experienced on the way and a depôt for stores and wounded was being formed when a doubt arose as to whether Katran was not within the Chinese frontier. The column halted three days and then returned. The rear-guard was fired on during the retreat until the post at Nankin was reached. The cause for the abandonment of the advance was not understood by the Kachins and they raided frequently on the plains during the months of June, July, and August, and on the 14th November attacked Bhamo, made their way into the stockade over the north-eastern battery, killed three sepoys, and set fire to the barracks. They were driven out with a loss of five men. There were several encounters with marauding Kachins in the plains during 1887, but the hills were left practically unexplored.

During all that year Po Saw held Mogaung for us as Myoôk, but the accounts of the genuineness of his loyalty were very conflicting. In December 1887, however, he came down to Sinbo, met the Deputy Commissioner, Colonel Adamson, and professed to be pleased to hear that British troops were to come to Mogaung. The expeditionary force under Captain Triscott, R. A., crossed the Irrawaddy at Nethagôn on the 5th January, arrived at Sinbo on the 7th, and reached Mogaung on the 14th. In the meantime, however, an unfortunate incident had happened. One of the Captains in the service of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company had received permission to go up the river for the purpose of seeing whether it would be possible to establish a steam-boat service above Bhamo. This gentleman took advantage of the permission given him to go to Mogaung and took with him Lôn Pein, the farmer of the jade-mine duties. It appears that Lôn Pein had made himself obnoxious to the Chinese traders in jade and gave out that he was going to take possession of the mines. The house in which he and his companions were lodging in Mogaung was attacked in the night and Lôn Pein received wounds from which he afterwards died. The Myoôk, Po Saw, is believed to have been implicated in this crime.

In any case his conscience was bad, for though the people received the British column in a friendly manner, the Myoôk left the town just before its arrival. He was induced to come in the following day by the Chinese traders, but absconded again on the night of the 21st and, though he was pursued, made good his escape, and thenceforward remained in open rebellion. He was formally deposed and his cousin Maung Hpo Mya appointed in his place, but Maung Shwe Gya remained the most useful and powerful auxiliary we had in Mogaung. Colonel Adamson then visited

and explored the jade mines and interviewed many of the surrounding Kachin Chiefs with satisfactory results. Thence he went to the Indawgyi lake, explored the surrounding country without incident, and then returned to Mogaung. It is probable that the Mogaung country would have remained undisturbed but for Maung Po Saw. He instigated the Lepai Kachins to attack the column on the return march to Mogaung at the village of Nyaungchidauk, and preparations were made to do so, but they were frustrated by a double march which Captain Triscott made in the hope of capturing Po Saw. He failed in this, but he marched into a strong series of stockades in the early hours of the morning before the Kachins were aware of his approach and killed several of them with the loss of one Gurkha of his party. About the same time the Kachins, instigated by Po Saw, attacked the mail, between Mogaung and Sinbo, and killed a Gurkha and a boatman, and even made an attack on Mogaung itself, but were easily beaten off. In these combinations Po Saw had been chiefly assisted by the Punga *Duwa*, to whose village a very successful punitive expedition was made on the 17th February by Captain O'Donnell and Mr. D. H. R. Twomey.

Colonel Adamson then set a price of one thousand rupees on Po Saw's head and marched back to Katha, having a brush with Kachins stockaded on the Mohnyin river by the way. It is probable that Po Saw had hoped to establish himself in semi-independent authority in Mogaung and that, even if the Lôn Pein incident had not occurred, his continued adhesion could not have been secured.

Mogaung was now constituted a subdivision with an Assistant Commissioner in charge, and a strongly fortified stockade was built on the bank of the river in the town, which was considerably larger than Bhamo. The strength of the garrison was 350 men of the Bhamo Military Police Battalion under Captain O'Donnell, but there were not enough men available to establish outposts, except one on the Mogaung river between Mogaung and Hokat. Numerous dacoities on the river on trading boats necessitated their going in convoys under a periodical escort, and the Kachins soon became more aggressive, and on the 10th May 1888 the garrison had to defend itself. Bo Ti, Po Saw's principal lieutenant, occupied several strong positions during the night with a force of four hundred Shans, collected from the Uyu country and from Mogaung itself. They were not turned out without considerable resistance. Eight of our sepoys were killed and fifteen wounded, while the enemy lost forty killed and a large number of wounded. Not long afterwards Bo Ti stockaded himself at Taungbaw, only three miles from Mogaung, whence he was driven on the 23rd May with a loss of twenty-six Kachins killed and six taken prisoners without casualty among the Military Police.

BoTi had been prominent in the murder of Lôn Pein and was captured by Colonel Adamson and sent down to Bhamo, but escaped from the guards. With Po Saw he gained over the Lepai Kachins of Thama, whose hill lies north of the junction of the Indaw and Nankon rivers and commands Kamaing, so that they were able to put a stop to all the rubber and jade trade.

After Bo Ti's attack the country for the time became quiet, but it was necessary to undertake operations in the cold season of 1888-89 to bring the Kachin tribes to submission and to punish them for the many outrages committed in the early part of the year. The operations included four separate expeditions :—

(1) Against the Lepai tribe north of Mogaung, the principal chief being the head of the Thama sub-clan and the harbourer of Po Saw and Bo Ti.

(2) Against the Ithi or Szi, also a sub-tribe of the Lepais, to the south of Mogaung, the leading Chief being the *Duwa* of Panga.

(3) Against the Sana Kachins of the Lahtawng tribe, who had raided near Mogaung in May.

(4) Against the Marans, whose sub-tribe, the Makans, and others in the neighbourhood of Sinbo, were responsible for an attack on Nanpapa in May, and for a later attack on Hlegyomaw on the Mogaung river in August.

The direction of the whole of these operations was undertaken by Sir George White, and all the military police in the Mogaung subdivision were placed under his orders. While the plans for these operations were being matured, and while preparations were being made, notice was given to the Thama and Panga *Duwas* requiring them to tender their submission to the Subdivisional Officer at Mogaung, and to make reparation for damage inflicted by them on traders and others. The regent of the Makan tribe, the widow of the late *duwa*, had already been warned that punishment would be inflicted if compensation were not made for the raids at Nanpapa and Hlegyomaw.

The offending tribes failed to comply with the terms and on the 8th January 1889 a force under Captain O'Donnell left Mogaung to operate against the Lepai, and particularly against Thama. Kamaing was taken on the 11th after a slight resistance. On the 30th January a sharp engagement took place at Hwetôn to the south of Kamaing, in which the Kachins lost ten or twelve killed and the village was burnt, while 18,000 pounds of paddy were burnt. Finally, after a delay caused by an outbreak of small-pox on the 19th February, the main Thama villages were attacked and burnt after some stockade fighting, in which Captain O'Donnell and Captain

MacDonald of the Hants Regiment were spiked through the foot and Lieutenant Hawker received a spike wound, from which he died. The operations were completed by the 9th March, on which date the column returned to Mogaung. Twenty-four villages, including almost all subject to Thama, were destroyed and a large quantity of grain burnt. Our loss was, besides the three officers, 18 men killed and wounded.

The second expedition against the Ithi Lepai, south of Mogaung, was begun on the 11th March. The Shan and Kachin villages of Nyaungbintha were occupied without resistance, for Bo Ti had left the neighbourhood and the people had no leader. A post was established at Nyaungbintha and small columns burnt all the villages of the tribe and destroyed their paddy. These were the tribesmen who had attacked Mogaung, but the resistance met with at the ten villages taken was very slight. The village of Waranaung, of which the Chief had been consistently loyal since the occupation of Mogaung, was specially exempted from attack.

On the 1st April Captain O'Donnell proceeded to punish the Sana chieftain of the Lahtawng tribe. On the 4th, after a march along the stony bed of a stream and through a very difficult gorge, in which the enemy had stockaded themselves, but were outflanked, the column reached Panlang, the Chief's village, and destroyed it.

There still remained the tribes to the west of Sinbo, the Marans and the Hlegyomaw dacoits, to be dealt with, and to reach them a march of 56 miles from Mogaung to Sinbo had to be made across the plains. On the 20th April operations commenced and the villages of Makan, Lasha, Pinzôn, and Lwekyo were taken one after the other and burnt. The Kachins offered a stout resistance and at Lwekyo replied to the artillery fire with jingals, but our casualties were trifling, as they were also against the Hlegyomaw group, whose villages, Kawaw, Assin, and Kachaing, fought stubbornly and hung on the rear of the retiring column. In the four expeditions forty-six villages containing 639 houses were destroyed, together with large stores of grain. The casualties on our side amounted to one officer and three men killed and two officers and thirty men, including followers, wounded. The column engaged the Kachins twenty-two times and took forty-three stockades.

The results were satisfactory. The occupation of Kamaing and the establishment there of a military police post had the effect of opening the road to the jade mines, which had been interrupted. Up to the end of May 1889 no less than ninety-eight villages had come in and tendered their submission to the Subdivisional Officer at Mogaung. These included the whole of the villages subordinate to the chieftain of Thama, except Thama itself and two other villages;

the whole of the Ithi Lepais, including Panga; the whole of the Lahtawngs, except one village; the whole of the tribes round Sinbo, except two small villages; and the Lakun tribe south of the Ithi country. In the case of villages which resisted the column submission was only accepted after the payment of moderate fines in money or in kind and the surrender of a small number of guns. The Marip tribe, under the Chief Kan Si Naung, in whose territory are situated the jade mines, and the Sassan tribe in the Hukawng valley and in the neighbourhood of the amber mines submitted from the first and have never given any trouble.

Meanwhile in the more immediate neighbourhood of Bhamo there was a good deal of disturbance. A band, consisting for the most part of Chinese brigands and deserters from the Chinese army, which had gathered on the Molè river, forty miles north-east from Bhamo, was attacked by Mr. Segreave with a party of military police on the 9th January and entirely dispersed with the loss of about fifty killed. The effect of this action was to secure the peace of the district north of Bhamo and to stop further alarms of the gathering of Chinese marauders in that direction during the remainder of the open season.

About this time the air was full of rumours concerning projected attacks on the Upper Sinkan township to the south and even on Bhamo itself. Hkam Leng (Kan Hlaing) was the cause of these.

He had been harboured by the Kachin Chiefs of Lwèsaing and Tônhôn and had constantly visited Si-u in the Upper Sinkan township, where he made long stays and levied contributions from the villagers. The Myoôk had not a sufficient force of police to prevent these visits and asked that a military patrol might be sent from Bhamo. On the 3rd February 1889 the District Superintendent marched with fifty police and on the 4th the rebels were found strongly stockaded across the road near Malin, 30 miles up the Sinkan river and about 20 from Si-u. The police after three quarters of an hour's fighting were forced to retire with a loss of two killed, ten wounded, and all their baggage, except ammunition, captured. It was necessary at once to break up the gang of rebels who were now in possession of the whole of the Upper Sinkan valley, and on the 6th February Captain Smith, R. A., with a strong force marched from Bhamo. On the 7th the dacoits were encountered in the position they had held against the police. It was only taken after severe fighting, in which Second-Lieutenant Stoddart, 17th B.I., two men of the Hampshires, and two of the 17th B. I. were killed and 17 were wounded. The dacoit gathering then dispersed as suddenly as it had appeared. After the defeat of the rebels at Malin the villagers for the most part returned to their homes. The

villages which had joined in the rising were fined and the force of the police was increased at the expense of the township, which was also effectually disarmed. The nucleus of the band seems to have consisted of 80 men sent by Saw Yan Naing from Manpôn to help his new ally Hkam Leng, and they returned thither after they had been dislodged, while Hkam Leng went back to the hills east of Si-u. On the 23rd March a detachment of troops was sent to Sikaw to remain there during the rest of the dry season in case Hkam Leng should attempt further hostilities. At the end of May an attempt was made to capture him in the hills. This, however, was frustrated by the action of the Lwèsaing and Tônhôn Kachins, who afterwards came down in some force and occupied Si-u. They were there attacked on the 2nd June 1889 by a party of troops and police and driven back with loss, but in July they attacked Sikaw itself. The villagers and the Gurkha police, however, beat them off. The lateness of the season made it impossible to punish this abortive rebellion before the end of the cold weather.

The Hpunkan Kachins once more gave trouble. The Katran or Karwan *Duwa* had steadily declined to visit Bhamo, or to definitely submit, and there were continual rumours of the gathering of Chinese brigands and disaffected persons in his tract, which is only 30 miles south-east of Bhamo. At the beginning of March 1889, probably excited by the Burmese remnants of the Malin gang, the Hpunkan Kachins again descended to the plains, killed a thugyi, carried off his wife and children, killed two policemen at Mansi post, and burnt Mansi village. The return of the troops who had been engaged in the Mogaung expeditions furnished a convenient opportunity for dealing with this troublesome tribe, and a force under Brigadier-General G. B. Wolseley, C. B., was sent against it. The force started in the middle of April in two columns, by the northern and southern roads, a proceeding which so baffled the Kachins that their principal villages were occupied with no resistance to speak of, though Captain Smith, R.A., was wounded in an advance guard skirmish only two miles from Mansi, from which the Southern column started. As had been arranged, the troops remained in the hills and proceeded to enforce the submission of the Kachins. The terms imposed upon them included the surrender of a number of guns and the payment of a moderate fine as compensation for past misdeeds. The troops left after these terms had been substantially complied with, and before Karwan was evacuated the headmen of the Hpunkan villages entered into a solemn agreement to abstain from raids in the future. General Wolseley then marched on to Namkham in the Northern Shan States, met the Superintendent there, and returned to Bhamo.

The States of Möng Mit (Momeik) and Möng Leng (Mohlaing) are nominally Shan, but they have never been administered with the Shan States proper, and indeed the Shans only inhabit the valleys and are greatly inferior in numbers to the Palaungs and the Kachins, who occupy the hills, which form the greater portion of the territory. At the time of the annexation, a member of the ruling family of Möng Leng, named Hkam Leng, or in the more commonly used Burmese form, Kan Hlaing, claimed to be the *Sawbwa* both of Möng Leng and Möng Mit. His claim to be Chief of Möng Mit was resisted by the ministers of that State on behalf of the rightful heir, who was a minor. In October 1886 Kan Hlaing was induced to come to Katha, where for some time he remained pending the consideration of his claims. Towards the end of the year he absconded and has been a bitter rebel ever since. In April 1887 the Chief Commissoner himself visited Mogôk, received the Möng Mit officials, and settled the conditions under which Möng Mit was to be administered, and fixed the boundary between that State and Möng Leng. In contravention of explicit orders Hkam Leng in June 1887 invaded and occupied part of the territory of Möng Mit. He was promptly driven out by a force sent from Katha. Subsequently the territory of Möng Lĕng was partitioned between Möng Mit and the Bhamo district, while Möng Mit was administered under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of the Ruby Mines from Mogôk. Hkam Leng took up his residence in the Kachin hills east of Möng Leng and fomented disturbances in the Upper Sinkan township as has been noted above. Towards the end of 1888 he established relationship with Saw Yan Naing, the son of the Metkaya Prince, who had established himself at Manpôn in a difficult position on the borders of the Tawng Peng Loi Lông State and Möng Mit. Together they endeavoured to arrange a simultaneous movement on a large scale at various points on the northern frontier. Möng Mit itself, the capital of the State, was threatened and 50 men of the Hampshire Regiment were sent there. On the 14th January 1888, owing to insufficient information, Lieutenant Nugent, with 16 men of the Hampshires, suddenly found himself within 50 yards of a strong stockade. Lieutenant Nugent charged, but the first volley of the dacoits killed one man and wounded Lieutenant Nugent and six men. A second shot killed Lieutenant Nugent, and Sergeant Bevis conducted a retreat bringing in the dead and wounded. On the 19th Lieutenant Ozzard, with 50 men of the Hants Regiment and 20 mounted police, attacked the same band at Mobaung, ten miles north-east of Möng Mit, and killed 20 dacoits including the leader. Reinforcements were then sent up and an attack was made on Manpôn, the headquarters of Saw Yan Naing. Four stockades

were taken without loss and the position was occupied, but, owing to a misunderstanding, the column returned to quarters before the country had been thoroughly explored and settled. The result was that Saw Yan Naing almost immediately re-established himself at Mantôn, a few miles from Manpôn, and remained there for the rest of the year. Hkam Leng remained with the Lwèsaing Tônhôn Kachins, with whom he was connected by marriage, and incited them to keep the southern part of the Bhamo district in a state of ferment. Other minor leaders, of whom the most important were Nga Maung of Twinngè and Hēng Nga Maung of Möng Lōng, desired support and encouragement from these centres of disaffection, and one or both of them found an asylum in the State of Möng Lōng. The borders of Tawng Peng Loi Lōng also had not been thoroughly cleared of dacoits, and Bo Zeya, a refugee from the Mandalay district, was still at large there.

It was therefore arranged that a strong column of troops and military police should be sent from Bhamo, and starting from Si-u as a base, should march in December 1889 against Lwèsaing and Tônhôn; that another column should march from Möng Mit and should combine with the Bhamo column at Manpôn, while Möng Mit town was occupied by troops; and that Lieutenant Daly, the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States, with a detachment of the Shan levy of military police, should co-operate from the Hsenwi side, keeping touch with the other columns as far as possible. At the same time a party of military police under Mr. H. F. Hertz, Assistant Superintendent of Police, was detailed to visit Möng Lōng and thence march along the Tawng Peng border to deal with any bands that might be in that quarter. The scene of the operations was very difficult country, chiefly in the southern portion of the old State of Möng Leng, in the valleys of the Sinkan and Nampaw streams, in the hills to the east of them, and in the north-eastern part of the State of Möng Mit, known as the Myaukko-daung, the northern nine hills. The valley of the Sinkan and the adjacent hills form part of the Bhamo district, while the valley of the Nampaw falls within Möng Mit. The area of the Myaukko-daung is estimated at 2,500 square miles. Mr. Shaw, Deputy Commissioner, accompanied the Bhamo column and at Sikaw was met by the *Duwa* of Kanlun, who with the headmen of twelve other Lakhum villages tendered his submission and volunteered to accompany the party. Lwèsaing and Tônhôn were taken on the 23rd and 24th of December, opposition in both cases being offered only at stockades across the road, some distance from the village, and afterwards from the sides of the hill after the villages had been occupied. In this way a Subadar of the Mogaung levy and a private of the Hamp-

shires were killed at Lwèsaing and five men were wounded; while at Tônhôn a sepoy was killed and four were wounded. About the same time, in a movement to seize the ferries of the Shweli, made by Captain O'Donnell, a distinguished Native Officer of the Mogaung levy, Jemadar Krishna Rana, was killed. Lwèsaing was destroyed and the column remained at Tônhôn till the 3rd January 1890. Before the troops left, representatives of all the villages in the jurisdiction of Lwèsaing-Tônhôn had come in, and part of the fine in money and guns imposed on the villages which had resisted the troops and harboured Hkam Leng had been paid. On the 3rd January the column started for Manpôn, a detachment being left at Tônhôn to enforce the payment of the fine. A Transport Jemadar was drowned at the passage of the Shweli, and Mantôn was entered on the 11th January and found in possession of the Möng Mit column, who had occupied it the same day after some skirmishing on the outskirts, in which Captain Sewell of the Norfolk Regiment was wounded. From Mantôn detachments were sent out against Mantôngale and Laochein, the Chief of which, Waranaw, had been a prominent supporter of Saw Yan Naing. Both these parties were stubbornly opposed by the Kachins, who had erected stockades across the roads. Laochein was occupied and completely destroyed, Major Forrest of the Hampshires being dangerously wounded while leading the attack, whilst a number of others were wounded by the subsequent firing from the hill-sides. On the return of these parties the Möng Mit column moved to Manpôn, while the Bhamo column remained at Mantôn. The remainder of the marching season was occupied by the troops and civil officers in visiting as much as possible of the country in which the operations were being carried on, in inflicting punishment in cases in which resistance had been offered or outrages committed, and in securing the submission of a number of Kachin, Palaung, and Shan villages nominally subject to the *Sawbwa* of Möng Mit. Efforts to secure the surrender or capture of Saw Yan Naing and Hkam Leng and of their leading adherents, however, were unsuccessful. Saw Yan Naing slipped past Lieutenant Daly into Hsenwi and passed thence across the Chinese frontier, where he has since remained at different places in the Shan-Chinese States, and was afterwards joined by Hkam Leng.

In Mogaung the operations of 1888 kept the subdivision undisturbed, traders were able to travel in security, and Kachin Chiefs from remote parts tendered their submission. The caravan trade between Bhamo and China, however, was not free from interruption. Attacks were made on traders by the Kachins through whose country the trade routes lie. Two caravans were set on in Novem-

ber 1889 by Kachins of the Karwan and Pônlein tribes. In both cases the Chiefs of the tribes concerned were called into Bhamo and required to pay compensation, and threatened with punishment in case of future misconduct. Nevertheless there were attacks in the following January and February, and in consequence of these the Chinese traders during the latter part of the season made use of the Hpunkaw route in preference to the northern one by Manaung. An attempt was made towards the close of 1889 to open the old disused route known as the Embassy route, but the arrangements were not effectual, chiefly because the Kachins lived on the borderland between China and Burma, and it was not always easy to ascertain whether the offenders belonged to British or Chinese territory.

The disturbances there no doubt tended to keep up a spirit of unrest in Möng Mit. Saw Maung, the *Sawbwa* of the Southern Shan States of Yawng Hwe in Burmese times (and since reappointed to that State), was installed as Regent of Möng Mit for five years from April 1889, during the minority of Hkun Maung, the hereditary Chief. Saw Maung unfortunately did not succeed in gaining the good-will of the people of Möng Mit, or in maintaining a proper supervision over his subordinate officials. This is perhaps hardly surprising, for he had no experience of Kachins or Palaungs, who form about 80 *per cent.* of the population. In October 1890, the village of Yabôn, some thirty miles to the north-east of Wing Möng Mit, was attacked by a combined gang of Kachins and Palaungs. Yabôn was held by forty of the *Sawbwa's* men under one of his *amats* or officers. The attack was probably in some measure due to this man's bad management of the surrounding tribes, but Saw Yan Naing and the outlaws over the frontier are supposed to have had a hand in stirring up trouble. The *amat* and his men, after a feeble resistance, abandoned their post and fled, giving up their arms to the people of Manpôn on the way. The *Sawbwa* sent out a fresh force to Yabôn, but the outbreak was left to be dealt with by Mr. Daniell, Assistant Commissioner, Möng Mit, and the column which it had been previously arranged should spend the dry season in eastern and northern Möng Mit to finish and consolidate the work of the previous cold weather. Mr. Daniell at once visited Yabôn and was successful in securing the speedy submission of Chiefs and people. The restoration of the guns and ponies taken in the attack on Yabôn was required, fines were imposed, and the turbulent Lahkum Kachins were directed to move back and live among their own people. The leader of the attack, Saw Saing, Lahkum Chief of Yabôn, was cleverly captured by a night surprise, and the whole circle was satisfactorily settled and

placed in the charge of the several local *Duwas*, who agreed to pay tribute and bring it to Möng Mit twice a year.

Meanwhile on the 9th December 1890 another affair had occurred. The Möng Leng Myoôk was attacked at Etkyi by a band of 40 or 50 men, who killed and wounded several of his followers and carried off property. These men were under the protection of the Lahkum Kachin *Duwa* of Kahôn, one of them being Nga Kyaw, an outlaw, and they also were believed to have acted on the instigation of the adherents of Saw Yan Naing and Hkam Leng. Mr. Daniell was accordingly instructed to direct his march to Kahôn and punish this outrage as soon as possible. He sent two messengers to call in the Kahôn chieftain who seized and killed one of them, though the other escaped.

As it was evident that organized opposition was to be expected, Mr. Daniell's party was reinforced by British Infantry, part mounted, from Bernardmyo and Shwebo, and by a company of the Mandalay Military Police Battalion under the Commandant, Captain Alban. No time was lost in making for Kahôn, and on the early morning of the 28th Jaunary 1891 the combined force under Major Kelsall, of the Devonshire Regiment, effected the surprise of Kahôn. There was a determined resistance and five of the enemy were killed, including the *Duwa's*, brother, while the *Duwa* himself and others were wounded. A private of the Devons was killed and a Military Police sepoy severely wounded in this engagement. The troops and Military Police were then distributed about Kahôn, Kyutha, and the neighbourhood generally, and worked thoroughly through the country, with the result that altogether twenty-six of Kahôn's adherents were killed and seven of Nga Kyaw's, including his lieutenant, Nga Pan San, while numbers were captured. The only further casualties on our side were one Gurkha killed and a Military Police sepoy severely wounded. Seven villages under Kahôn were destroyed and the remaining villages in the Manmauk circle were forced to make their submission. The Chiefs of the other circles of north-eastern Möng Mit then came in and made their submission to Mr. Daniell.

The Tônhôn column under Major Yule now came up from Bhamo and the village of Loikôn was attacked and burnt. Upon this the Tônhôn *Sawbwa*, who had remained out during the previous year's operations, came and made his submission. The Möng Leng headmen who had been deported in 1890 were thereupon taken back to their homes.

The Tônhôn column took the ChaukTaung side of the country, while Mr. Daniell visited the circles of Maing Kwin, Humai, and

Shawlan. There was no further opposition, and an arrangement was made with the Humai *Sawbwa* for the prevention of the passage of outlaws and marauders through his country. The column returned towards the end of March and Nga Kyaw made an attack on Mabein on the night of the 30th, killing one villager and carrying off some plunder. Mr. Daniell at once returned and pursued him, but was too late to come up with him.

The best arrangements possible were made with the various Kachin and Palaung Chiefs, who were held responsible for keeping order in their respective jurisdictions and required to acknowledge the authority of Möng Mit by the regular payment of tribute. The Regent Saw Maung recognized that he could not manage the State with the staff of men and officials he had. He first proposed to give up the Myaukko-daung and then asked to be allowed to resign altogether. This he was permitted to do, and from the beginning of 1891, Möng Mit, with the adjoining portion of Möng Leng, has been incorporated as a temporary measure with the Ruby Mines district.

Farther north at the close of 1890 the Lana Kachins were blocking the main trade route into Nam Hkam, and all the routes leading eastwards from Bhamo to Manwaing on the road to Yünnan were the scenes of constant attacks on caravans. Of the valley of the Molè stream little or nothing was then known. At the commencement of the 1890-91 cold season, therefore, arrangements were made to send out a punitive column to settle the whole of the tribes to the immediate east of Bhamo, who had been guilty of attacks on traders. This column, consisting of seventy-five men of the Mogaung levy under Lieutenant Burton, started on the 24th December 1890 and proceeded to visit first the hills north of the Taping, finally returning to Bhamo on the 21st May 1891 from Lana.

The work was thoroughly done. Every village that had any case reported against it during the two years preceding was visited and duly punished by fine. Disarmament was insisted on as far as possible, and fines were taken by preference in guns. Owing no doubt to the operations of the column the attacks on caravans were reduced to two. One of these was perpetrated by the Kalunkong Chief, who was arrested and sentenced, to the evident surprise of the surrounding Kachins. The other attack, though it was made in British territory, was conducted by Kachins who had come from across the border. Unfortunately, owing to the negligence of a sentry, the camp was rushed by Han Tôn and other Kachins on the night of the 1st March. Two sepoys were killed and nine wounded, besides Mr. French, Assistant Engineer, who received a

bad gunshot wound in the foot. According to previous instructions Lieutenant Burton sent in for reinforcements and one hundred men under Major P. H. Smith, of the Devons, were despatched. The villages implicated in the attack were burnt and the *Sawbwa* of Hantôn was killed at Walaung. Subsequently it was found that the Lahsi tribe had joined in the outbreak and accordingly fifty men under Major Smith went out and, in conjunction with Lieutenant Burton's party, surprised the Lahsi villages, killing two men and capturing ninety. All the seven villages were burnt and the party was not afterwards molested.

Towards the close of the season a further series of operations was undertaken in the Sinkan valley in the south-east of the Bhamo district. The Sinkan valley had been for some time notorious as a nest of robbers, whose presence there was secretly connived at by the old Sikaw Myoôk. When he died they had no longer a protector and they found that inconvenient steps were being taken to bring them to justice. They therefore combined and became aggressive. It was impossible to control both Upper and Lower Sinkan from the one post of Sikaw, and immunity from interference emboldened the gangs so far that they murdered the Thugyi of Theinlin, a village within 10 miles of Bhamo. Upon this another officer was added to the district, and a company of the reserve Military Police Battalion was lent. The commencement of the operations, however, came too late in the season, and, although Captain Gastrell was successful in making some important captures, and although the progress of the operations led to the arrest of the greater number of the once notorious Bo Hlaw's gang, who were responsible for the abduction of the Bhamo Myoôk in 1889, still, owing to the rains and the consequent unhealthiness of the Sinkan valley, the operations had to be stopped before the country had been permanently cleared.

During the whole of the cold season from November 1890 to March 1891 Lieutenant L. E. Eliott, Assistant Commissioner, and Major Hobday, R.E., of the Survey Department, with an escort of seventy rifles were employed in exploring the hitherto unknown northern and north-eastern borders. They marched along the west bank of the Irrawaddy from Sinbo to a point, Tingsa Pumlumpum, belonging to the Lepai tribe, in latitude 26° 15′. Here obstacles were put in the way of their advance by a section of the Sana Lahtawngs, who had been punished at Panlang two years before by the Mogaung column. Large presents were demanded as the price of a guide and for permission to proceed. To avoid the risk of setting the country in a blaze, with the chance of being cut off from their base, they fell back along the Irrawaddy to Maing-

na first, above Myitkyina, and thence struck eastward to Kwitu, where they found the Chief Sagung Wa belonging to the Sadan tribe unfriendly, though not openly hostile. They then made incursions into the Kachin Hills to the eastward, between the 'Nmaikha, or eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, and the Taping river on the south. From Lekapyang they travelled chiefly through Maran villages, which were friendly, and eventually returned to Waingmaw on the Irrawaddy below the confluence. Sadôn had originally been the object of their eastern explorations, but owing to the hostility of that sub-tribe of the Sadans, indeed of the whole tribe, the project had to be abandoned.

To enable this vast tract of country to be administered a Subdivisional Officer was established for the first time at Myitkyina, the most northerly Shan-Burman village on the Irrawaddy, with a police post and guard, and the Military Police of Bhamo and Mogaung were strengthened from other battalions.

The condition of the Mogaung subdivision at the beginning of 1890 was far from satisfactory. To the north the Thama chieftain was sullen after his punishment of the year before and still gave refuge to Po Saw and other bad characters. He also permitted a stream of armed ruffians to pass through his territory from China to the jade-mines, bringing illicit opium and liquor. To the west of Thama was the seat of the disturbances between the India-rubber traders. Dacoities and attacks on friendly villages round Kamaing were frequent and there were constant disturbing rumours of intended descents from the jade mines on Mogaung. In the neighbourhood of Lake Indawgyi the Sana Kachins gave trouble. They raided the villages on the west side of the lake and they harboured the rebel Po Saw for months at a time. For a time the tribes on the Kaukkwe stream were tolerably quiet. Two brutal murders north of Sinbo were supposed to have been committed by some of the Kachins at the head-waters of the Kaukkwe, but otherwise there was no serious trouble. The Lèka chieftain still held back from coming in to the Deputy Commissioner, Bhamo, and submitting his dispute with the forest lessee to arbitration, but he was not actively hostile. The only place where a real and permanent improvement had followed the operations in the early part of 1889 was in the tract just west of the upper defile. The Kachins there were thoroughly subdued and quiet.

This was the state of affairs at the beginning of the rains of 1890. During the rains, as was natural, there was a period of tolerable quiet. Scarcely, however, were they over, when there were evidences of threatened disturbance up the Kaukkwe. The rival tribes of the Karas and Kakus beyond the confluence began collecting with a view

to a fight over some petty quarrel and the Nanka Chief had the daring to raid Sègyi, where he took seven captives, and refused to release them in spite of direct orders. Later the Gônga *Duwa* raided the newly founded village of Mauktan behind Mosit and destroyed it utterly. This was particularly annoying. Hitherto from fear of the Kachins the Shan-Burmans had never dared to penetrate inland and take up the many acres of fertile land lying waste and this was the first experiment of the kind that had been made.

At the end of the rains, therefore, a column was formed to visit and punish the Lana Kachins, thence to strike across to Lèka at the head of the Kaukkwè and arrange matters with the Chief, and proceeding southwards towards some central spot to establish a central depôt, whence the whole of the Kaukkwe valley could be traversed and explored.

This column started from Bhamo at the end of December with the intention of proceeding towards Sana. It was, however, delayed a considerable time at Mogaung for want of rations, and in the meantime Captain O'Donnell, the Commandant of the Mogaung Levy, received what he imagined to be trustworthy information of a gathering of some eight hundred Chinamen under Po Saw, collected at Thama, with the intention of attacking Mogaung after the column had left for Sana. Captain O'Donnell started for Thama on the 15th February 1891, but on his arrival at Thama he found that, though Po Saw and his men might have been there, the eight hundred Chinamen certainly were not. There is no doubt, however, that a certain number of desperadoes had come over from China ready for any enterprise that might offer. This otherwise fruitless expedition secured the submission of the Thama Chief, who was induced to come into Mogaung, but fled back to his hills the same night for some reason that was not discovered. Repeated messages, threatening and conciliatory, were sent to him, but he refused to do more than send in his step-son, who was taken down to Bhamo to give him some insight into our strength and resources.

While Captain O'Donnell was away in Thama the Wuntho rebellion broke out. He was then re-called and ordered to proceed to Taungthônlôn and act under General Wolseley's orders. This he did, but luckily on his way back found time to deal with Sana in the first week in April. He himself advanced from Taungthônlôn, while Lieutenant Wilding of the Inniskilling Fusileers with 115 men went out direct from the Indawgyi post. The latter party came across Po Saw's encampment near the village of Nunkoman and captured some of his effects. Apparently Po Saw's following

had now been reduced to twenty men. These all effected their escape. The columns burnt the villages of Lana, Namkan, Namsai, and Nampu and then returned. No resistance was offered by the Kachins themselves, but Po Saw's followers fired on the column.

The Wuntho rebellion had prevented action on the Kaukkwe, but the Shan-Burmese were so alarmed at the attitude of the Kachins that they meditated deserting their villages and coming down to the banks of the Irrawaddy for protection. Two columns were, therefore, sent out in the second week in April, one of which went up the Kaukkwe valley and on by Nanko, the other following the Mosit valley to Gônga. After successfully accomplishing the punishment of the Nanko Kachins by the arrest of the Chief and the raiders, and of Gônga by the burning of the *Duwa*'s house at Taungdu and of the neighbouring village of Legyagataung, whence most of those implicated in the dacoity came, the two columns met at Maingtaungwa. Here they received the submission of Sinwawa, the head of the Kwan sub-tribe and by far the most powerful Chief on the Lower Kaukkwe. Sinwawa's submission had a marked effect on the attitude of the other tribes and it was found possible to withdraw fifty men of the King's Royal Rifles, the remainder of the column, which consisted of one hundred Madras Infantry and ninety Devons, half of them mounted, proceeding directly up the Kaukkwe to deal with the Lèka *Duwa*. Owing to the lateness of the season and transport difficulties, the column was unable to proceed further north than Kalegan near Yèpu, which is two days' journey from Lèka. The *Duwa*, however, came into the camp and brought in the lesser Chiefs who were engaged in the attack on the elephants of Maung Bauk, the forest lessee. These were fined and the Lèka *Duwa* made them pay. It had been intended to take him in to see Bhamo, but the nearness of the rains made the return journey difficult and he was not brought on. The Kara and Kaku dispute was also settled without fighting. The rival parties were made to take oaths according to Kachin custom not to raid on one another. Thus as much as was possible was done before the troops were forced by the rains to return into quarters. But Kachin peculiarities and feuds upset much of the settlement before the rains were over. The peaceably disposed Lèka Chief was murdered by a rival named Kalingwa, who established himself as his successor, and as an almost necessary consequence assumed a hostile attitude towards British authority, which could not be supposed to approve of such a way of assuming charge. Lower down the Kaukkwe a similar example of Kachin masterfulness flouted our authority in another way. The Maingtaungwa *Duwa* had differences with some neighbouring Chief and, in defiance of orders not to take the law

into his own hands, proceeded to settle the matter by burning his opponent out.

It became evident that something more than punitive expeditions was wanted to put an end to Kachin pretensions and disorderliness. There were numerous tribes lying within our administrative boundaries who had not even been visited, to say nothing of reduction to order and subjection. When columns went out to punish raids and burn villages, that was all they did, for nothing had as yet been decided as to what British claims were and what the position of the Kachins was to be. A great part of the country south of Mogaung through which the Mu Valley Railway was to be constructed had not been visited at all, and the tribes of the Kaukkwe valley evidently still believed that they might carry on their feuds exactly as they did in the times of the Burmese Government. It was resolved, therefore, that all the tribes west of the Irrawaddy lying inside the circle of our settled villages must be taught that they were tributary and made amenable to orders. The Kachins were to pay a moderate house-tax, while we left to them their village customs and did not interfere in the payments, whether in money, kind, or labour usually made to their *Duwas*. Petty crime and civil disputes were to be settled by tribal custom, but all serious offences, such as murder, dacoity, and robbery, were to be reported to the nearest British officer. The headmen were themselves to arrest such offenders, or to aid in their arrest. All blood feuds and inter-tribal raids were to cease and differences with neighbouring clans were to be submitted to our officers. They were to open and maintain such hill-roads as might be pointed out to them. In return each Chief was to receive a certificate or sanad, recognizing him as Chief and setting out his obligations. As long as he exercised his authority well he was to be supported by Government. All villages lying within the district limits, where they were not exposed to trans-frontier raids, were to be deprived of guns, except where well-disposed Chiefs received them, again registered and numbered.

To carry out this policy, one military and four police columns were employed to the west of the Irrawaddy during the open season of 1891-92.

Of these the military column was the only one which met with no opposition throughout. It visited the Hukawng valley, which till 1892 lay entirely outside the area of our control. The column left Mogaung on the 21st December 1891 and marched *via* Laban to Mainghkwan, the chief Shan village in the Hukawng valley, which was reached on the 9th January. Here, as had been pre-arranged, a column from Assam under Mr. J. F. Needham was met. Exploration was conducted throughout the Hukawng Valley and

the amber mines region, the India-rubber tract towards 'Ntup 'Nsa was visited, and the various Chiefs were called in. The column was accompanied by Dr. Noetling of the Geological Survey, whose report on the amber mines is noted in another chapter, and by Mr. O'Bryen, Assistant Conservator of Forests, who was deputed to examine the India-rubber forests.

The valley was explored in all directions and the column then marched from Mainghkwan down the Chindwin and reached to the Jade Mines from the west, ending its tour at Mogaung on 7th March 1892, when it was amalgamated with the Irrawaddy column and employed in rationing Sadôn. The chief work done by the column was the exploration and preparation for future control of the Hukawng valley. This is quite flat throughout, clothed with dense forest, mostly impenetrable, intersected by numerous streams, and very thickly populated. The Kachins in these parts are reported to lose their turbulent character in descending from the hills and to become lazy and peaceable like the Shans, who formerly inhabited the valley, but were gradually ousted. The Hukawng valley still remains to be brought under direct administration. Its peaceful condition made it possible to postpone this till the more disorderly country could be reduced.

The Jade Mines country had never given any trouble and its settlement was satisfactorily carried out by Mr. Crowther until just before the rains of 1892, when an untoward incident occurred, owing to a mistake of verbal orders by a Myoôk. The *Duwa* of Lèma, north-west of Kansi, was arrested by a party of military police and, as he was being brought into Sanhka, the police were ambuscaded. One sepoy was shot dead and two were at first reported missing, but were afterwards found to have died. The *Duwa* escaped. In spite of this the other Chiefs remained quiet and, as the garrison of Fort O'Donnell at Sanhka had been withdrawn, the offending Kachins were left unpunished.

The Mogaung and Indawgyi police columns were originally detailed to visit the Kachin hills near the Indawgyi lake. The more urgent work of hunting down the ex-*Sawbwa* of Wuntho, however, rendered it impossible for them to carry out this programme. Beyond capturing the rebellions *Duwa* Sinwawa at Maingtaungwa in the Kaukkwe valley, these two columns did nothing in the shape of settlement of Kachin Tracts, and confined their attention entirely to hunting Maung Aung Myat, the younger *Sawbwa*, out of the neighbourhood of Taungthônlôn, where he had established himself with a considerable following. Captain Wilson, Assistant Commissioner, was put in control of all the forces and the Wuntho *Sawbwa* found his position untenable and tried to make his way to

Lèka to join Kalingwa. A portion of his following was intercepted by the Indawgyi column on the 30th March at the Namôn stream, south of Lake Indawgyi. Six were killed and some women of the gang were captured. The pursuit of the *Sawbwa* was carried on, and, though he was not captured, his following was entirely broken up and he himself was driven into China.

The third police column operated in the Kaukkwe valley. In November a party proceeded up the valley and established a post at Thayetta to keep the valley permanently in check and to serve as a base for the ensuing operations. A combined descent on Maingtaungwa was arranged by the Kaukkwe column from Thayetta and the Mogaung column from Sinbo. The latter arrived first by a night march and succeeded in surrounding Sinwawa's house and arresting him. He was deported and the lower valley afterwards gave little trouble.

The Kaukkwe column then proceeded to visit as much of the valley as possible. They crossed the basin of the Mosit, went across country to Bhamo, and then moved up along the hills to the west of the third defile to Sinbo. From Sinbo they returned to Thayetta, punishing Watu for raids on Mantan on their way. From Thayetta the column set out for the Lèka country, where the upstart Kalingwa had to be dealt with. No resistance was offered at first to the advance of the column, but Kalingwa was successful in getting the tribes to rise. The column attacked and burnt Lepaigatang, but met with serious resistance and had ultimately to retire to Thayetta, partly because of sickness, partly because rations were running short. The Kachins harassed the retreat and there was a danger of an extended rising. A hastily improvised column was therefore sent out from Bhamo, with Mr. Ross as Civil Officer, by the Kaukkwe route to co-operate with a military police column from Katha acting through Mohnyin. The columns converged on Lepaigatang on the 16th April and met with some opposition at first. By a piece of good luck Kalingwa himself was killed and upon this the villagers took to the jungle. The column stayed for some days destroying the grain of the rebellious villages and fining and disarming all that could be reached. At the end of April this was finished and the Kaukkwe column returned to Thayetta.

The Northern Katha column, consisting of 25 men under Mr. Skinner, Assistant Superintendent of Police, marched from Katha in January to the Kachin hills round Mohnyin, and from there advanced towards Natmauk. On the 1st February at about four miles from Natmauk the party was ambuscaded and Mr. Skinner withdrew for reinforcements. The column was brought up to a strength of 80

and on its return to Natmauk was met by the *Duwa* with offers of submission. He paid the fine that was imposed upon him, and for the next three months Mr. Skinner carried on the visitation of villages, collecting tribute, and confiscating guns without further molestation. He collected 127 guns altogether.

The last of the columns employed on operations in the interior of the Bhamo district was the South-eastern column, which was employed on the east of the Irrawaddy in the country bordering on the Sinkan valley. The column left Shwegu in December and spent the following three months in disarming Kachin villages. No opposition was met with; 98 villagers were visited; Rs. 903 in tribute at the rate of one rupee a house brought in; and 302 guns confiscated. The two columns last mentioned were therefore able to carry out the policy towards the Kachins begun in this season.

East of the Irrawaddy little had up to this been done to bring the tribes under control. Several expeditions had gone out from year to year to punish outrages committed by the tribes to the south of the Taping river, and these tribes had learnt to a certain extent to recognize and respect British authority. The country to the north of the Taping was entirely unvisited except for the reconnaisance made by Captain Eliott and Major Hobday in 1890-91. The necessity for bringing this part of the country under control was forced on us by repeated outrages committed by the tribes there. Thus in March 1889 the Pônpat (Lepai) Kachins attacked Ywadaw near Waingmaw, killed three villagers, and carried off two captives. In December 1889 the men from Sadôn attacked Waingmaw with a force of 300 men. They were beaten off, but they carried away some captives, among them the headman of Ywadaw. In January 1890 the Kachins of Kasu and Tabôn carried off and enslaved a family living on the Nantabet stream. In June 1890 the Lahsi Kachins of Makaung carried off a Burman from the same neighbourhood. The Kachins of Kwitu and Lakapyang stopped the work of Major Hobday by their hostile attitude. Along the Molè river there were constant dacoities by the Kachins. Moreover the elder *Sawbwa* of Wuntho was reported to be at Sadôn stirring up the tribes to raid and issuing proclamations for this purpose.

In approaching these tribes we had to deal, not with nationalities, but with groups of small independent savage communities, with no inter-tribal coherence. It was necessary to dominate and reduce them to the position of subjects and tributaries, if permanent peace was to be secured. Besides this, the Kachin hills along the Chinese frontier served as a screen for the bad characters, who were in the

habit of assembling on the Yünnan side of the frontier and making periodical raids into British territory. It was such a gathering of well-armed Kachins and Chinese that attacked Bhamo itself in 1886. Mogaung had been repeatedly threatened and the India-rubber trade had been completely disorganized. Rumours of the presence of armed bands did even more mischief and rendered a revival of trade between Burma and Yünnan on any considerable scale impossible. All the principal routes of that trade pass through the Kachin hills south of the 'Nmaikha and had been up to this time subject to continual interruption and harrying by unruly Kachins. While legitimate trade was thus hampered, great quantities of illicit opium, spirits, and arms found their way in from China without any trouble whatever.

It was therefore decided to deal with the Kachins east of the Irrawaddy in the same way as with the tribes to the west; to reduce them to tributaries; and to grant the Chiefs sanads on the terms indicated above. The only change to be made was in the case of *Duwas* on caravan routes. These Chiefs had been from time immemorial in the habit of levying toll on caravans and, in return for such payments, of keeping up trade roads, repairing bridges and guaranteeing safe passage. This was the main source of their revenue and it was undesirable to deprive them of it suddenly. It was therefore decided to issue at any rate the first sanads with a clause authorizing the Chiefs to levy tolls, the amount of which was to be fixed in each case. To carry out this policy the whole of the north-eastern Bhamo frontier from Nam Kham in the Shan States to Sadôn was visited during the open season of 1891-92 by four colnmns.

The operations of the Sinkan column were partly frontier work, partly of a similar character to that of the columns employed to the west of the Irrawaddy. The column went first to Namhkam in the Northern Shan States and there Captain Gastrell, the Political Officer, entered into communications with the Mêng Mao *Sawbwa*, whose capital is in the same valley as Namhkam and about twenty miles off. The *T'u-ssu* was furnished with a list of the outlaws and dacoits who were known to be harboured in the Mêng Mao State, and invited to meet the British Officers and discuss plans of joint action for driving them out. The *T'u-ssu's* replies were not satisfactory. He first denied that there were any dacoits in his jurisdiction, then said he would expel them, and finally sent a verbal message asking that no more letters might be sent to him, since correspondence with British Officers was likely to get him into trouble with his superiors in Yünnan. The valley of the Nam Mao, as the Shans call the Shweli, is perfectly flat and open in this

neighbourhood. There are very many villages and abundance of boats. It was obvious therefore that the only method of keeping peace on the frontier here was to establish a post at Namhkam, which was accordingly arranged for but not effected before the following year.

After completing these investigations at Namhkam the column entered on the second portion of its work, which consisted in visiting the Kachin Hills in the Sinkan valley, issuing sanads, collecting tribute, and licensing and confiscating guns. Appointment orders were given to nineteen *Duwas*, sixty-four guns were licensed and forty-four confiscated, and Rs. 203-8-0 were collected at the rate of eight annas a house. At the same time information was collected as to the dacoit gangs which remained in the valley and in the middle of April, in conjunction with a party from Möng Mit, an attack was made on their camp at the head-waters. In this affair three dacoits were killed and six captured, but Nga Po and Nga Byu, the leaders of the gang, escaped. The late Captain (then Lieutenant) Nelson and several sepoys were wounded on our side. All endeavours to hunt the dacoits down failed, and as enquiries proved that they were harboured by several villages the inhabitants of these were moved to another part of the district under the Village Regulation.

The Eastern column went through the area east of the third defile, which had not till then been brought under control and then proceeded along the part of the frointer between Taku and Matin. In the first portion fifty-five guns were confiscated, Rs. 154-8-0 were collected as tribute, and headmen were appointed without incident. In the second portion ninety villages were visited, 258 guns destroyed, and 104 licensed, and Rs. 1,638 were collected as tribute. The Matin tract was not entered, in pursuance of an agreement made with the Chinese official of Têng-yüeh (Momien) that pending the delimitation of the frontier neither Chinese nor British Officers should visit it. No opposition was met with anywhere.

The Irrawaddy column explored the section of the frontier between the Nantabet and the 'Nmaikha. This part of the country had been visited for the first time in the 1890-91 season by Captain Eliott and Major Hobday and it was decided as a result of their investigations to establish a post at Sadôn. This place lies at the junction of the two main routes from China, those from Kayôn and Sansi, and is therefore important as controlling illicit trade.

The column left Myitkyina on the 23rd December and marched without opposition as far as the Tingri stream. A mile beyond this was a strong stockade which was carried after half an hour's fighting, in which six Kachins were killed and one Gurkha was wounded.

The column pushed on to the hill above Sadôn, where the village of Sana was taken. Next day, the 30th December, Sadôn was attacked on two sides and was taken after some opposition. The building of a post was immediately commenced and after ten days the main column left Sadôn to explore the country to the north and north-east of the post. It first advanced to the neighbourhood of the Chinese frontier at Kambaiti camping-ground and then marched north to Kumpipum, a short distance south of the 'Nmaikha, and then returned to Sadôn, which it reached on the 23rd January. The chief object of the tour was to secure the submission of the Nawchôn and other Chiefs in the country north of Sadôn. The tribes were told that they were subject to our rule; our intentions were explained to them, and they were informed that tribute would have to be paid, but none was collected, nor was the tract disarmed. The chief tribes are Marus, Li-hsaws, and La-hsis, and it was thought sufficient to inform them that they were British subjects.

The column halted at Sadôn till the 4th February, and during this time the construction of the post was pushed on as fast as possible. On the 1st February information was received that the Chief of Sadankong, a village on the north of the 'Nmaikha, two marches from 'Nsentaru, was collecting a hostile gathering and intended to dispute the passage of the 'Nmaikha at the 'Nsentaru ferry, if we should attempt to cross the river. The column accordingly left Sadôn on the 5th and reached 'Nsentaru ferry on the 7th February. The passage was not disputed, but the nature of the ground made the crossing difficult. The country beyond was found quite friendly as far as the village of Sampawng, and on the 10th Feburary an advance was made on Sadankong. Seven stockades blocked the way and were taken without loss, but on the 11th, when Sadankong was carried, a Gurkha was wounded. During the two days' halt made, the Kachins made several attacks and two neighbouring villages were consequently burned. On the 14th February the column set out on its return journey to Sadôn and found on its arrival on the 22nd that the fort had been besieged during its absence. The Kachins to the north, west, and south of Sadôn rose on the 7th February, surrounded the post, and harassed it by repeated attacks. The garrison was relieved on the 20th February by the North-eastern column under Captain Davies of the Devonshire Regiment. Notwithstanding the siege, a ration convoy party of fifteen Gurkhas under Lieutenant MacMunn fought its way into the fort (since named Fort Harrison, after the Commandant) on the 9th February. The earthworks and sapping operations undertaken by the Kachins during the fortnight's siege created some surprise.

During the remainder of February and the beginning of March the Irrawaddy column was engaged in reducing to order the country round Sadôn, which had furnished men for the attack on the fort. The Kwitu Chief, who was the most formidable malcontent of these posts, was deported for continuously harbouring Po Saw after the relief of Sadôn. On the 11th March the column started on the last part of its tour in the country to the north-west of Sadôn and on its march captured a slave of Po Saw, the *ex*-Myoôk of Mogaung, who stated that a smuggling league had existed between a chain of Chiefs on the line from Sansi in Yünnan to the jade and amber mines. The principal links were Sadôn, Sadankong, Tungor, and Thama and these had now all been dealt with. A post was built at Namli as an intervening link to Sadôn.

The fourth column was the North-eastern, which visited the frontier, and the country within the frontier, from Myothit on the Taping to the Nantabet stream and traversed without opposition large tracts of country which had never before been visited. The Nampaung stream lay within this section. In 1891 there were persistent reports that the Chinese intended to establish military posts on the Taping trade route at the Nampaung and at Mannaung, where a British police post was contemplated. During preceding years Chinese caravans had been escorted through the Kachin Hills in both Chinese and British territory by an adventurer named Ma Wuh-hsiang, who had collected a body-guard and protected caravans as a sort of private speculation. These men were his own followers and, before 1890, no Chinese troops had advanced beyond the Nampaung. In October 1891, however, a party of Chinese troops, said to be eighty strong, crossed this frontier stream and established themselves at Lawkugyi and near Myothit, two places considerably to the west of the Nampaung and unquestionably in British territory. A small body of troops and military police was sent out to Mannaung and Myothit at the beginning of November and letters were sent to the Chinese authorities requesting the withdrawal of their troops. About five miles from Myothit, at a place called Tingsu, a commencement of stockading had been begun by the Chinese, and at Sumpaya, close to the Nampaung, a small stockade had been erected, but destroyed. On the eastern side of the Nampaung, two miles farther on, there was a small post. Here the Bhamo Deputy Commissioner had an interview with Chang and Huang, the Commandants of the Manyün (Manwaing) levy, a body of troops employed in the jurisdiction of the Têng-yüeh Brigadier. After hearing our intentions, the two Chinese Officers left for Man-yün and a British post was built on the west bank of the Nampaung and garrisoned by one hundred men of the 4th Burma Battalion.

Arrangements were made for regulating the traffic. The rates of caravan tolls were fixed and it was arranged that the sums collected should be divided among the Kachin Chiefs who had formerly been in the habit of levying dues. The establishment of the post resulted in complete safety for caravans on the British side.

It was in the country on the north of this that the North-eastern column made its tour. It started from Myothit on the Taping and marched northwards to the Molè at a short distance from the frontier, visiting the villages on and near the route. The right bank of the Molè was followed to Kwi-hkaw on the frontier and then the column turned north-west and visited the country near the Irrawaddy. While it was at Kazu on the 16th February news was received of the siege of Sadôn and a hurried march was made to the north. Sadôn was relieved on the 20th and during the following days seven men were wounded and a follower was killed in the punitive operations.

The column marched back for Kazu on the Nantabet on the 9th March and then proceeded east to the frontier, where resistance had been threatened but was not met with. On the 24th March it again turned north-west and worked through what remained of the section. Except in the Sadôn affair no resistance was met with and the operations were a mere march through the country. Tribute to the amount of Rs. 3,414-8-0 was collected, 680 guns were confiscated and 336 guns were licensed. This was the more satisfactory because the tribes had been reported to be ill-disposed and bent on hindering the march.

The chief occurrence of note during the rains of 1892 was the incursion of the pretender known as the Setkyawadi Min. Who he was really was never found out, but he first came into prominence in January 1889, when he led a band of mercenary Chinamen into the country of the Upper Molè, where the band was met and scattered with severe loss, by some military police. No more was heard of him till the 8th July 1892, when he re-appeared at Theinlôn on the Molè with a gang of over 100 men, 12 of whom were Chinamen and the rest Shan-Burmans and Kachins. He was pursued, but escaped across the Irrawaddy at Kaungchi in the second defile. Close to this he was come up with and in the engagement he and six of his men were killed. It was not discovered where he came from, but he was first reported by the Kachins at Kadu, on the stream of the same name which flows from Alawpum to Manwaing and is in the jurisdiction of Santa. Letters found on him showed that he was in correspondence with the Wuntho *Sawbwa*. The remnants of his gang scattered into the Lèka country, where they could not be followed at that time of year. They probably made their way

back to China, for nothing was afterwards heard of them. Otherwise, except for one or two petty dacoities, two or three crimes of violence on the trade routes, and a few inter-tribal disputes, the Kachins remained quite peaceful.

Towards the end of the rains, however, there were signs of renewed activity on the part of the Wuntho *Sawbwa* and the malcontents with him. Emissaries from across the border were said to be moving about and, with the help of the Sana Kachins, north-west of Myitkyina, they managed to smuggle through to China the elephants which Aung Myat, the younger Wuntho *Sawbwa*, had been obliged to leave behind in his retreat the year before.

The programme for the cold weather of 1892-93 included the establishment of frontier police posts at Sima and Namhkam. Otherwise operations were to be confined to the settlement of the tribes within the limits of the Bhamo and Katha districts and the completion of the work of previous seasons. A limit was determined on beyond which direct administration was not contemplated and detailed instructions were issued to the civil officers employed in the Kachin Tracts. The following extracts indicate the policy adopted :—

"The Government of India consider it of the utmost importance not only to keep the operations within the narrowest practicable limits, but also to restrict as closely as possible the area within which future administrative interference will be necessary. The annexation of the territories formerly subject to the Court of Ava has imposed on us the duty of establishing peace and security within the settled districts; but except for this purpose there is no need to interfere with the savage tribes along our borders; and it has always been recognized that it is unnecessary, in cases of this kind, to push forward the administrative frontier as far as the extreme limits within which we claim supremacy.

"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the first principles of our policy should therefore be to entirely exclude foreign influence and to deal with all Kachin tribes of any strength or importance in two main divisions, namely—

(i) the tribes and clans within our line of outposts and settled villages and

(ii) the tribes and clans outside of that line.

"The Kachins inside the line should be treated in exactly the same manner as our other subjects, and should be disarmed and taxed accordingly.

"As regards the Kachins outside the line, the view of the Governor-General in Council is that they should be dealt with on the principle of political as distinguished from administrative control. As long as they keep the peace all unnecessary interference should be avoided. Only a nominal tribute should be taken from them and disarmament should not be enforced, except as a special punishment. Along the eastern frontier from Sadôn southwards it is now necessary to take a firm position; but in dealing with the

Kachins on this border it is considered inadvisable to push through a violent measure of disarmament, or to impose taxes which will be felt as severe; and in the tract on the east of the Irrawaddy between the administrative frontier and the 'Nmaikha from 'Nsentaru westwards it will probably be best to assess each hill or tribe in a lump-sum to be paid by the Chief as revenue, and to make the Kachins register their arms, allowing them to be retained during good behaviour. Civil officers generally, and those employed in this region in particular, should give to their visits as peaceful and conciliatory an aspect as possible.

"During this cold weather civil officers will not ordinarily issue appointment orders to Kachin Chiefs. They will, however, have to settle and communicate to each Chief—

(*a*) the territorial limits of the Chief's jurisdiction;
(*b*) the number of arms his villages may possess;
(*c*) The rate of tribute per household (*note*, not house) which the Chief must pay in yearly by the 1st November;
(*d*) The place at which payment of the tribute is to be made, *i.e.*, the nearest Subdivisional Officer's court-house.

"The fixing of the above points will be left to the civil officers, subject to the general control of the Deputy Commissioner. Appointment orders will only be issued in exceptional cases to important Chiefs, and will in no case be granted without the previous sanction of the Chief Commissioner.

"As for point (*a*) there will generally be little difficulty, but where there is a regular dispute between two or more tribes, a formal enquiry must be held, evidence taken, and a formal adjudication passed and notified to the parties, which will, subject to revision by the Deputy Commissioner, be final.

"As for point (*b*) the guiding principles are—

(1) Every hill guilty of disloyalty to us, or guilty of attacks on caravans, &c., to be disarmed.
(2) Disarmament of all villages and hill tracts in the interior of the district to take place, selected Chiefs loyal to us being allowed to retain a few guns.
(3) Disarmament of frontier and exposed tracts not to be carried out for the present except in case of hostility, disloyalty, or turbulence.

"*Point* (*c*).—The rate has been fixed by the Chief Commissioner for the present at Rs. 2-8-0 per household. But the object of the tribute is not to raise revenue so much as to have a palpable token of submission. Hence it will always be advisable to let off the villages easily, but where a village or group of villages pays at a lesser rate, it is only in consideration of certain special circumstances, and next year they are liable for the full rate.

"The opium rules permit Kachins to manufacture and possess opium grown locally, and with this there will be no interference; further the Kachins have been exempted from the provisions of the excise law with respect to country liquor and they should be permitted to manufacture, possess, and buy and sell it amongst themselves without let or hindrance, but the excise and opium law must be enforced against caravans.

"With reference to slaves the civil officers should insist, wherever possible and politic, on the surrender of slaves taken in raids, but should attempt no

active interference at present on behalf of slaves who have voluntarily surrendered their liberty to satisfy a debt, or, if hereditary slaves, who are well treated by their masters.

"They should, on the other hand, lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Kachins that the whole system of slavery is disapproved of by the British Government; that it is contrary to British law and custom and will therefore receive no support or encouragement from the British authorities; that no ill-treatment of slaves will be allowed; and that, if a slave runs away, the Government will not assist his master to recover him.

"The great difficulty we have to deal with in keeping down disorder among the Kachins is, the existence of inter-tribal feuds due to "debts" dating in many instances years back. It is particularly desirable that all old scores should now be settled once for all, else we shall have constant raids in future. The civil officers will therefore make particular enquiry at every village, whether there is a debt due either to the whole community or to a single individual. Should there be one, he will take steps in accordance with local customs to arrange matters. All Kachin 'debts' can be settled by payment of compensation to one side or the other. Failure to pay will be treated as a deliberate refusal to pay a fine ordered by Government and will be punished accordingly.

"It cannot be too often explained to the Kachins that in future we intend to settle their inter-tribal disputes, which must always be referred to the nearest civil officer. Taking the law into their own hands and raiding as hitherto will disqualify the offender from redress and will render him liable to punishment as well."

The Sima, or North-eastern column under the command of Captain Boyce Morton of the Magwe Military Police Battalion, concentrated at Talawgyi on the Irrawaddy between Sinbo and Myitkyina and marched on the 3rd December 1892. Opposition was met with at 'Nkrang, which was reached on the 12th. Two sepoys and a mule-driver were killed and Lieutenant Dent, the Intelligence Officer, was wounded in the face and neck. Two days later Sima was reached after thirty stockades had been taken on the way, but intermittent fighting went on from the time of arrival until the 5th January 1893, during which time the post was being built.

On the very day on which Sima was reached Myitkyina was raided suddenly and without a word of warning. The court-house and Subdivisional Officer's house were burnt down and the Subadar-Major of the Mogaung levy was shot dead. The raiders, who were driven off with a loss of three killed, were the Sana Kachin from the north-west of Myitkyina, headed by Sin-raing-wa, a Chief who used formerly to live in Myitkyina itself, and was subsequently found to be now acting in concert with the people round Sima. While measures were being taken to collect a sufficient force of men to punish Sana, the hostilities at Sima assumed very formidable proportions.

Rumours that a general attack on the fort was intended were so general that the pickets thrown out on the night of the 5th January were withdrawn in the early morning of the 6th, with the exception of one which, though situated in a very exposed position, was overlooked. At six in the morning the Kachins attacked from all sides. Captain Morton then started for this exposed picket, about eighty yards distant, but immediately fell mortally wounded and was with difficulty brought inside the fort by Surgeon-Major Lloyd, who afterwards received the Victoria Cross for his gallantry. Five sepoys were killed at the same spot.

The only European officers in the fort had been Captain Morton, Surgeon-Major Lloyd, and Lieutenant Dent, a party under Mr. Hertz and Lieutenant Newbolt having gone out to the north-west. On the death of Captain Morton the command devolved on Lieutenant Master, who came in from 'Nkrang about four miles distant. Unfortunately he permitted the enemy to hem him in, with the result that, except for helio communication, Sima was practically cut off. Parties marched backwards and forwards to 'Nkrang, but were harassed all the way and the destruction of stockades in one place was followed by the erection of fresh works elsewhere and the rising gained strength daily. On the 16th January a party under Lieutenant Newbold attacked Mali to the south of Sima and destroyed it, but on their return march heavy opposition was encountered and Mr. Brooke-Meares of the civil police was mortally wounded and seven sepoys killed. After this the force acted on the defensive.

Lieutenant Drever, therefore, who had assembled 100 military police at Myitkyina to punish the Sana Kachins, was ordered to join Lieutenant Newbold at 'Nkrang and open up communications, while the Eastern column, which was working south of the Taping, was ordered to effect a diversion by the Molè valley and was strengthened by 100 men under Captain Atkinson, who had been summoned from Namhkam to take command. The Kaukkwè column under the command of Captain Alban was sent across *viâ* Talawgyi. These measures had the result of opening up Sima. Simultaneous attacks were made on the 30th January on a formidable stockade at Kamja (or Sumjar), and the Kachins were scattered and the village burnt. Our loss was five killed and six wounded, including Lieutenant Master, who was shot through the right lung and died five days later. The next day Palap and Mali were burned with a loss on our side of four killed and 22 wounded, including Lieutenant Cooke Hurle, of the Somersets, and on the 2nd February another fight occurred close to Palap, when a bullet-proof stockade was taken after a strong resistance. Nineteen Kachins were killed here with eight Chinamen, one of whom had been an officer

in the Chinese army and had been dismissed for misconduct. After this the fighting was of a more desultory character. Our opponents here were the Kumlao Kachins, whose principal characteristic is that they do not own the authority of any Chief, even in single villages. Many of the enemy came from the Hkaona valley, the ownership of which at that time was uncertain, and these could not be touched, but all the villages within our undoubted line were brought to submission, while a few from the other side, Kum-lao, Long-prong-yang, Waraw-kaung, Uprakhum-mu, Pumpri, and Lahsi Chinkong, came in with presents of their own accord. The work of the column was brought to a close in the last week in March. It experienced the heaviest fighting that was encountered in the Kachin hills. The enemy received their final blow at Palap, but not before twelve hundred rifles had been sent to put down the rising. The casualties for the seven weeks' fighting were heavy: three officers killed, three wounded, and one hundred and two sepoys and followers killed and wounded. Many mules were also killed and stolen.

Shortly after the withdrawal of the column another rising, which seemed at first to be serious, was reported at Palap. At Kazu the rebels attacked and burnt the house of Pawmathè, locally known as the *Chaungôk*, a most influential man and one of our strongest supporters. An attack was also made on Sima, but was repulsed. An ambush at Palap, however, resulted in the death of a sepoy. A military column consequently started out at once, but found on their arrival at Palap that nothing was left but a picket, of whom they killed four. It afterwards appeared that the raiders were about one hundred strong and were raised by Shao-kong of Lower Palap. Thirty of them were Shans, mostly of the Wuntho *Sawbwa's* following, thirty Chinese, and the remainder Kachins, chiefly from Lwè-ying, Nam-bang, and Ning-hpun on the Chinese side of the border.

On its return from Sima the military column marched through the hills to the south of Molè by way of Pumpein, where attacks on caravans on the Nam-paung trade route were becoming common. The Pumpein headman now submitted and the Talang *Duwa* was arrested, while the Nam-paung trade route Kachins were fined for not guarding the route better and a patrol was sent out regularly from Myothit.

The Eastern column had meanwhile, between the 1st December 1892 and the 14th January 1893, the date on which it received orders to proceed to the assistance of Sima, visited the whole tract of the hills east of Bhamo, except Matin. Cases of "debt" were settled. Tribes which had been slow in bringing in tribute were

made to pay and, except for some show of hostility at Pansè, where a sepoy was wounded, there was no trouble. The operations at Sima, however, prevented the southern area from being visited.

The Namhkam post was established in the beginning of December, with Captain Marrett as Civil Officer, to put a stop to the constant and hitherto uninterrupted inroads of bands of freebooters from across the border, who had persistently troubled the Sinkan valley and had killed the Mankin and Gwegyi thugyis not far from Bhamo.

Early in January Captain Marrett went with fifty men to Hsenwi town, which had been attacked and burnt by local Kachins. It had been already relieved from Lashio and on his return there were rumours of gathering of malcontents on the Chinese frontier to the north-east. Fifty men were sent out to occupy Sè-lan, thirteen miles from Namhkam. Notwithstanding this a considerable number of marauders crossed through Wan-tēng and settled at Man Hang, a Kachin village in the hills above Musè, some miles beyond Sèlan, where a former *Duwa* had re-established himself. A patrol of thirty-five men, under a native officer, was attacked at Musè by the Man Hang people and beat them off with a loss of thirteen killed. Upon this Man Hang was attacked on the 7th February 1893 by Lieutenant Williams with seventy-five military police. He had taken the village, when he was killed by a chance shot, and the party then returned to Namhkam without burning Manhang or destroying the stockades.

Upon this a military column was hurried up from Bhamo. When it advanced to Manhang the place was found to be evacuated and was burnt. Somewhat later a raid was made by frontier Kachins on the Shan village of Manhai in the Möngko circle. Manhai was burnt and many of the villagers were carried off as slaves. The Kachin headman of Möngko attacked the raiders on their retreat and released most of the captives, so that the late arrival of Major Mathieson's party from Namhkam was of the less importance. Many of the Manhang raiders, however, and those who had burnt Manhai, settled in the village of Pangtap on the frontier ridge. A party of military police from Lashio went there to disperse them after the military column had returned to Namhkam. Mr. J. G. Scott, the Superintendent of the Northern Shan States, was with the British party, which was fired on. The village, which was strongly stockaded, was attacked and burnt on the 3rd April 1893. Several ponies were killed and one sepoy was wounded, as well as Mr. Bradley, the Lashio Civil Surgeon, while the Kachins lost nine killed. This punishment and the establishment of the Namhkam post prevented further incursions on this part of the frontier.

The Sinkan column started from Shwegu early in December and made a final settlement of the Kara-lahtawng feud, which had been running on for 25 years and had drawn in most of the villages in these hills. On arriving at Sitkaw it co-operated with the Möng Mit column in scouring the jungle in the south and south-west. While it was there two Burman constables succeeded in getting the Kachins of Nan-kauktaik to attack the gang of *Bo* Byu. The *Bo* was killed and most of his followers with him. From letters captured, it appeared that Hkam Leng had been for three yeas sending orders to the local officials, and that, in spite of warninrgs, fines, and special operations, most of the villages of Upper Sinkan had been remitting funds to him. This success was followed up by another early in February, when the Manga Kachins killed Po Ywet, Hkam Leng's father-in-law, with two of his men. This man had been Hkam Leng's chief recruiting agent and an implacable enemy of our authority. Further operations were put an end to by the diversion of the column to Namhkam, where it remained for some weeks and only returned to the Sinkan valley at the end of the season, when nothing further was heard of the dacoits. Lieutenant Milne, the Officer Commanding the Party, died of fever shortly after returning to headquarters.

The Kaukkwe column also had its operations curtailed by the Sima outbreak, but in December it disarmed all the Lèka villages without trouble, Kalingwa's son and the Tingram Chief, the remaining leaders of the hostile Kachins, having fled to China. Their villages submitted and paid tribute and were placed under the control of the friendly Pumkin *Duwa*. On its return from Sima the column divided into two at Sinbo and passed through the hills west of the defile and through Thayetta along the Kara range, completing the disarming and tribute collecting on their way.

The Mogaung column equally had its programme curtailed, but during the time it was at work it received tribute from all the Thama villages without the necessity of visiting them and had only to punish the Pôntu *Duwa*, who was deprived of all his guns. The Lema Chief, who had killed two military police in an ambush, was fined Rs. 2,000, and under the orders of Kansi, the principal Jade Mines Chief, paid in two instalments almost immediately. A number of villages in the hills round Indawgyi were visited and those between the Mogaung and Indawgyi rivers, and tribute was collected and cases settled without difficulty.

On the Nampaung route the village of Kadaw was fined three buffaloes for persistent robberies and thefts from caravans and the Kyetyin Chief, who was also implicated, paid Rs. 20 and a pony, and this with regular police patrols from Myothit made the caravan

route quite safe for traders. With this season's work it may be said that the whole of the Kachin hills to the west of the Irrawaddy, south of the jade mines, were finally quieted. On the east of the Irrawaddy organized resistance was practically dead and the uncertainty of the frontier was the only obstacle to the establishment of permanent peace.

The visit of the Viceroy to Bhamo in November 1893 enabled many points in reference to the Kachin hills to be finally decided. It was determined that the policy which had been found to work well in the Arakan Hill Tracts should be applied. Administrative responsibility is accepted on the left bank of the Irrawaddy for the country south of the 'Nmai kha and on the right bank for the country south of a line drawn from the confluence of the Mali kha and the 'Nmai kha, through the northern limit of the Laban tract and including the jade mines. North of these lines it was announced that so long as the tribes abstained from raiding they would not be interfered with. Representative Kachin Chiefs from all parts of the hills were presented to the Viceroy.

The maintenance of the Namhkam post not only prevented marauders from crossing the border, but emboldened the Sinkan Kachins to deal with those within their hills. Thus in July 1893 the Hopôn Kachins fell upon and killed a gang, of whom the chief men were Tet Pya and Nga Nyun, long noted as ruthless dacoits. For a time this kept things quiet, but early in November Nyo Sein, for whose capture a reward of Rs. 2,000 had been offered, came down to raid. Nyo Sein had been a prominent leader in all the Sinkan valley disturbances from the time the military police were repulsed at Malin in 1888. Now, however, he was so hunted that he had to return to China without effecting any mischief. He returned at the end of November and was then surprised by Matinla, the *Duwa* of Tônhôn, who killed both Nyo Sein and his lieutenant Gandama, fighting to evade arrest. This was all the more gratifying because Matinla had himself fled before us into China in 1892 and now made his submission.

With one exception, the 1893-94 season was uneventful. A number of parties went out in the Mogaung, Bhamo, and Shwegu subdivisions to collect tribute which had not been paid in at headquarters, to settle disputes between tribes and villages, to withdraw or register firearms, and generally to show the Kachins that our control was to be permanently maintained. The officers were everywhere received in a friendly way, except in the hills east of Bhamo. There the village of Pansè on the frontier was visited, to punish it for firing on the Eastern column of the year before and afterwards neglecting to pay the fine imposed. The Pansè people made no

open resistance, but most of them went across the frontier into Lung-ch'wan territory with their cattle and property. Part of their village was therefore burnt as a punishment and two other obstinate villages shared the same fate. The result was an attack on the column while on the march between Maipat and Hkinmun and again on the following day, the 16th January 1894; a number of stockades had been built at difficult parts of the road, and in the fighting three sepoys and a compounder were killed and 11 men were wounded, while a number of the baggage mules were stamped in thick jungle. Among those killed on the side of the Kachins chanced to be Lemaing Tu, the Lahtawng leader of the rising, and the gathering immediately dispersed. The punishing of the villages which had taken part in the rising was effected without further trouble. Seventy-nine guns were taken and all the looted mules, except a few which had been carried over the Chinese frontier, were recovered, while the offending villages on the British side of the border were fined.

Since then disturbances have been purely local and insignificant. They have chiefly arisen from the Kachin's peculiar and stubborn ideas on the subject of "debts" and from the many land disputes. In many parts the country is too thickly inhabited, and the people have difficulty in supporting themselves with their present rude agricultural methods and their scanty crops. The question of boundaries is therefore fought out with great bitterness and for some time there were not enough officers to ensure a regular system of visitation and enquiry.

In 1895 Bhamo was therefore divided into two districts, the new district having its headquarters at Myitkyina. The line of division is approximately the latitude of the head of the first defile of the Irrawaddy. At the same time the Kachin Hills Regulation was enacted and brought into operation. It legalized the procedure of officers employed in the hills, but otherwise made no important changes in the procedure previously in force. The gradual abolition of all tolls is in contemplation and will be rendered easier by the delimitation of the frontier with China.

The continued misconduct of the Sana Kachins from beyond the adminstrative border rendered punitive measures necessary. They had remained unpunished since the attack on Myitkyina in December 1892. Two columns were sent up, one of 250 rifles from Myitkyina, the other of 200 rifles from Mogaung, marching in December 1895. The resistance met with was entirely insignificant, though one sepoy was mortally wounded near Sabaw. Unfortunately Major Atkinson, Commanding the Column, died of fever at Sabaw, but otherwise the operations were entirely successful. Twenty-four

groups of villages were punished. The aggregate of fines amounted to Rs. 3,000; four villages, including that of Sabaw, of which Sin-raing-wa, who led the attack on Myitkyina, was Chief, were destroyed with much paddy, and some guns were taken. Considering the poverty of the tract the punishment was heavy.

The rest of the hills are now so peaceful that officers are able to go about with only a small personal escort. The only place where dacoities of any note have occurred is in the neighbourhood of Nanyaseik, where a ruby tract has been found on the Padi-hka within the last few years. The large sums of money carried about by miners and traders attracted a number of bad characters. The posting of a Civil Officer at Nanyaseik with a detachment of police put an end to this. Early in 1898, the Kara *Duwa* in the Katha district caused the only trouble with the Kachins which had occurred for some years. On the 2nd March, when at Petit village, Mr. Brown, Subdivisional Officer, Katha, sent his interpreter, Maung Taung Baw, with four military police and some friendly Kachins, to call into his camp Saw Tun, the Kara *Sawbwa*, who lived at Mawatauk, half-a-day's journey away. The real season why Mr. Brown summoned the Kachin Chief was because the roads in his country were reported to be bad, though it is said that Taung Baw, who had previously been successful in getting many guns, intended also to get some from the Karas. Mr. Brown was on tour with an escort of 15 men collecting guns from the Katha Kachins. At Mawatauk there was a Kachin outlaw and murderer whom the *Sawbwa* had harboured for two years. Saw Tun under the influence of this man, who had heard that he would be arrested, determined to rebel rather than give up his guns. The Karas had a bad reputation and had previously never been visited by a Government official. Accordingly, with the help of some other Karas from the Shwegu subdivision, who happened to be in Mawatauk, a sudden and treacherous attack was made on Maung Taw Baw and the sepoys as they were taking refreshments after their arrival at Mawatauk. All five were cut down with *dahs* and killed without being able to make any defence and their sniders and bandoliers were taken. The friendly Kachins escaped and gave information at Mawhun. The next day Mr. Brown who had heard nothing of the affair, arrived at Mawatauk to see what had become of his party. He was ambuscaded, but after two hours' firing, in which the only damage done was a peon severely wounded, repulsed the rebels and destroyed their village. Mr. Brown returned that day to Petit and the next day to Katha. On the 4th March a force of military police under Captain Harvey, District Superintendent of Police, arrived on the scene by a forced march, and the next day operations

began against the Karas. The villages, numbering 10 or 12, of the entire clan were destroyed, and the rebels, being caught between two fires—another force of military police was sent to the east of their country—the rebellion collapsed and Saw Tun and the leading rebels escaped into the Shwegu subdivision. But their respite was only a short one. The Subdivisional Officer of Shwegu hunted them down with the aid of his friendly Kachins, killing Saw Tun, together with his wife, and recovering three of the sniders and bandoliers and one other gun, and the Kara country was completely pacified.

On the frontier there has necessarily been some trouble, but many cases of feuds and quarrels between villages on opposite sides were amicably arranged and the Chinese officials showed a desire to assist wherever they could.

The settlement of the Burma-China boundary, in progress while these pages are going through the Press, will finally ensure the peace of the Kachin Hills under our administration.

The Chingpaw, Singpho, or Kachins.

The Chingpaw are essentially a hill people and though, during the last fifty years, they have pressed southwards to the plains and have established villages on what are by comparison mere hillocks, there is no instance of a Kachin village actually built in the plains. In many cases their cultivation is in the valleys, but they live above it, very often at heights and distances which to any one but a Kachin would seem prohibitive of proper work.

The race includes a great number of tribes, sub-tribes, and clans, divided and sub-divided to an extent which would appear needless refinement, even though they are recognized by the Chingpaw themselves and are supported by differences in dress and sometimes even in physical appearance, if it were not that these tribal divisions are supported by sometimes very marked distinctions in dialect. This is of course due to the isolating character of their abrupt hills and valleys and still more to their combativeness and their maintenance of blood feuds. Though therefore the classifications and sub-classifications seem bewildering and recall the grouping of the Karens according to the pattern of their trousers and jackets, they have a present foundation in fact, though probably before long most of them will become mere traditions.

The name Kachin is purely Burmese, but from the point of view of this province, it has become as firmly attached to the race as the name Shan has to the British Tai. The Tai call the Kachins Kang; the Chinese call them Yē-jên (wild men) as an ordinary name, but use the term Shan-teo (heads of the hills) when they

From the eldest son are descended the Chingpaws or true Kachins, who have migrated from the Khakhu, the headwaters. From the rest are derived the various tribes, which are cognate with the Chingpaws and by this time have become practically assimilated with them, though isolated communities still linger here and there. They are now said to possess the same language as the true Chingpaws or Singpho, and apparently have much the same customs.

From the second son are descended the *N'tings*, a colony of whom is said to be at Săbya between Mālin on the Uyu and the Nantein streams. A house or two is found occasionally among the Marans.

From the third son came the *Nangs*, a few of whom are said to exist scattered among the Sadans to the east of the Upper Irrawaddy.

From the fourth son rise the N'Jan Măjā, said to be found on the road north from Myitkyina to Hkamti-lōng, and also up the Kaukkwe valley at Watu. Their women are said to wear sashes round their waists in place of cane-girdles and to tie their hair in a knot on the top of the head without any other head-dress.

From the fifth son are derived the *Makawng Liangs*, a few scattered families of whom are found among the Sadans. They are also said to have a colony at Saingtaung in the Amber Mines tract.

From the sixth son are sprung the *Karyeng* or *Kharyengs*, said to be met with in the territory of the Lepai Chief of Thama. A large section is at Wudi, north of Moda in the Katha district.

From the seventh son come the *Malangs*, said to be found along the Upper Uyu.

From the eighth son the *Pauk Khyeng* or *Bon Khying*, said to reside north of the confluence and to differ from other Kachins in the custom of shaving the head so as to have a top-knot only.

This information is all derived from native sources. The only thing certain about these cognate tribes, according to Mr. George, is that by now they are practically extinct, and only in very rare instances are they found as separate communities.

The name, Chingpaw is, however, only the general racial name. The five principal tribes of the present day are descended from Wākyetwā, the son of Sana Tengsan. By his wife Makawn-kaba Machan, Wākyetwā had the following eight sons, from the first five of whom the parent tribes have sprung. The three youngest only reinforced their elder brothers' issue :—

Son's name.	Title.	Race sprung from him.
(1) Lăkan or Lagam	Maripwa, Kumgā, Măkām	The Marips.
(2) Lănaw ...	Lă-ăn-Nawng, Litaw-wa, Nunglawn ...	The Lahtawngs.
(3) Lălā ...	Lā-ăn, Lāpaiwa, Laring	The Lepais.
(4) Latu ...	Lā-ăn-tū-ăn-tū-wā-tu-khum	The 'Nhkums.
(5) Latāng ...	Lā-ăn-tang, Marān-wā, Tāng-rān ...	The Mărāns.
(6) Layaw ...	Lā-ăn-yaw-yawng, Kun-yawng-tên ...	The 'Nhkums.
(7) Lahka ...	Lā-ăn-ka, Litaw-wa, Khāshu-khasha ...	The Lahtawngs.
(8) 'Nkying ...	Lā-ăn-kying, Mărān-wă, Kying-nan ...	The Mărāns.

The five parent tribes are thus the—

(1) Marips, (2) Lahtawngs, (3) Lepais, (4) 'Nhkums, (5) Marans.

The descendants of the younger brothers mentioned above are merged in the common folk of their respective tribes, and, although they claim relationship to the ruling line, and apparently can intermarry with it, they are never admitted to the post of ruler.

From one or other of these parent tribes the later clans are offshoots. There has been a constant tendency to disintegration among the Kachins just as there has been among the Tai, and the hillier character of their country has made the subdivisions very much more minute.

This disintegration was also in past times due, no doubt, chiefly to the necessity for migration caused by over-population and the wasteful character of the hill cultivation. It became the custom, on the death of a Chief, for the youngest son to succeed: while the elder brothers set out with such following as they could muster and founded fresh settlements, which, if they were successful, in time came to be distinct tribes named after their own founder. The Kentish law of Borough English no doubt is a reminiscence of a similar custom among the Anglian tribes.

This custom has been carried to such an extent that occasionally *Duwas* are found ruling over four or five huts, whose inhabitants for the time being call themselves by the local appellation of that particular area, usually the same as the title of the Chief. These pretensions are absurd, and in time there will no doubt be a reflex action

which will reduce the clans to the number of the five parent tribes and eventually perhaps to the one family of the Chingpaw, or perhaps of the Khakhu and the Chingpaw.

Lieutenant Pottinger has the following remarks on the origin of Chingpaw:—

"The first wave of migration known as Mon-Annam has left no traces in Upper Burma and consequently does not affect this subject.

"The second wave comprises a large number of tribes, such as Garo, Kachari, Kuki, Naga, Mishmi, Abor, Chingpaw, and many others besides the Burmans. The term applied to it is 'Tibeto-Burman wave,' which is a misnomer in so far that it presupposes that all the tribes comprised in it migrated by the same route, whereas inferences drawn from a comparison of the vocabularies of the various dialects clearly point to two groups that descended by totally different routes, the similarity between which is only such as one might expect to find between races springing from the same parent stock in Tibet.

"The first group consists of Maru, Lashi, Szi, Hpön, Ngachang, and Burman, who migrated from Tibet by the Nmai *kha*.

"The second group consists of the Assam frontier tribes mentioned above, who left Tibet by one or other of the upper branches of the Brahmaputra. Chingpaw by language are far more closely allied to this than to the 'Nmai *kha* group. Chingpaw traditions all point to their ancestral *nidus* as being a snow-clad hill called Shingra Bum at the head-waters of the Irrawaddy. That they did not migrate by the 'Nmai *kha* I feel convinced; it is possible that, on breaking from the rest of the Brahmaputra group they first settled in Hkamti, near the headwaters of the Malika, but I think the following is a much more probable history of their movements.

"When the great Tai race spread westward over Assam, they occupied Hkamti and all the intervening country. At this time the Chingpaw was a comparatively small tribe, which had but lately left Tibet; as they increased in numbers, they expanded westward by a route south of Dapha Bum, across the Patkoi range, and through the Hukawng valley towards Burma, driving before them whatever Tai villages they may have met with and thereby isolating the Tai of Hkamti. As the ancient kingdom of Pông increased, the Chingpaw in turn were driven back as far as the Malika, some of them, about this time (1783), settling to the south-east of Sadiya in Assam. On the dissolution of the Pông kingdom they appear to have continued their migration east and south-east."

This theory has no doubt much that is true in it, but Mr. Pottinger dates the dissolution of "the kingdom of Pông," the main Tai ruling power, a good deal too late. Tai conquests, however, doubtless interrupted the flow of migration and isolated the first emigrants.

This, coupled with subsequent isolation owing to the nature of the country and the home-keeping character of the people, is quite sufficient to account for the considerable variations in dialects. At the same time the Maru, Lashi, Achang, and so forth may be mere

half-breeds with the blood of Kiu-tzu, Liu-tzu, and what not, modifying the original Chingpaw strain. Information is still being collected as to these so-called tribes, sub-tribes, and subdivisions of sub-tribes, and the subjoined list appears to be accepted as striking a mean between a too minute classification and the omission of clan names which are constantly being referred to:—

(1) THE MARIPS are found west of the Mali *kha* in the Hukawng valley, and north of this up to the Khakhu country; round the jade and amber mines; and also to the west of lake Indawgyi. West of the Irrawaddy they are a powerful tribe; on the east however, they have only a few scattered villages which range about as far south as the Nantabet stream. This tribe has been from the first most consistently friendly to British authority.

The sub-tribes mentioned are the—

(1) Singdonkha Marips.
(2) Om Marips.
(3) Ningrong Marips.
(4) Lema Marips.
(5) N'kang Marips.
(6) Demao Marips.
(7) Gawlu Marips.
(8) Lakang Marips.
(9) Tingrum Marips.
(10) Singlwi Marips.
(11) N'ding Marips.
(12) Lasum Marips.
(13) P'howlu Marips.
(14) Waja Marips.
(15) Maraw Marips.

(2) THE LAHTAWNGS apparently had their first home in the country between the Mali *kha* and the N'Mai *kha* "about a week's hard marching" north-north-east from the confluence. The *Duwas* Nawhkum, Nkuntu, and Kaddaw live in this area. But the tribe has spread southwards over all the country north of the upper defile of the Irrawaddy; from the Mali *kha* west to the Kuman range; along both banks of the N'Mai *kha* for some distance above the confluence; along the right bank of the Irrawaddy nearly as far south as Myitkyina; west of this to the Shwedaunggyi range of hills; on the Chinese frontier just below the head-waters of the Molè and into North Hsenwi and Möng Mīt. With the exception of the Sana sub-tribe, the Lahtawngs have not come into collision with British authority.

The sub-tribes mentioned are the—

(1) Tabor Lahtawngs.
(2) Salor Lahtawngs.
(3) Sana Lahtawngs.
(4) Tingra Lahtawngs.
(5) Malu Lahtawngs.
(6) Lawkhum Lahtawngs.
(7) Kashu Lahtawngs.
(8) Paochan Lahtawngs.
(9) Nawkhum Lahtawngs.
(10) Kaddaw Lattawngs.

(11) Tingut Lahtawngs.
(12) Waga Lahtawngs.
(13) Ninglaw Lahtawngs.
(14) Selawng Ngawn Lahtawngs.
(15) Htinmut Selawng Lahtawngs.
(16) Lamun Selawng Lahtawngs.
(17) Tingsa Selawng Lahtawngs.
(18) Hpaoyan Selawng Lahtawngs.

This list is probably too minute, and yet it is by no means so exhaustive as it might be made. It is probable that the Lawkhum and Nawkhum sub-tribes are identical; the letters are frequently interchanged.

The *Sana* division has been consistently hostile to us. They are said to have become a clan apart under the leadership of a younger brother of the founder of the Lawkhum sub-tribe. They are settled west of the Irrawaddy and to the north of the Mogaung Thama Lepais. On the 4th April 1889 their principal village was destroyed by the Mogaung punitive column for abducting four women from near Mogaung and murdering one of them. Towards the end of the rains of 1892 the Wuntho *Sawbwa*, with the help of the *Sana* Kachins, smuggled through to China the elephants which he had left behind the year before. It was the Sana Kachins too who made the raid on Myitkyina on the 14th December 1892, when the court-house and Subdivisional Officer's bungalow were burnt down and the Subadar-Major of the Mogaung levy shot dead. For this they were punished in the open season of 1895-96, having been persistently hostile in the interval.

(3) THE LEPAIS.—This is probably the largest and most powerfull of the Kachin tribes; they are found in the Shwedaunggyi hills to the north and the north-east of Mogaung; in the tract of country between the two arms of the Irrawaddy; along the right bank of that river about Myitkyina; and in the Pônkan hills south-east of Bhamo. But they are also found scattered about all over the Kachin country and in North Hsenwi and Möng Mīt.

The sub-tribes mentioned are the—

(1) Thama Lepais.
(2) Kaori Lepais.
(3) Sampawng Lepais.
(4) Szi or Asi or Ithi Lepais.
(5) Samkha Lepais.
(6) Lassa Lepais.
(7) Wawang Lepais.
(8) Hpunkan Lepais.
(9) Sadan Lepais.
(10) Singma Lepais.
(11) Lakhum Lepais.
(12) Paran Lepais.
(13) Hkunru Lepais.
(14) Krawn Lepais.
(15) Kara Lepais.
(16) Tingsa Lepais.
(17) Möngsi Lepais.

Of these the most powerful or the most prominent are the *Thama* and the *Szi*. The territory of the *Duwa* of the Thama sub-tribe lies in the country north of the most southerly peaks of the Shwedaunggyi range, which is drained by the Tanai Hku and the Nam Sang Pe streams, which flow northwards and join the Chindwin river.

The Thama Chief not only refused submission, but harboured Po Saw, the rebel *ex*-Myoôk of Mogaung, and murdered Shwe Gya, the *Nakhan* of Mogaung. His Chief village therefore, with 23 others, was burnt in February 1889 by a column of mixed British troops and Military Police under Captain O'Donnell. The British casualties were 21 killed and wounded. Those of the Lepais were unknown, but 329 houses were burnt and 124,000 pounds of paddy destroyed. The *Duwa* submitted two years later, but afterwards fled beyond the administrative border, whence he has not returned.

The *Kaori Lepais* occupy the hills to the east and south-east of Bhamo. They are not a very important clan, but deserve mention because they dominate the beginning of the Embassy Route to China. They have frequently been fined for robberies, but no regular operations against them have been necessary.

Both the *Sampawng* and *Samkha Lepais* are Kumlaos and have no hereditary *Duwas*.

The *Szi Lepais* are so numerous that they have frequently been referred to as a main tribe, but they themselves say they are Lepais. They are also known as the Ithi, Asi, or Thi, and are widely spread. Their villages are found all along the frontier from a point east and south-east of the head-waters of the Nantabet and south of Sadôn. Near the sources of the Nantabet and Molè rivers they are very powerful and they also hold the hills west of the Namyin, south-west of Mogaung as far as lake Indawgyi. A few seem also to be found in Möng Mīt and Tawng Peng. They are said to have lived originally near Myitkyina. With the exception of the Waru Nawng *Duwa* of Taung-ni, the Szi tribes were at first mostly hostile. They joined in the attack on our troops occupying Mogaung for the first time in December 1887, and in the attack on the same column at Nanpadaung and at Taungbaw, and they long harboured *Bo* Ti, the lieutenant of the rebel, Po Saw, *ex*-Myoôk of Mogaung. They also opposed the Irrawaddy column in 1891-92.

Major Fenton and Captain L. E. Eliott were inclined to declare the Szi not to be real Kachins and Captain H. R. Davies, whose vocabularies appear in the Ethnology Chapter, would have leaned to the same opinion as far as language is concerned had it not

been for the tribal traditions. No doubt they are half-breeds, like the Danus, Kadus, Yaws, and such like borderers. Captain Davies's opinion may be considered conclusive. The Szi and the Kaoris trace their descent from two brothers of the *Duwa* or ruling line of the Lepais, called Aūrātăn and Maingtungla.

Aūrātăn, according to the legend, lived in the hills, and Maingtungla in the plains near the river. Maingtungla therefore was thin and sallow and sickly, but Aūrātăn was fat and jolly. Maingtungla, however, had a buxom, winsome wife whom Aūrātăn coveted in addition to his own. Aūrātăn thought that as Maingtungla looked as if he could not live long, it would not be a bad plan for the two brothers to enter into an agreement that the survivor should take the other's wife (whence arose, says the Chronicle, the Kachin custom of a brother taking a deceased brother's widow). Maingtungla agreed, but chance willed it that Aūrātăn was the first to die, and Maingtungla therefore went up to console the widow. The result was a child called N'Tu, whom at first Maingtungla disowned. But since the widow persisted in saying it was his, he marched up intending, in Kachin style, to wipe child, widow, and village out of existence. As he approached, however, the woman went out to meet him with stoups of Kachin beer and inveigled him into holding the baby while she went to fetch more beer. She came back with a looking-glass, and in this Maingtungla saw that his own face was so like that of the baby that he could no longer entertain doubts as to his paternity, and the scene closed in reconcilation and intoxication.

To this N'Tu the Lunggyun Kachins, who live on the ridge of hills beyond the Nam Wan on the border-line with China, trace their origin. Their language, according to Mr. George, is a dialect of Szi, and they wear much the same dress as the Szis, except that the women appear to have only a single upper garment, a jacket with long sleeves and no opening down the front or back, so that it is drawn over the head like a jersey.

From N'taung, the son who followed N'Tu, are descended the Hpunkan Kachins found on the hills to the south and south-east of Bhamo, who speak ordinary Chingpaw and wear ordinary Kachin dress.

Lumiang (or Lukmyang), Panga, Mansin, Lachon, Gunsun, Gundawn, and Ungaw are mentioned as Szi clans, but the subdivision seems excessive.

The *Hpunkan Lepais* live along the Nam Sôk Ho Ma road to the south-east of Bhamo, but are also found in some numbers north of Mohnyin, along the railway line, where they are stronger

than any other clan. Their most prominent chief is the *Duwa* of Lachinpum, who was among the earliest to submit. Under him are eight chieflets who have from two to seven villages under them. Their villages lie on the eastern range and in the Kauk-kwe valley, with the exception of three: Wawbaw, Kumsum and Shankam, which are on the western range of the valley.

The Loptu are a sub-section of the Hpunkans, who gave a great deal of trouble in the early days of the annexation. A series of raids, beginning with an attack on Sawadi, a village on the Irrawaddy, culminated in the burning of Mansi, 12 miles from Bhamo. This necessitated a punitive expedition under Brigadier-General Wolseley. Karwan was entered on the 18th April 1889, after some opposition on the way, and Karwan, Pang Tap, Kan, and several other villages, numbering 117 houses in all, were burnt. Some 80,000 pounds of paddy and a number of cattle were taken and the Chiefs then submitted and have given no further trouble.

The *Sadan Lepais* are an important sub-tribe found widely distributed along the frontier from North Hsen Wi in the south-east, to as far north as 'Nsentaru on the N'Mai *kha*, and beyond the latitude of the confluence. Their greatest strength lies in the tract between 'Nsentaru and the head-waters of the Molè river. They are essentially a frontier tribe and are not found west of the Irrawaddy.

The chief sub-sections of the Sadans are the Adan, Kwitu, Sadôn, Matu, and Masang Sadans. The Kwitu people, together with the Sadôn Sadans and their neighbours the Szis and the Lashis united to oppose the advance of the Irrawaddy column in 1891-92, and it was the same combination whose menacing attitude the year before caused the retreat of Captain L. E. Eliott's exploration party to the north and north-east of Bhamo.

The Sadôn Sadans also harboured the elder Wuntho *Sawbwa* and enabled him to communicate with his supporters to the west. Sadôn, the headquarters of the clan, was therefore occupied, after some resistance in 1891-92, and the post established there, afterwards named Fort Harrison, was invested by the Kachins from the 7th to the 22nd February and was pressed hard until it was relieved by the North-eastern column, operating farther to the south.

The Sadôn post has been maintained ever since and has served to keep them in order.

The *Singma Lepais* are also described as Seinma and Chingma. It is said that in the sacred or *nat* language of the Kachins the names Chingma and Lepai are identical. Some reports assert that the Singma are Sadans, while others declare they are Karas. All

at any rate are Lepais and the difference of opinion seems to show that the sub-classification is delusive, as it certainly is illusive. The Singma at any rate are closely connected with the Karas, of whom they are said to be a younger branch. They live in the hills immediately to the east of Talaw and stretch away to the south-east to a point a little above Theinlôn on the Molè river. Some villages are also found to the south of Bhamo in the Sinkan valley. They have always been more tractable than most of the other Lepai clans, chiefly perhaps because their country is very open to attack. Sub-sections of the Singma noted are the Makokwa, Lawpwa, Suma, Nachaung, and Maochan Singmas.

Their relations, the *Karas*, have a sub-tribe, the Makawng, which is found in scattered villages to the south and south-east of Bhamo.

The Lakhum Lepais are an important sub-tribe on the frontier, along which they stretch from some 20 miles north of the Taping to close on the Salween. Their most northerly village mentioned is Ninglum, and settlements of them appear to the east and south-east of Bhamo; along the right bank of the Shweli below Pônkam; in Möng Mīt, and between Namhkam and the capital of North Hsen Wi; and in all these places their turbulence has been conspicuous. They have been confounded with the 'Nkhum parent-tribe, but they are said to be absolutely distinct from them.

Of the other sub-tribes little is known beyond their names and they are in any case of no great importance. There is some doubt as to who the *Möngsi* Kachins are, and they have not been officially recognized as a sub-tribe, though they are universally admitted to be Lepais. There is said to be a large class of them known as the Möngsi Namsang group in Tract XVI south-east of Talawgyi.

As a whole it may be said that the Lepais have been from the beginning the most hostile tribe.

(4) THE 'NKHUMS.—The home of this tribe seems to be the country south of Hkamti Lông and west of the Mali *kha*. They are found on the east bank of the Irrawaddy, north of Maingna, and also on both banks of the N'mai *kha* some way from the confluence and near the head-waters of the Natmyin stream, which enters the Irrawaddy from the east near the village of Ywapaw (situated in latitude 25°17′). There are a few scattered villages of the tribe along the frontier, and south of the Taping river the 'Nkhums inhabit the tract of country on the borders of the Shan-Chinese States of Ho-Hsa and La-Hsa. There are also a few villages east of Bhamo and an isolated colony on the Nayin stream in the southern Mogaung area.

The principal sub-tribes are—

(1) The Mashan 'Nkhums.	(5) The Panma 'Nkhums.
(2) The Chikyet 'Nkhums.	(6) The Nawgo 'Nkhums.
(3) The Shirè 'Nkhums.	(7) The Wurung 'Nkhums.
(4) The Watao 'Nkhums.	(8) The Kalangcha 'Nkhums.

(5) THE MARANS are found all along the frontier in scattered villages, though north of the sources of the Molè river they seem to extend farther into British territory. They are also found west of Sinbo; and in the Kauk-kwe valley; and to the west of the Mali *kha* north of the Shwedaunggyi range and about the Amber mines. They have also spread southwards as far as Möng Mīt on the east of the Irrawaddy and Mohnyin in Katha district on the west, and also south-east into Tawng Peng and North Hsen Wi.

The sub-tribes given are—

(1) The Lana Marans.	(3) The N'ting or Ningting.
(2) The Laika Marans.	(4) The Makan Ningting.

Besides these parent tribes and their sub-tribes, there are several *cognate tribes*, who are regarded by the Kachins as probably descended from the same common legendary ancestor, but who differ somewhat, and in some cases very widely, in manners, habits, and language, from the true Chingpaw. The chief of these are the Sassans, the Marus, and the Lashis. To these are added by some the Yawyins or Lihsaws, but the Lihsaws at any rate seem to be of the same family as the Lahu or Muhsö. The stock is doubtless the same, but in the present state of our knowledge it seems rash to make too definite assertions. Yawyin seems most likely a Burmese corruption of the Chinese Yē-jên (wild people), but it may denote a connection with the Yao tribes of the Mèkhong neighbourhood (see Ethnology chapter).

The Sassans.—This tribe is sometimes confused with the Marips with whom they are greatly mixed up; with the 'Nkhums; with the Lahtawngs; while some Kachins say that they believe they are Marus. Major Fenton says that their language is probably true Kachin, but differs somewhat in dialect from the languages spoken farther east. The name is also sometimes pronounced Tasan or Lasan. Captain Eliott says they do not possess any of the *nat* legends which the parent tribes have and are never called in to assist at the spirit festivals.

Their country lies north and west of the Amber mines and extends beyond the Hukawng valley to Assam. They have not emigrated much, though stray Sassan villages are found in most unexpected places. Like the Marips they have never come into collision with

us, and with them cover the approaches to Assam from Mogaung and the Hukawng valley. Their dress in no way differs from that of the true Chingpaw.

The sub-tribes given are—

(1) The Tumpao Sassans.	(3) The Lapwang Sassans.
(2) The Lawki Sassans.	(4) The Lalya Sassans.

Colonel Hannay speaks of the Mirips and the Tesan (Marips and Sassans) as being the most numerous on the Assam frontier and "in Hookong" and says the Luloung family occupied the amber mines district in 1835. He also refers to the Toomsah family, which is no doubt the 'Ntup 'Ntsa of Kachin scholars, and his Imbôn family corresponds most likely with the 'Nbôn. He also gives the Tesan Chief, whom he calls Sampro Songong, who lived on the Shwedaunggyi hills, a bad character as a marauder.

The Hukawng valley has only once been visited, by a column which went up in 1891-92 and had throughout the most friendly relations with the Sassan Chiefs.

The chief villages are—

Saraw,	'Nkang,	'Njūm,
'Ntup 'Ntsa,	Taifa,	'Ndong,
'Nbôn,	Lalaung,	'Nten,

which have *Duwas* or Chiefs, while the following are Kumlao or democratic:—

Naingran.	Sana.	'Nkadon.
Makaw.	Senglen.	Saingchet.
Pasi.	'Njaw.	Kadumakôn.

The 'Nbôn and Ntup 'Ntsa Chiefs are the recognized *Duwas* of the Amber mines.

The Marus.—Most authorities, including the Marus themselves, say these people are not Kachins. Their neighbours, however, persist in calling them Kachins, with the distinguishing qualification "dog-eating", because they fatten the friend of man for the pot like the Wa, the Akha, and the Tongkinese. So far as is known none of the true Chingpaw do this, yet the Marus mingle and intermarry freely with neighbouring Chingpaw, especially the Szis and the Marips. With other Kachin tribes, notably in the Shan States, where they are frequently called Malu, they are or were on consistently bad terms. In dress and appearance the Maru does not differ from the ordinary Chingpaw. The language spoken, however, is much nearer Burmese than Chingpaw. They may be hybrids like the Lashis, with whom and the Szi Lieutenant Pottinger thinks they are closely allied.

Those in known territory frequent the border-land of Burma and China, particularly to the north-east of Talawgyi, south of the main Lashi settlement and east of Loi Nju. The "Maru country" of which Errol Grey heard is probably the headquarters of the "Black Maru." He was told that it was twenty-one days distant from Pu Tou in the Nam Kui valley (27°22′ 30″ north latitude) of Khamti Lông. "The "first eight marches (from Pu Tou) follow the right bank of the Nam "Kiu; then crossing over to the left bank it is seven marches to "the N'Mai Kha; crossing this it is three days into the Lashi "country, when three days northward the Maru country was reached "and three days eastward China. There are many different clans "amongst them and they are not always at peace. They deal largely "in slaves."

The Marus, however, go far afield. There are many villages of them far down into North Hsen Wi and on the west of the Irrawaddy many are found in the Mohnyin subdivision of Katha. Among the Marus every village is a separate community and has its own Chief, and thus there are no sub-tribes, unless indeed every village be called a separate clan.

Lieutenant Pottinger has seen more of the Marus, or at any rate, more of the northern Marus than any one else, in his journey in the cold weather of 1897-98. He says—

"The Marus on their journey southwards, which appears to have been of a comparatively recent date, came in contact with the Chingpaws, who, being one degree higher in the scale of civilization, despised them as savages of the same type as Nagas, both races being partial to the dog as an article of diet. In the course of time the southernmost clan, feeling their degradation, began to look on the Chingpaws as a superior race and, dropping the habit of eating dogs, copied their customs and called themselves Szis. They then either intermarried with or were conquered by a sub-tribe of Chingpaws called Lepai, and in time came to consider themselves as a sub-clan of Lepai Chingpaws and now deny all connection with the Marus.

"As the Szis moved southward, they were succeeded by another clan of Marus called Lashis, who, following their example, now try to pose and claim the same origin as Chingpaws, who, however, repudiate them. The Marus of the present day, whenever found in close proximity to the Chingpaws, have modified their dress and customs to assimilate to that of the superior race."

"On the other hand, the Nanwu Marus, who have not come in direct contact with Chingpaws and look upon themselves as equal, or rather superior, to any of the other tribes, claim to have come originally from the headwaters of the Mekhkha, which rises somewhere about latitude 27° 30′, longitude 99°, in the watershed between the 'Nmaikha and the Salween."

Captain Sillery gives the origin of Marus and Lashis as being from a hill called Yena at Mung-kiung in China; he compiled the following table as regards their descent from mythical beings:—

Ah-Maw-i married a Monkey.

Bear — Rainbow — Indang King (son) married Indangjen (daughter).

Indangkingzaw (son) Married Daughter(name unknown).

Sawyawbaw (son) Married Daughter (name unknown).

Chumlumpat (son) Married Daughter (name unknown).

Husungdwi (son) Married Daughter (name unknown).

Yackting (son) married monkey daughter (1) and Daughter (name unknown) (2).

Tinglun (son) married monkey daughter (1) and Daughter (unknown) (2).

Uluziang (son) Married Daughter (name unknown).

Sianglofen (son) Married Two daughters (names unknown).

Fung Lawnu (son) (1) — Nulaw Kiang (son) (2) — Daughter (name unknown).

The two brothers married their sister and had issue, each six sons and six daughters who, intermarrying, became ancestors of the twelve Lashi and Maru races:—

Kiang Baw (Maru), Paok (Sikhung Maru), Küpbûng (Kujjum Laghi), Pungi-(Kalan Lashi), Iching (Saulong Lashi), Kianjung (Maru Chidang), Tsungbung (Mang-

sang Lashi), Pomding (Unkaw Lashi), Tingjsong (Indam Lashi), Tsungtsiang (Tumkhing Lashi), Changding (Wi-jaw Lashi), Tingkaw (Poilap Lashi).

At this point the race became mortal, though both Fung Lawnu and Nulaw Kiang still retained something of the divine about them. Here too they separated, Fung Lawnu calling himself Maru and Nulaw Kiang Lashi.

As far as probability is concerned, this is no more absurd than the main Chingpaw legend given below, and the omission of reference to the Shingra Bum of the Chingpaw is of no significance, since that name is applied to any lofty snow-clad peak.

Mr. Pottinger continues:—

"In general dress and appearance the Marus resemble Kachins; a few of them wear a long coat similar to that of the Yawyins, but it is more the exception than the rule. The women are great adepts in artistically ornamenting the edges of their garment, but the chief peculiarity in their dress is that they wear several rows of cowries and small bells round their waists and hips (this is also done by Lashis and Szis, but to a less extent).

"With the exception of the Nanwu clan the majority of the women have their ears pierced through the top, centre, and lobe. They wear in these holes earrings about three inches in diameter made of brass wire. With the exception of the long tubes of silver (*lakan*) they wear the same kind of ornaments, strings of beads, and silver hoops round the neck as other Kachins. Thin black cane rings are worn by both sexes below the knee, but none of the women wear cane rings round their waists, which is a custom common to Palaungs and many of the Kachin tribes.

"Married women wear their hair long and tied up in a turban; unmarried girls and men wear it cut to a uniform length all round. The method of hair-cutting is as follows: the hair is carefully wetted and combed over the sharp edge of a *da* and then cut by being tapped with a small wooden mallet.

"The small bags carried by the men are blue, with a small amount of coloured embroidery, but never so ornamented or highly decorated as those of the Chinpaws.

"The only tattooing we saw was on an old woman near the Shin-ngaw *kha*, which took the form of a succession of rings from the foot to the knee. She was a Chinpaw, and the custom was once common amongst them, but has lately been dropped and is now never seen except amongst the old folk.

"The Marus near the frontier are as a rule under-sized and of poor physique. Their features are more regular than those of the ordinary Kachin. A broad flat dumpy face is seldom met with, it being usually oval. On the whole they are a better looking people, though of an effeminate cast of countenance. This type gradually changes as one gets northwards till the Nanwu Marus are met with. The latter are fine, sturdy men with powerful limbs, deep chests, and square chins, which give them a determined bull-dog expression. Their splendid physique was especially noticed when carrying our loads in the hills, they being capable of marching double the pace of coolies we had previously engaged, over infinitely worse roads. The loads were roughly 50 lbs. each and on two occasions men volunteered to carry double loads if given double payments.

"All Kachins are proverbially dirty, and the Marus in this respect in no way differ from them as regards their persons. The Nanwus are if possible dirtier than the other clans. While clearing the burnt jungles for their fields, the whole of their face and body gets smeared over with a mixture of charcoal and sweat. As they never wash, this in a short time gets thoroughly ingrained into the skin, so much so that when our coolies, who, on the march, would frequently halt and have a dip in a stream to cool themselves, came out, the water left no impression of having in any way cleaned them. For this reason they are called by down-country Kachins "Maru Chang-bôk" or Black Marus (Chinpaw dialect: Chang=black, bôk=tribe or people). They would, however, regard it as an insult if personally addressed as such.

"When I was at Sadôn I had heard of a tribe of black people inhabiting the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy and wondered if they could possibly be aborigines, but the Nanwus provided the solution to the mystery."

In the Nan-wu country the Maru rule is democratic and village elders manage all public affairs. Mr. Pottinger says the Marus from latitude 26° 20′ southwards are divided into three clans: Siktung Marus, Kiangbaw Marus, and Chidang Marus. The difference of dialect is hardly perceptible. North of these come the Nanwu Marus where there is so much variation as to make interpretation difficult to a Southern Maru. The true home of the Marus is the valley of the 'Nmai *kha* between latitude 27° 30′ and 25° 45′. Beyond this lie uninhabited mountains to the north-east. The dogs are fattened for sale chiefly by the Yawyins. They are of a yellow, rough-haired breed, and are led or dragged by a thin cane tied round the neck and passed through a hollow bamboo to prevent the dog biting it. Liquor is brewed from rice, millet, and Indian corn. A little is poured on the ground for the *nats* before drinking. Tobacco is smoked only by the old and opium by very few. Tobacco, betel, and lime mixed are chewed by everybody—men, women, and children.

Their religion is the conciliation of evil spirits; fowls, pigs, cows, and *mythun* are sacrificed; cats and dogs never. The Marus are the only Chingpaw tribe who burn their dead. The ashes are buried. Over these is raised the usual conical structure, but sometimes an open shed is substituted. Cross-bows and arrows are the chief weapons, but a few cheek-guns made locally are found, and spears and *dhas* are common. The arrows are not poisoned and, as none are metal-tipped, they do not carry far. The Marus grow and clean their own cotton, and the women spin it into thread and weave the household clothing. The dyes used are blue, brick-red, and yellow. Most villages have a blacksmith's shop in which *dhas* and spear-heads are made. Maru houses are of the same shape as those of other Kachins, and the material is the same or varies only according

to what timber is available. Outside the villages are the usual *nat* resting-places.

In all this there is nothing so distinctive as to warrant the assertion that the Marus are of a different race, and the resemblances of words, and particularly of the construction of the language, support the assertion that the differences are due to segregation and local circumstances rather than to separate origin.

The Lashis.—Chingpaw popular tradition declares the Lashis to be the issue of a connection between a Chinaman and the daughter of a Maran *Duwa*. Probably other girls of the tribe followed the example of the Chief's daughter, and the story is perhaps borne out by the somewhat Chinese features which many Lashis have. They have, however, been quoted as a sub-tribe of the Sassans, though the Lashis appear to be confined to the China border, while the Sassans are on that of Assam. A similarity of name has led to their frequent confusion with the Lihsaw, from whom, however, they are quite distinct.

The Lashis are much mixed up with the Szis and with them are spread along all the frontier, north, east, and south-east of Bhamo. It was their connection with the Szis, no doubt, which led them into collision with British troops in 1891 and 1892. Captain H. R. Davies finds a close resemblance in the language of the Szi, the Lashi, and the Maru. The differences are in fact so slight that the three may be considered dialects of one language, and men of any one of the three tribes can understand the greater part of what is said by either of the other two.

Beyond this Captain Davies finds a resemblance to Hpön Achang, and Burmese. A reference to the vocabularies (Ethnology chapter) will show that the general likeness is close enough to warrant his belief that these six tribes or people spoke the same language not very long ago. Captain Davies therefore propounds the theory that these tribes may be the remnants left by the Burmese in their migration from the north into Burma, or possibly tribes of the same origin as the Burmese who left Tibet soon after them. "If the Burmese descended from Tibet by the Irrawaddy "Valley, the geographical position of these tribes certainly bears "out this theory; their language is another strong piece of evidence "in its favour, and, except in the case of the Szis, there is nothing "in the traditions of these tribes against it." Although the Szis are said to be a sub-clan of the Lepais, it is occasionally said that all Szis are not Lepais, but only the *Duwa*s and their families. If this be true, it would seem probable that the Szis were originally a separate tribe who were subjugated by the Lepais and governed by

Lepai rulers, who have since merged in their own subjects, in the same way that the *Sawbwas* of many of the Chinese Shan States, though of Chinese origin, have become practically Tai.

Notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. George, Major Fenton, and, in a more guarded way, Captain H. R. Davies, there seems no justification for classing the *Yawyins* or *Lihsaws* directly with the Chingpaw, however they may have been related to them in the mists of the past. We are told that Yawyin is the Chingpaw name, Lihsaw that given by the Chinese. The Shans call them Yaoyên and Lihsaw indiscriminately and Yaoyên is obviously the Yaojên of the Mèkhong country, who are separately described under the head of Yao tribes. The language of the Yao or Lihsaw of the Kachin country—they are found chiefly in the neighbourhood of Sadôn and scattered at high altitudes and always in very small villages throughout the Northern Shan States and Möng Mīt—has considerable resemblances with La'hu, but none whatever with Chingpaw. Features, dress, and habits are no less distinct from those of the Chingpaw, and, though the resemblances of the Lihsaw and the Tingpan Yao are not very conspicuous, yet there are many Yao tribes and their dresses vary very considerably.

The dress of the Yawyin and Lihsaw of the Kachin country is at any rate very different from that of the Kachins. It is a sort of frock-coat of coarse white cloth almost like canvas, which reaches nearly to the knees. On the back are sewn square patches of blue cloth so as to leave a white line about two inches broad down the spine. The sleeves are turned with blue and a variegated belt confines the coat at the waist. Short Chinese trousers of blue cloth are worn and the legs are protected by coarse cloth leggings edged with blue. The turban is light blue. Most of the men wear the pigtail, and silver or copper earrings are frequent. In addition to this difference in dress from the Chingpaw, the Lihsaw are also usually very much bigger men and the features are very distinctive. It is possible that the Lihsaw may not be Yaojên, but it seems certain that they are not Chingpaw, or at the best much remoter relations than the Maru and the Lashi. It seems reasonable to believe that they have some connection with the Lisus or Lusus of the region of the great rivers descending from Tibet into Yünnan and Burma, of whom Baber, Cooper, Desgodins, and Gill have written. Baber was disinclined to believe that the Lesu were Lihsaws because Dr. Anderson described the latter as "small with fair round flat faces, "high cheek bones, and some obliquity of the eye." But the Lihsaw generally are not small, nor are they round-faced as a rule, and probably not at all when the race is pure. In the upper parts of the great valleys on the Tibetan border the Lisus are very much

intermixed with the Musus, a name which immediately suggests the name Mu-hsö, which the Shans give to the La'hu. These Musus are said formerly to have possessed a kingdom, the capital of which was Li-kiang-fu, which the Tibetans and the hill-people generally call Sadam, and their king was known as the Mu Tien Wang. The resemblances of language between La'hu and Lihsaw seem to support the conjecture that the races are allied; and since Musu is no doubt the origin of the Shan name Mu-hsö, this connection would seem to be probable. The fact that the Musus of the Tibetan border were only so called by their neighbours, and themselves used the name Nashi, may be used as an argument either way. Our knowledge of all the races is, however, so slight that nothing beyond conjecture is possible. It seems, however, fairly clear that the Yawyins or Lihsaws are not Chingpaw. (*See* for the Lihsaws and Musus the Ethnology chapter.)

Lieutenant Pottinger, speaking of them as Yawyins, says that in appearance they are more like Chinese than Kachins. The men wear their hair in a pig tail, like the La'hu; and the women generally in two pig tails, one on each side of the head so as to part the hair at the back. Both men and women smoke. Like the La'hu they grow no rice for food; Maize and Indian-corn take its place and pop-corn is a favourite form in which to eat the latter. They fatten dogs for Maru eating, but do not eat them themselves. Pigs and fowls are found in great numbers in their villages. Their national weapon is the cross-bow and they use poisoned arrows like the La'hu and the Akha. Many of the women wear cane rings round the waist like the Kachins, but this is probably mere local fashion. Yawyin houses are quite small and of different construction from those of the Kachins, and Kachin spirits are not worshipped. It seems therefore that these Lihsaws or Yawyins have no real or at any rate only a very remote relationship to the Chingpaw.

Besides these parent and cognate tribes of Chingpaw there are a number of miscellaneous tribes extending beyond latitude 25° north, up to the twenty-eighth parallel, of whom little or nothing is known, but whom the Kachins regard as being indirectly connected with them. These are:—

(1) The *Khangs*, who are said to live on the other side of the Chindwin beyond Bisu, and who, Mr. George thinks, may be perhaps identified with some Chin tribe. They are also found north-east of the Bor Khamti country and originally separated the Khenungs on the Salween from the Khumongs on the west. Mr. Errol Grey says that they have a distinct language and are less feminine in type than the Khumongs, with whom they are much mixed up, though they occupy separate villages.

(2) The *Kaphawks.*—Some of these accompanied the Khangs across the Chindwin, while others remained to the east of Hkamti Lông. With them are related—

(3) The *Kaluns,* who are said to differ in some way. These are probably the Kalangs, a naked tribe spoken of by Major Fenton, who calls them wild and uncivilized and says they eat their aged relations to spare them unnecessary misery.

(4) The *Tarens* or *Tarengs* are found on the west border of the Chinese State of Santa and in Hkamti Lông. They wear clothes something after the Chinese style, and are well known in Upper Burma as coolies under the name of *Maingthas.* They are a distinct tribe, with a language and customs of their own, and are renowned for the excellence of their *dhas.* They appear to be great travellers and itinerant merchants. During the cold weather they desert their villages and scatter over the adjacent countries, returning at the beginning of the rains.

The name Maingtha is a simple Burmese perversion of the Shan form Tai Möng Hsa, that is to say, Shans from the two Hsa States, Ho Hsa and La Hsa. There they call themselves and are called by their Chinese neighbours Ngachang or Achang (*see* Ethnology Chapter) and appear to be called Paran by the Kachins round about. Their dress, religion, and customs are those of the Chinese Shāns. They are Buddhists and their language is a curious mixture. Captain H. R. Davies estimates that about 30 *per cent.* of the words appear to be connected with Burmese and 12 *per cent.* with Shan. The latter have probably been borrowed from the surrounding Shans as names for things of which they knew nothing until they encountered the Shans and were converted to Buddhism. Mr. Errol Grey speaks of meeting Turengs on his way to the country of the Khumongs, above latitude 27° 15′ and in about longitude 97° 30′. The Turengs, he says, are the great blacksmiths of that neighbourhood, just as the Ngachang are for the country round Hotha and Latha. They make all the *dhas* and daggers worn by the Singpho and the Hkamti Shans, and these under the name of Hkampti *dhas* form one of the chief articles of trade between the Hkamti valley and Assam. The iron is found in the hills forming the boundary between the Turengs and the Khumongs. "It is of "excellent quality and the knives are very durable." The *dhas* are made in four varieties, "the streaked, the indented, the white, "and the black *dhas.*" Mr. Errol Grey refers to a Tureng *Dhu* or Chief who visited him and gave a list of the Singpho tribes, amongst which appeared Marans, Marips, Laphars (no doubt Lepais), and Darengs or Tullings, who presumably are the Tarengs themselves. He also says he saw "a range of snows, separating

"the Tisang from the Tamai," which is said to be the eastern limit of the Tureng Singpho country. The Tamai is the local name for the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy. This would place the Turengs in about longitude 98° and about latitude 27° 30′. Prince Henri d'Orleans found that many of the tribesmen, called by their neighbours Kiutzu (from the fact that they inhabited the Kiu Kiang valley, a branch of the 'Nmai *kha*), styled themselves Turong or Tulong.

(5) The *Khenungs*, according to Mr. Errol Grey, come from the valley of the Salween, where their country bounds that of the Khunnongs or Khumongs on the east above latitude 27°. Their dress is said to be a short pair of trousers reaching to the knee, tied round the waist by several coils of a plaited cotton string and two or three coats of various lengths, the outermost of which is made of wool and reaches down to the calf of the leg. They plait their hair into a queue after the Chinese fashion and wear hats made of felt, conical in shape, with a broad brim much turned up. Their influence extends from the Salween to the Tamai or N'mai *Kha*. They exercise authority over several Khunnong villages in the Tisang valley, paying two yearly visits, when they announce their arrival by blowing on a gourd reed, presumably something like the *Ken* of the La'hu, the A'kha, and the Luang Prabang Tai. "The "Khunnongs, immediately on hearing its sound, rush out to meet "them, and conducting them into their villages feast them on the best they have." (*Report on the Bor-Khampti country*). The tribute paid seems to consist chiefly of bees-wax, a common offering among the Wa also.

(6) The *Khunnongs*, also called Kumongs or Khumongs, are found above latitude 27° 30′ between the Nam Kiu, the western branch of the Irrawaddy, and the Salween, that is to say, east of Hkamti Lông, called Bor Khampti by Mr. Errol Grey. Their neighbours on the east are the Khenungs and on the south the Kachins called Khakhus by the Kachins within the administrative line. They are mentioned in the Möng Kawng (Mogaung) Shan Chronicle as one of the eight races forming that kingdom and Ney Elias identifies them with the Mishmis whom the Assamese divide into the Miju and Chullicotta Mishmis.

The late General Woodthorpe speaks of them as Kummungs and describes them as "an extremely gentle, pleasant-looking peo- "ple, small in stature, rather fair in complexion, with their hair cut "short in a fringe on the forehead." He thinks their language somewhat resembles Singpho, "about five *per cent.* of the words being identical." They are a timid people and as a consequence

are oppressed on all sides—by the Khenungs on the east, the Singphos on the south, and the Hkamti Shans on the west, and pay tribute to all of them. Both men and women wear the hair cut in a fringe across the forehead and hanging loose behind as far as the shoulders, but not below. This is exactly the style of coiffure of many of the Tame Wa and as the hair is very coarse and tangled it gives them a particularly wild appearance. Their dress in the hills consists of a loin-cloth only, but those who have come under the influence of the Hkamti Shans have adopted the Tai dress. The women wear a short petticoat coming to the knees, and in the cold weather a cloth is thrown loosely round the shoulders, but for the greater part of the year they go naked to the waist. Like all the hill tribes they are dirty in their habits, but are more particular than most about their food. Their houses are built on piles and in place of thatch they use bamboo leaves for roofing. Near Hkamti Lông some villages have cattle and even a few buffaloes. As with all the hill tribes, they are divided into numerous clans, whose dialects differ according to their distance from one another. Of these the chief mentioned are—

(*a*) The *Pangsu Khunnongs*.—These are said to be subject to the Hkamti people of Mungelung (*i.e.*, Langnu and Langdao), to whom they give the following items of tribute :—

Korisa, bamboo shoots.
Two *dhas*.
One *chunga* (bamboo) of *tenga pani*.
Twelve seers of tobacco.
Three *chityas* (mats).
One seer of ganja hemp for making clothes.
One load of dried fish from the Tisang river.

These Khunnongs moreover act as porters for the Hkamti people on their journeys to Sadiya and elsewhere, besides building and repairing their houses and stockades. Finally it is asserted that they supply the Hkamti Shans with temporary wives when required. It is reckoned that this Pangsu clan has altogether about 1,000 houses.

(*b*) The *Pushu Khunnongs*, who are said to be subject to the *Choja* (Chief) of Padao in Hkamti Lông. Each head of a household in the Bor Hkamti country, according to Mr. Errol Grey, has so many houses told off to him and the Khunnongs have to render service and furnish supplies. The tribute seems to be identical

with that paid by the Pangsu clan. The number of houses among the Pushu is estimated at about eight hundred.

(*c*) The *Nogmun Khunnongs*, who are said to be subject to Man Chi in the Hkamti Lông country, and pay a similar tribute and render similar services.

Colonel Macgregor says that the Khunnongs used to live nearer to the Chinese towards the east and close to the Lamas (whom the Hkamti people call the Hpangs) on the north, but they were so much oppressed by both, especially by the Lamas, that they placed themselves under the protection of the *Tai* of Hkamti Lông. They are a hard-working people and, like the Tarengs, have a great reputation as blacksmiths. Their *dhas* are noted; they are shorter and thicker in the blade than those used by the Kachins. Mr. Errol Grey says:—

"I saw a blacksmith at work this evening forging these blades. His anvil was a large flat stone and his hammer a round one with a slightly flat head. A splint of bamboo about thirty-six inches in length was bent into the form of a pair of tongs, and the round stone was placed inside the loop so formed and the free ends of the tongs, being lashed well together, served both to keep the stone in its place and also as a handle to the hammer thus made. This hammer weighed about twenty pounds, and was used in the first process of forging only, the finishing touches to be given by a small light iron hammer with a long head. I did not see that any steel was used, but was told that the small pieces of iron that flew off on all sides from the red-hot blade in the process of forging were collected and added to the iron, serving the purposes of steel."

The Khunnongs also extract silver, which is found at Nogmun to the east of the Nam Tisang. Colonel Macgregor says the ore is melted out in an iron vessel over red hot charcoal; a draught is kept up by "blow-pipes" on opposite sides, and the melted silver is carried away by means of an iron pipe. "The Khunnongs trade "with the Chinese to the east, with the Lamas to the north, and "with the Burmese to the south." They may have traded with Burma at one time, but of late years their trade does not seem to have extended beyond Hkamti. Mr. Errol Grey also notes that they make their own cloth out of the fibres of the hemp plant. "In appearance the cloth resembles fine canvas."

Like the Wa and some other hill tribes the Khunnong bury their dead in front of their houses. The graves are raised circular mounds surrounded by a ditch and are not unlike those of the Singpho.

(7) The *Murus* exist on the authority of Colonel Macgregor and he saw only one of them on his visit to the valley of the Nam Kiu

(the Irrawaddy). They are said to inhabit the hills north of the Hukawng valley and to trade with the Chinese. "The Mooroos "are a miserably poor race, and go about almost naked. I was "informed that often they are on the point of starvation and are driven "to eating all sorts of roots. The specimen of a Mooroo whom I "saw at Langnu was certainly a wretched one. With the exception "of a small loin-cloth and a very large coating of dirt, he possess-"ed no garment. He came and stared at us like a wild animal "and then suddenly turned on his heels and fled."

It is possible that these Muru are the Kŭmans about whom Mr. George learnt details from "the Amber Mines *pôngyi*." The monk said the men wore nothing but a breech clout tied with a string, and the women a scanty kirtle kept in place by a rattan girdle. He added that they crouched round fires to keep themselves warm at night and consequently very often had large blisters on breast, back, and arms. Besides these, according to Kachin information given to Major Fenton, there are—

(8) The *Sôn* and *Bilu* people, who live beyond the Khunnongs. These wizards and ogres eat dogs, and the Kachins north of the confluence and in Hkamti Lông trade with them in that animal. This race would hardly be worth mentioning if it were not for the Bilu city which used to exist near Mohnyin, according to Möng Yang and Möng Kawng history. The Sôn, according to the Kachins, are clever workers in iron, which they get in their own country.

These eight tribes seem to have very little resemblance to the Kachins. Some of the details about the Khunnongs suggest Wa habits. Until more is known of them it is profitless to make conjectures. It seems not unlikely, however, that they may be of the same family as the Palaungs and connected through them with the Wa. Prince Henri d'Orleans has some notes which supply hints which are useful to the ethnologist as clues. He says:—

"In the basin of the Kiu-kiang (the easternmost branch of the 'Nmai stream) the mountaineers are termed by the Chinese Kiu-tses. They are closely akin to the Lu-tses, possessing almost the same dialect. (It may be noted that Kiu-tse simply means people of the Kiu-kiang or Irrawaddy; Lu-tse, people of the Lu-kiang or Salween.) Their precise denominations are successively Tulongs on the banks of the Kiu-kiang, Tandsards by the river Telo, Rewans at Duma, and Luans at Pangdam. The people of Hkamti, that is to say, the Tais, know them under the generic title of Khanungs; and this is the name marked on the English maps. The same Hkamti Tais call the Mishmis, Khamans. It is probable that the first syllable, kha, is identical with the name by which the Laotians describe the hill-tribes of Indo-China. * * * Finally the Tibetans speak of the Lu-tses as *ngias* (imbeciles). The Lu-tse language differs entirely from the

Lissu, and contains but few Tibetan words. Its construction, too, is dissimilar.

"The Lu-tses relate their own origin thus: There lived formerly on Pèmachou (a mountain which we afterwards saw on reaching the Kiu-kiang) a man and his wife, who had nine sons, each of whom in their turn married. One became King of Tibet and another King of Peking. Then these two asked their brothers for money. The latter refused, and proposed to make war on them. But the mother interceded saying: 'I am the mother of you all. Do not quarrel; you seven ought to give each a little to the two who are kings.' Her counsel prevailed and that is how the seven, who peopled the district of the Lu-tse Kiang and became the Lu-tses, came to render tribute to China."

This legend suggests immediately the Majaw Shingra-pum of the Kachins. The Prince continues:—

"The Kiu-tses at Duma (on the Reunnam) seemed a finer set of men than those hitherto met. In proportion as we advanced west we found them more civilized * * * An old man I conversed with declared the Kiu-tses, Loutses, Lissus, and Chinese to be sprung from the same stock. This branch of the Kiu-tses at Duma styled themselves Rewans. They had been driven westward successively from the Salween and the Telo by the Lissus of Kioui (Kiwi). Even now it was a Lissu delegate from the Chief of Kioui who collected the impost, one *tsien* per family; thence it went to the Chief of Ditchi, who in his turn passed it on to the Prefect of Likiang. * * * * It was indicative of the reputation for ferocity enjoyed by the riparian Lissus that, already established in the east and south-east, it should also be recognized so far west of the Salween as this."

At Buniang, a village on a tributary of the Dihing, the Prince met some Khamangs—

"These Khamangs I discovered were no other than the Mishmis; the English calling them by the latter, and the Singphos by the former name. * * * They are more like the Pais than the Kiu-tses, being almost brown, with rather large noses and cheek bones and small chins. They wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head, and are clad in a sleeveless coat to the knees, open in front, and a loin cloth; over their shoulders they occasionally throw a covering like the Pais, either striped brown or all scarlet. Their ears are pierced with a metal tube, to which sometimes a ring is hung. Slung across the shoulder are a slender sword and a pouch made of the skin of a wild animal. The women have in front of their hair a silver crescent held behind by cowries, and the knot above is transfixed by wooden pins. A thin silver circlet with a small cock's feather is fastened to the upper part of the ear, and necklets of brass wire or glassware are also seen. They wear a sort of waistcoat, brown, short-sleeved, and cut into the figure before and behind. The dwellings were small and on piles. The construction of their tombs seemed to point to a more religious, or at any rate superstitious, character than that of the Kiu-tses we had hitherto met."

Personal characteristics.

Since there are so many clans with dialects which differ a good deal, it is only to be expected that there should be a corresponding difference in the appearance of the peope. In the south, and especially in the Bhamo

neighbourhood, the Kachin is a short man averaging perhaps 5 feet 4 inches, while the women measure some inches less. The men are by no means so well formed as the Burmese and look less muscular. But the number of types is very great both in complexion and feature. In a single village a man may be seen who suggests negro blood, except for his hair, and beside him another with the sallow tint of the south of Europe and features no less regular. The shades of colour run to everything from swart black to light brunette, though the most prevalent tint is a dirty brown. Dr. Anderson, speaking of course only of the Kachins near Bhamo, detects two different types. "One with a fine outline of features "recalling the womanly features of the Kacharies and Lepchas of "Sikkim. In it the oblique eye is very strongly marked, and the face "is a longish, rather compressed oval, with pointed chin, aquiline "nose, and prominent molars; while the other, probably the true "Chingpaw, presents a short round face, with low forehead and very "prominent molars. The ugliness of the slightly oblique eyes, sepa-"rated by a wide space, the broad nose, thick protruding lips, and "a broad square chin, is only redeemed by a good-humoured expres-"sion. The hair and eyes are usually a dark shade of brown and the "complexion is a dirty buff." The prevailing feature among all the Kachins is the oblique eye and a tendency to high cheek bones, but the nose varies greatly, ranging from an aquiline hook to a mere undulation of the skin. Colonel Hannay, who writes of the Kachins of the north-west, says :—

"The personal appearance of the Kachins varies much, but they are not by any means a diminutive race; on the contrary the Kakoos are remarkably fine athletic men, hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue, and it is not uncommon to see them *six feet high*."

Of the Tartar origin of the Kachins there cannot be much doubt. Their traditions point to a first home somewhere south of the desert of Gobi and their movements have been always towards the south. The diversity of complexion and type, which prevails even in tracts where Shan and Burmese influence have apparently never penetrated, seems to point to admixture with aboriginal races whom the Kachins supplanted. Whether the Tarengs, Khunnongs, and what not represent these can only be conjectured.

Intermarriages between Shans and Burmese and Kachins occur, but they are so unusual that attention is always drawn to them. Neither do the Kachins and Palaungs intermarry, and in any case such unions would not result in aquiline noses. Connections between Chinamen and Kachin women seem more common, but they are hardly numerous enough to produce a type, even in a restricted area. It is clear that climate has done much, for though it might

be expected that the swarms poured from the loins of the teeming north would be the most vigorous of the race, yet it is manifest that the most southerly are the most stunted.

More recent authorities, however, are inclined to add two inches to the five feet four which Mr. George allows them, and to call them athletic, while at the same time classing them as "very dirty individuals with a repulsive type of countenance." The truth is perhaps that they are tough and wiry rather than muscular and athletic.

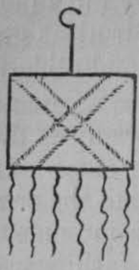
The general character of the Chingpaw dress is the same among all the tribes, and it is only a very observant, or a very practised eye, which immediately detects the clan peculiarities which exist. On the Chinese, Shan, and Burmese borders some approach to the dress of these people is noticed, but this is due to convenience and masculine indifference. The women cling loyally to national fashions.

Colonel Hannay, writing over fifty years ago, vaguely speaks of the Kachins in the neighbourhood of Bhamo as wearing a dark blue cotton jacket and scanty nether garments and cutting their jet black hair in a line with their ears. The native explorer Alaga says that both men and women wear little clothing and the women have sleeveless jackets, with cowries as ornaments round their waists, beads round their necks, and anklets of cane dyed black. Mr. George, distinguishing between Northern and Southern Kachins as Khakhus and Chingpaw, says: Generally speaking the Khakhus wear a narrow turban wound round the head, but not concealing completely the top knot of hair; a coat with long sleeves, generally dyed with indigo, and without embroidery, and a striped oblong piece of cloth, just about the size of a bath-towel, which they pass round the waist and secure in front by a twist. They sometimes gird themselves with a narrow cane belt, to which are strung a double row of cowries (*shi wan*). They also wear two or three thin black cane rings, just below the knee, not as a charm, but to set the leg off. The original dress is said to be a small rather tight coat, a small waistcloth, and a very narrow turbān, wound only once, or at most twice, round the head and tied in a knot over the forehead. The colours are either black, or a plaid pattern of red, yellow, and dark-blue.

The Khakhu women are said to wear a white or parti-coloured narrow turban bound on the head in Burmese fashion. They wear an under-garment like a jersey with short sleeves and over it a coat open down the middle in front, reaching below the waist, with long sleeves and cuffs ornamented with cowries. Not unseldom the coat is dispensed with. They wear the cowrie girdle, and, as a skirt, an oblong piece of cloth a little longer than the men's, with a narrower fringe of embroidery on the border than is customary among the

Chingpaw; this petticoat is secured with a twist, so that the opening is towards the left side. They wear no cane rings whatever.

Among the Chingpaws, on the other hand, the women wear an enormously tall head-dress of folded dark blue cloth, reminding one of the tall hats of the Parsis, and short jackets barely reaching the waist, and sleeveless or very nearly so. They multiply girdles of thin cane round the waist, as also a few rings below the knees like the men, while their skirts are always worn so as to have the opening to the right. Through the lobes of their ears they thrust long tubes of silver (*lakan*) with shreds of coloured cloth run down the centre, while from the upper portion of the ear hang *litsuns* or lappets of embroidered cloth with small tassels of beads after this shape. Some wear enamelled plates of silver of the same size and shape.



Round their necks the women of some tribes, such as the Kaori Lepais, wear numerous necklaces of small beads called *kăgyi*, and with all tribes the *giri*, or torque of silver, is worn by such as can afford it.

Among the Chingpaw men there is much diversity as to dress, tribes adopting indifferently the dress of Shans or Chinese, according to neighbourhood. Wide Shan trousers and large round turbans, like those of the Shan-Chinese, are quite common, and there is much diversity in coats—from the long surtout of the Lihsaw to the ordinary Burmese or Chinese coat of white cotton almost universal in the nearer hills.

Unmarried Chingpaw girls do not wear the tall turban and are conspicuous by their hair, which is cut across the forehead in Newgate fringe fashion. Amongst the Kachins to the south-east of Bhamo and throughout the Northern Shan States the tall turban is universal among the married women, whether of the parent tribes or Lashi or Marus. This and the silver tube through the ear appear to be the distinguishing characteristics of the Southern Kachin women. The men instead of the tube often wear rolls of paper in the lobes of their ears, as the Tai, and indeed all the exaggerated ear-boring races do.

Customs.
Birth.

When a Kachin is about to be born, all friends and neighbours are assembled, and two pots of Kachin beer are prepared, one of which is meant for the general company and is drunk by them, while the other is set aside and called after the name of the child, and drunk only when it has appeared. No young man may drink from this second

pot without running the risk of ill luck, but the aged of either sex and women and children are not debarred. At the instant of birth the midwife says "the child is named so-and-so." If she does not do this, some malignant *nat* or spirit will give the child a name first and so cause it to pine away and die. If mother and child do well, there is general drinking and eating, and the happy father is chaffed. If, however, child-birth is attended with much labour, then it is evident that *nats* are at work and a *tumsa* or seer is called into requisition. This man goes to another house in the village and consults the bamboos (*chippawt*) to discover whether it is the house-*nat* who is averse, or whether a jungle *nat* has come and driven the guardian *nat* away. These jungle *nats* are termed *sawn*, and are the spirits of those who have died in child-birth or by violent deaths. They naturally wish for companions, and so enter the house and seize the woman and child. If the bamboo declares that it is the house-*nat* who is angry, he is propitiated by offerings of spirits or by sacrifice in the ordinary manner. If, however, it appears that a *sawn* has taken possession, then prompt action is necessary. Guns are fired all round the house and along the paths leading into the village, arrows are shot under the floor of the house, *dhas* and torches are brandished over the body of the woman, and finally old rags, chillies, and other materials likely to produce a sufficiently noisome smell are piled under the raised flooring and set fire to, thereby scaring away any but the most obstinate and pertinacious spirits.

When the birth is happily accomplished, the neighbours make little presents of dried-fish and the like, and drink to the health of the parents. Within a day or two the birth of the child must be notified to the house-*nats*, and it is commended to their protection by the *tumsa*, who decides the suitable offerings or sacrifice for the occasion.

For three days after the birth the mother may not leave the house, but she is not prevented from conversing with any one she chooses. On the morning of the fourth day, very early, she goes out with some elderly dame of the village and proceeds to the place where the village water is drawn. The gammer takes a spear with her and, when they come near the spring or the well, she casts it towards the water and says "Avaunt all evil spirits!" This is to frighten off any *nats* that cherish designs of carrying off the woman or her child. After the casting of the spear the woman bathes and washes her clothes in safety and thereafter is free to do as she likes. During pregnancy the woman must take no honey in any shape or form, or eat porcupine flesh, the reason given being that

these are likely to cause miscarriage. Otherwise there is no restriction of diet. The father is restricted in no way either before or after the birth.

Naming.

Among the Kachins all personal, or as we should say Christian, names are fixed and used in regular rotation thus:—

The 1st male child born is always called 'N Kam.
The 2nd male child born is always called 'N Nawng.
The 3rd male child born is always called 'N La.
The 4th male child born is always called 'N Tu.
The 5th male child born is always called 'N Tan.
The 6th male child born is always called 'N Yaw.
The 7th male child born is always called 'N Hka.
The 8th male child born is always called 'N Hkying.

Two other prefixes are common—Mā and Lā—for males. Thus the name 'N Kam may appear as Mā Kam or Lā Kam. It will be noticed that the order follows that of the sons of the legendary Wākyetwā. The names of the females run as follows:—

The 1st female child born,—'N Kaw.
The 2nd female child born,—'N Lu.
The 3rd female child born,—'N Roi.
The 4th female child born,—'N Tu.
The 5th female child born,—'N Kai.
The 6th female child born,—'N Kha.
The 7th female child born,—'N Pri.
The 8th female child born,—'N Yūn.
The 9th female child born,—'N Khying.
The 10th female child born,—'N Nang.
The 11th female child born,—Khying Nang.
The 12th female child born,—Khying Tang.

In place of the prefix 'N, Mā can also be used, thus 'N Kaw or Mā Kaw indifferently; the prefix Lā, however, is peculiar to males.

The above are the ordinary and most commonly used names, but sometimes a few other appellations may be used instead. Thus instead of naming the first male infant Mā Kam he can also be called Kum Rawng or 'N Gam, while for the children of the Chiefs or ruling line honorific appellations are used thus:—

'N Kam becomes any of these. {
Sao Kam.
Sao Ri (among the Lepai).
Sao Ing (Lahtawngs).
Sao Sêng (Lepais, Marans, and Szis).
Sao Naw.
Jāli or Jāle Kam.
Kum Saing.
Kum Jā Kam.

'N Naw becomes	Sin Wa Naw. Kumga Naw. Sao Awn. An Nawng. Sao Lawn.
'N La becomes ...	Jālāw. La Ring (Lepai). Saok 'Nwē La. Jā Yit.
'N Tu becomes ...	Jā Tu. Sao Tu. Sao Hlang.
'N Tan becomes ...	Awrā Awrātan. Sao Tan.
'N Yaw becomes...	Sao Yaw.

Sao is equivalent to *Sawbwa* and is therefore not improbably borrowed from the Shans. Jā means gold, and is used like *Shwe* in Burmese or *Hkam* in Shan.

Among the females—

'N Kaw becomes	Nang Mun, Jā Taung, Nang Seng,
'N Roi becomes ...	Nang Roi,
'N Htu becomes...	Nang Hkyeng, Nang Htu,

Nang being an honorific particle, also probably borrowed from the Shans. Besides these individual names, there are in the case of the common folk a large number of family appellations as—

Surnames among the Lakhums.	(1) M'bwi. (2) Laban. (3) Paw Sa. (4) Hpaw Tan. (5) 'N Taw. (6) 'N Tap, &c.
Among the Szis ...	(1) Chumlūt. (2) Lă Hang. (3) Mă Lang. (4) Hpau Yu. (5) Hpau Yan. (6) Mi Tun, &c.

These surnames are used before the Christian names just as the *Hsing* names are in Chinese. Thus the first son of a family of Chumlūt is called Chumlūt Kam, the second son Chumlūt Nawng

and so on. It seems probable that the Chingpaw have a series of family names, like the *Hsing* of the Chinese.

The following is a list of the family names among the Kachins compiled by Mr. D. W. Rae, Civil Officer, Bhamo Hills Tracts.

(1) Lasing.
(2) Singhtong.
(3) Chasham.
(4) Langsing.
(5) Kawlu.
(6) Kambao.
(7) Jangma.
(8) Lasum.
(9) Sumnut.
(10) Kareng.
(11) Hkuntang.
(12) Kumding.
(13) Malang.
(14) Kangkyi.
(15) Chaogyi.
(16) Lasi.
(17) Labang.
(18) 'Mbwi.
(19) Labya.
(20) Mwehpu.
(21) Mwehku.
(22) Mwehkaw.
(23) Sakong.
(24) Paosa.
(25) Lashi.
(26) Chaohpa.
(27) Lakang.
(28) Sangan.
(29) Lukna.
(30) Manam
(31) 'Nkhum.
(32) Paoje.
(33) Marip.
(34) Lasang.
(35) Kumtong.
(36) Paosang.
(37) Palu.
(38) Sabaw.
(39) Ningkyem.
(40) Maida.
(41) Kancma.
(42) Shadao.
(43) Kangsao.
(44) Mitong.
(45) Aora.
(46) Kumtat.
(47) 'Ntap.
(48) Pumang.
(49) Dumao.
(50) Lamao.
(51) Paoyu.
(52) Sinyu.
(53) Daoma.
(54) Maru.
(55) Wuchik.
(56) Kinraw.
(57) 'Ngyi.
(58) Paonat.
(59) Wudi.
(60) Myetshi.
(61) 'Nlam.
(62) Shanghtin.
(63) Tashi.
(64) Shawunla.
(65) Tingrin.
(66) Marao.
(67) Kaigyi.
(68) 'N b r a n g Paokun.
(69) Pasham.
(70) Lamai.
(71) Paoyam.
(72) Tawshi.
(73) Gamaw.
(74) Galao.
(75) Lusing.
(76) Sagaw.
(77) Paola.
(78) Paotai.
(79) 'Ndao.
(80) Palai.
(81) Kangda.
(82) Paowong.
(83) Kumpyen.
(84) Lama.
(85) Hkrap.
(86) Paolang.
(87) Chingpaw.
(88) Magao.
(89) Kumshan.
(90) Dingdu.
(91) Ningdup.
(92) Kataokum.
(93) Pao-se.
(94) Tao-je.
(95) Wapai.
(96) Pala.
(97) Lebang.

It is somewhat singular that all having the same surname, whether they belong to the same or different tribes, regard themselves as being of one blood and do not intermarry. Thus a Maran Chumlūt cannot take a wife from the Szi Chumlūts. This is interesting, because it suggests totemism and because it shows that the family distinctions are older than the tribal. So far the origin of

these family names has not been ascertained. It seems probable that a perversion of the system led to the outrageous number of so-called sub-clans. It is significant that all Chiefs, no matter of what tribe, are regarded as of one family and have no surnames. They are distinguished by local distinctive names. The first question Kachin strangers ask each other is—"Are you a *Duwa*" (one of the chieftains' line) or a commoner?" It is customary for those of the *Duwa* family to contract alliances within their own family, but intermarriage with commoners is permitted and the offspring in every case belongs to the father's family. Yet there are signs that the Kachin family was at one time matriarchal.

Tribal distinctions are properly those of local area or political subordination rather than of blood, thus a Szi Chumlūt who settles in a Maran *Duwa's* territory and pays his dues there becomes a Maran and his children become so too.

The underlying idea that those of the ruling estate all belong to the same family and govern by right divine is common to all early monarchies, and the legend of Wākyetwā finds its parallel in the story of the Setkya kings. It is to the interest of each ruling family everywhere to claim the most lofty lineage and from motives of self-interest to concede it to all other *Duwas*. But the existence of common family names in different tribes and their supposed kinship immediately suggests the Roman *gens* and the Greek *genos*. Since the Romans practically knew nothing about the origin of the *gens* at the time of the laws of the Twelve Tables, the modern Kachins, far from their old home, may be excused if they cannot explain this puzzling topic. But it may be remarked that in America, Australia, and Africa all persons bearing the same totem name belong to that totem kin. When the farthest Chingpaw are visited this subject will be worth careful attention.

Infanticide is not known among the Kachins, and the smallness of their families is due to the inclemencies of their climate and the savage surroundings generally, which make the rearing to maturity of those that are born no easy matter. Every additional hand is so much gain to the family, and at the worst the parent can always sell a superfluous child as a slave and thus make something out of him. When the parents belong to different tribes, the children take the name of the father's tribe. This is so even in the case of *ningkhis* or illegitimate children, the fruit of the experimental intercourse before marriage. Adoption can only take place in the same tribe. There is no restriction as to the age of the adopted child, but it still retains its own family surname. No particular ceremony is necessary. The adopting parents simply hold a feast,

which need not take place at the time of adoption, but can be delayed till convenient, and at this, in the presence of elders, they declare their intention. The child resides with its adoptive parents, and shares with the other heirs on their decease.

Marriage.

A man may not marry a woman of the same surname. It seems to be a general rule that a man should marry a first cousin on the female side, or more precisely the daughter of a mother's brother. He may not, however, marry his father's sister's child, who is regarded as closely related. Blood connection is generally traced through the female, which may or may not be a reminiscence of polyandry. This rule seems much relaxed among the Southern Kachins, but it is said that farther north, if there is a marriageable first cousin whom a man does not want to marry, he can marry elsewhere only after paying a fine to the injured parents of the damsel. The parents are injured because they are robbed of a certainty in the price of the girl.

The forbidden degrees of consanguinity are—

(1) Parents and grand-parents.
(2) Children and grand-children.
(3) Father's sister's child.
(4) Father's brother's child (because of the same name).
(5) Mother's sister's child.

Among the Szis there is an arrangement whereby one family is so to speak general parent-in-law to another family and gives females only to the members of the latter family. Since the families are thus regarded as permanent connections, it is not competent for the first family to demand wives from the second family, so they have to get them elsewhere. There appears to be a well recognized series of families among which women are regularly given or taken in marriage.

Thus the following families:—

Malang,	Lăban,	Taw Shi,
Hpau Yan,	Mislū,	Sin Hang,

may take females of the family of Chumlūts, but the Chumlūt family has to go for its consorts to other families, such as the—

Num Taw,	Tum Maw,	Jang Maw,
Lŭmaw,	Hpanyu,	Hpu Kawn.

The only restraining influence now-a-days is popular opinion. No particular punishment seems to be inflicted for breach of these hymenæal rules. Traces of a custom of the kind are found among certain of the Karen tribes (*see* Ethnology chapter) and similar rules used to be maintained among some of the Australian aborigines.

Polyandry does not exist, but polygamy is permissible. For a man to have more than two wives is rare. Sometimes, however, he cannot help himself, since successive brothers must marry a deceased elder brother's widows. Occasionally, when many brothers die and one brother is saddled with more wives than he is able to support, it is permissible to arrange for a still younger brother or even a stranger to take the widow; the widow in any case has to be taken care of and fed by her husband's family even if none of them wlll formally become her husband. If this is not done, she returns to her own household, and this constitutes a "debt" which has to be liquidated in blood or money. The reason given for permitting polygamy is that it is a provision against barrenness, but, although permissible, it is not always practised. Monogamy, as in most similar cases, is at any rate prevalent and is perhaps the rule. Dr. Anderson says:—

"The ceremony of marriage, besides the religious rites, combines the idea of purchase from the parents with that of abduction so frequently found to underlie the nuptial rites of widely separated races. An essential preliminary is to get the diviner to predict the general fortune of the intended bride. Some article of her dress or ornaments is procured and handed over to the seer, who, it may be supposed, being thereby brought *en rapport* with her, proceeds to consult omens and to predict her destiny."

After this there appear to be two forms—One where the abduction of the bride is nominal and the preliminaries and ceremonies are adjusted with formality. This is the rule among the *Sawbwas* and the more wealthy or influential households. The other form, where the abduction is actually carried out, is usual among the common people. The latter is obviously the earlier custom and may therefore be described first. When the *tumsa's* forecast is favourable, the young man sends some of his friends to the house of a respectable householder in the village where the girl lives. This agent is termed *chang tung*. The emissaries inform the *chang tung* whom they wish to carry off, and show the presents which the intending husband has sent. There is a generally recognized scale of presents due according to the social standing of the damsel, and the intermediary is guided by this. If he considers the present insufficient, he mentions what is still required. The matter is discussed, the exact presents are finally fixed, and agreements are come to to make up deficiencies at the first opportunity. The go-between then decoys the girl to his house and she is seized and carried off. This usually occurs at night. Next morning the *chang tung* goes over to the parents and tells them what has happened and displays the presents. As a rule, since they are on the recognized scale, they are accepted. Occasionally, however, the parents go in pursuit, and so long as the religious marriage ceremony has not been per-

formed, and the parties are not man and wife, they can take the girl back. If, however, the religious ceremonies have been gone through, they are too late and must acquiesce.

The religious and other ceremonies performed in case the girl is not recaptured are similar to those customary in the more regular and modern form of marriage common among the notables.

In such cases the proposer sends two messengers with Kachin beer and a piece of clothing as presents, to make a formal proposal. These go first to the house of the usual intermediary and by him are introduced to the parents. The amount of dowry is discussed and agreed to, and then the neighbours are summoned and drinks are served round. The girl herself is never consulted, and is bound by her parents' wishes. This constitutes the betrothal. There is no fixed time which must elapse before the marriage ceremony takes place. When the day comes the bridegroom stays at home and sends his friends, male and female, without limit as to number, over to the bride's village with the presents agreed on. They go first to the *chang tung's* house and thence to the bride's, where she sits in her best clothes, wearing silver torques (*giri*) and as many silver ornaments as possible (*kumpraw palawng*). A *tumsa* is present and proceeds to find out by his art which two women it would be best to send as bridesmaids. When these are selected, each picks up a *nauklwè* (the basket carried on the back by a sort of yoke round the neck) in which are clothes, a couple of spears, and a *dha* or two given by the parents and intended to start the couple in house-keeping. Other articles of housewifery, such as cooking-pots and the like, are sent later. The bride then starts off attended by her bridesmaids and as many other people as the popularity or station of the family justify, but the parents remain behind. When the bridegroom's village is reached the bride is usually conducted to the house of the original messenger or go-between (*likyaw*), while the *tumsa* is offering sacrifices to determine the propitious moment. When he gives the word the bride is brought out and made to sit near the bridegroom's house.

Then to quote Dr. Anderson :—

"The *tumsa* arranges bunches of fresh grass pressed down with bamboos at regular intervals so as to form a carpet between the company (where the bride is) and the bridegroom's house. The household *nats* are then invoked and a libation of *sheroo* and water poured out."

This may be the case at the weddings of *Duwas*, but the ordinary Kachin ties his bamboos of liquor for a reasonable time before the spirit shrine and then carries them home and pours the libation into his own person.

Dr. Anderson continues:—

"Fowls, &c. (which usually means pigs), are then killed and their blood is sprinkled on the grass-path (and also on the bride), over which the bride and her attendants (the two women with *nauklwés* only) pass to the house, and offer boiled eggs, ginger, and dried fish to the household deities. This concludes the ceremony, in which the bridegroom takes no part."

He does not even talk to the bride then; she usually goes straight into the bridegroom's parents' rooms till the time of the evening meal, when she is brought out and husband and wife feed each other with a few mouthfuls before the assembled company.

"The marriage feast ends, like all their festivities, in great drunkenness, disorder, and often in a fight."

As a rule, co-habitation does not take place for some days after marriage, the only reason given being that the parties are ashamed, but frequently very young girls are abducted and this necessarily delays coverture. The bride is not veiled. In cases where abduction has taken place against the wish of the parents, it is permissible for friends of the intending husband to perform the part of the more regular bridesmaids. A widow, as has been noted, is usually taken by her husband's brothers. She has no option and can only marry again outside her husband's household with their consent.

Laxity of morals.

Before marriage the young people are allowed to consort as they please. In villages to the north there are always two or three little so-called bachelors' huts (*dum'nta*) at the disposal of any maiden with any favoured man. If they do not care for each other, they part, and no one has a right to interfere. Each is free to experiment with any one else. If they care for each other, they marry. The result of this is claimed to be that unchastity after marriage does not exist. In case a child results, it is usual to arrange for its birth in the man's house, and he has to kill a bullock and pigs to honour the *nats* of the damsel's home. In addition he has to pay a fine to the parents of a spear, a *gong*, a *dha*, and some pieces of clothing, or else he must marry her. Otherwise the parents have a "debt" against him. When he has paid the required fine, the man can take or leave the child, just as he pleases. This free love at once recalls the description given by Marco Polo of the marriage customs of Tibet, where no woman was thought of as a wife until she had proved herself a child-bearing reality; the greater number of fathers, the more conclusive the proof. Herodotus has a similar tale, but in the case of the Gindanes of Libya the number of lovers was ostentatiously displayed to prove that a girl must be worth marrying. Such sordid proofs as babies are not referred to.

Disease.

In case of mild forms of sickness where there is not much suffering simple herbal remedies are adopted, but there is no regular profession of medicine. Most elders of the village have their own recipes. Where sickness, however, is dangerous or accompanied by pain, it is declared to be caused by a *nat*, or spirit, biting the person. The *tumsa* is called in, and by his aid the particular *nat* who is the cause of the illness is discovered and propitiated with eggs, spirit, fish, or the sacrifice of a buffalo, fowl, or pig, according to the emergency of the case. Goître is found among the Kachins as among the other hill tribes, but seems not to be so prevalent as among the valley dwellers.

Death.

Mr. George was told the following folksmyth by a Szi from the south-east of Bhamo. Long ago when all men were immortal, a very aged man named Apaukkyit Lôk lived on Majaw Shingra Pum, the ancestral hills of the Kachins. Nine times had he grown old, lost his teeth, and become grey-headed, and nine times had he mysteriously rejuvenated, as everybody else did in that golden age, when nobody could die. Apaukkyit Lôk went out one day to fish and caught a *sĕkhai* (probably a kind of squirrel), which had fallen asleep on the branch of a tree and had slipped off into the water, where it was captured. Apaukkyit Lôk put the *sĕkhai* into a big bamboo basket and covered it with clothes and then went and hid himself. The neighbours were taken in by this primitive joke and the rumour went round that the old man was dead. Now in the sun there lived the spirit of a man termed *sumri*, which is the all-pervading life essence, without which man would die. This *sumri* was subject to the Lord of the sun, who when he heard of Apaukkyit Lôk's supposed death summoned *sumri*, but found that essence unchanged. The idea of *sumri* is explained as being that of a mere centre from which threads of life spread out to each individual, and until this thread is snapped or cut, life goes on existing in the individual. The Lord of the sun discovered that the old man's connection with the life-centre was still intact, and so realized that there was a mistake, so he sent several messengers, as if on the pretext that they were to dance at the funeral, but really to make enquiries. All they could see was a bundle of clothes enwrapping a form in a wicker basket. Apparently it was not permissible to see the corpse, so the messengers had recourse to stratagem, and covered their feet with honey to make them sticky, and contrived, while dancing round the basket, to touch the clothes with their feet and gradually draw them enough to one side to discover the fraud. They informed the Lord of the sun, who in anger cut off Apaukkyit Lôk's connection, so that he fell sick. He sent for a *tumsa*, and the path of the messengers

was crossed both by a jungle cat and an otter, both excellent omens, but in spite of sacrifices and all that could be done, Apaukkyit Lôk's folly "opened the door" (as the Kachins put it) for death to enter into the world and people have died ever since. Mr. George doubts whether this is a true Chingpaw myth, more especially because it was told him on the southernmost fringe of the Chingpaw country. This hardly seems a sufficiently strong reason for suggesting that the tale may be of Chinese or Shan origin and denying all capacity of mystic speculation to the Chingpaw. Most races accept death as inevitable without speculating as to why it should be so, or when and why it began. Dr. Anderson gives the following account of funeral ceremonies as they are now practised :—

"When a Kachin dies, the news is announced by the discharge of matchlocks. This is a signal for all to repair to the house of death. Some cut bamboos and timber for the coffin, others prepare for the funeral rites. A circle of bamboos is driven into the ground slanting outwards, so that the upper circle is much wider than the base. (This is termed Kăroi.) To each a small flag is fastened; grass is placed between this circle and the house, and the *tumsa* scatters grass (Nām—long grass) over the bamboos and pours a libation of *sheroo*. (*Chiru* is considered to be the better transliteration now, and the Kachin now-a-days merely offers the spirit and eventually drinks it himself.)

"A hog is then slaughtered and the flesh cooked and distributed, and the skull is fixed on one of the bamboos. The coffin (*tū-ū*) is made of the hollow trunk of a large tree, which the men fell with their *dhas*. Just before it falls a fowl is dashed against the tottering stem and killed. The object of this sacrifice is to induce the spirit of the departed to make the tree fall fairly so that it may be easily split to make the coffin. The regular custom is to split the trunk, hollow out the inside, and use the two pieces as coffin and lid, so that the junction of the two is exact.

"The body is washed by men or matrons, according to the sex, and dressed in new clothes. Some of the pork, boiled rice, and *chiru* are placed before it and a piece of silver is inserted in the mouth to pay ferry dues over the streams the spirit may have to cross. It is then coffined and borne to the grave amid the discharge of firearms. The grave is about three feet deep, and three pieces of wood are laid to support the coffin, which is covered with branches of trees before the earth is filled in. The old clothes of the deceased are laid on the mound and *chiru* is poured on it, the rest being drunk by the friends around it. In returning, the mourners strew ground rice along the path, and when near the village, they cleanse their legs and arms with fresh leaves. Eating and drinking wind up the day. Next morning an offering of a hog and *chiru* is made to the spirit of the dead man, and a feast and dance are held till late at night and resumed in the morning. A formal sacrifice of a buffalo in honour of the household *nats* then takes place, and the *tumsa* breaks down the bamboo fence, after which the final death dance successfully drives forth the spirit, which is believed to have been still lingering round its former dwelling. In the afternoon a trench is dug round the grave and the conical cover already described is erected, the skulls of the hog and buffalo being affixed to the post."

Mr. George remarks that this description applies properly to a funeral among the Kaori Lepais, a tribe very restricted in area and marked by peculiar patois and customs, but what different usages there may be among other tribes do not appear to be very distinctive.

It does not appear to be necessary that the burial and funeral ceremonies should be at all coincident in point of time. If a man dies, at a distance from his village, if it be impossible to collect all friends and relations in time, or if the family finances be too low to provide a sufficiently magnificent wake, it is quite permissible for the body to be buried at once and without ceremony. An ordinary man can be buried lying in any direction. Although there are recognized burial-grounds, their use is not compulsory, and his relatives can bury a man where they please. In a Kachin burial-ground it is not usual, except in the case of people bearing the same family name, to have the graves as near together as is the case with Burmans and Shans. Among the Szis on the east frontier, it is said to be customary to call on a Chinese or Shan-Chinese soothsayer termed *sensen*, whose specialty it is to decide on a favourable spot for the grave so that the survivors may not be worried by the ghost of the departed. In the case of *Sawbwas* or influential men, when it has been decided to postpone the funeral ceremonies, it is common for the coffin to be kept sometimes for months supported above ground on posts. A bamboo is let into the coffin, connecting it with the earth to permit of the escape of the results of decomposition.

When it is decided to hold the funeral ceremony (*mānmăkoi*), all friends are invited and a *tumsa* is called in, who decides in consultation with the spirit of the departed what sacrifice—buffalo, bullock, pig, or fowl—should be offered. This is killed and eaten and a portion is presented to the spirit of the deceased at his shrine (*mankyang* or *mang-jang*). This spot is usually at the back of the house, where the household *nats* are worshipped and where, pending the completion of the funeral rites, the deceased's *dha*, bag, and the like have been hung up. Feasting and drinking go on after this till nothing is left, the monotony being varied by death dances, described by Dr. Anderson as follows :—" We enter-
" ed the common hall, round which men, women, and children were
" dancing, each carrying a small stick, with which each beat time as
" they circled round with measured steps, curiously combining a
" prance and a side shuffle. The instrumentalists were a man and a
" girl, who vigorously beat a pair of drums, while ever and anon the
" dancers burst into loud yells and quickened the speed of their evo-
" lutions. We at first sat gravely on the logs brought by a similar

"girl, but were presently invited by signs to take our places in the "dance; accordingly we stood up and went round, and had hardly "taken two turns when the whole party rushed yelling out of the "house, the leader flourishing his stick wildly as though clearing the "way. Much puzzled, we returned into the house, and found the "corpse of a child laid in a corner carefully screened off and the "poor mother wailing bitterly by its side. The festivity turned out "to be a death dance to drive away the departed spirit from hover-"ing near its late tenement, and our exertions were believed to "have mainly contributed to the happy result."

On the final day of the death ceremonies the *lup* or conical shaped thatch cover seen all over the hills is erected over the grave, and the trench usually dug only for *Chieftains* and noteworthy people is finished. The *karoi* or bamboo circle is pulled down before this is done. In the evening the *tumsa* addresses the spirit of the deceased (*man-shippawt nai*), and begs it to go away to the place where its ancestors are and never to come back. Neither Mr. George nor other enquirers have ascertained whether there is any idea of a definite spirit-world, as this would seem to imply, and, if so, where it is. The shrine (*mang-jang*) in the house is then destroyed and guns are fired off, and a party of friends goes out to visit the burial-place, firing and drinking as they go. If the deceased is a man, they make six halts. When they reach the *lup* they hang up the articles of the deceased's dress, his *dha*, and so forth, which have been taken off the *mang-jang*, and then they fire a volley. On their way back they place little heaps of rice-flour here and there on the road, which are inspected next morning and omens are drawn from their condition. Should they be found disturbed, it is a sign that some other member of the family or village is shortly about to die. There is a final death-dance and then the company disperse. Six days afterwards in the case of a man, and seven in the case of a woman, the spirit of the deceased is supposed to return for a last look round. It is consequently necessary to induce it to go away. In anticipation the family have caught something eatable, generally fish, and the first captured is presented along with some *chiru* to the spirit, who is adjured to go and remain with his or her ancestors and not to stay and become a *nat*. Neighbours come in and a general drinking bout ends the proceedings. There is no mourning garb nor does it appear that any of the relations have to observe any special rules after the death. Burial is now-a-days the usual form of disposing of the dead, except in the case of lunatics (*mănā*), persons dying a violent death (*săwā*), and women dying in child-birth (*ntang*), who are burnt. In the case of the last, the ashes and bones are simply raked together,

covered with a little earth, and a *lup* erected above them. Among the Kaoris, according to Dr. Anderson, "funeral rites are also denied "to those who die of small-pox and to women dying in child-birth. "In the latter case, the mother and the unborn child are supposed "to become a fearful compound vampire (*swawn*). All the young "people fly in terror from the house and divination is resorted to "to discover what animal the evil spirit will devour and another "into which it will transmigrate."

This shows the influence of Buddhist notions introduced through intercourse with Shans and Burmese, for the idea of transmigration appears to be utterly unknown to the northern Kachins. Dr. Anderson continues: "The first (animal) is sacrificed and some of "the flesh placed before the corpse; the second is hung up and a "grave dug in the direction to which the animal's head pointed "when dead. Here the corpse is buried with all the clothes and "ornaments worn in life, and a wisp of straw is burned on its face "before the leaves and earth are filled in. All property of the "deceased is burnt on the grave and a hut erected over it. The "death-dance takes place to drive the spirit from the house in all "cases. The former custom appears to have been to burn the "body itself with the house and all the clothes and ornaments used "by the deceased. This also took place if the mother died during "the month succeeding child-birth, and, according to one native "statement, the infant also was thrown into the fire with the address 'take away your child;' but, if previously any one claimed "the child, saying 'give me your child,' it was spared and belonged "to the adopting parent, the real father being unable at any time "to reclaim it."

The last statement suggests the complacent Burman informant, who is always willing to invent and improve upon strange customs. Mr. George says that a tradition exists among the Szis that formerly cremation was the rule. The only explanation given for its discontinuance is that with altered times came altered customs, and the spread of the custom of chewing betel, unknown in the north, was instanced as a parallel example.

Government.

Each Kachin *Duwa* has his own recognized hill tract, within which all dwellers look to him as their Chief. The term *Sawbwa*, commonly used, is not national and in most cases is absolutely misleading, for though there are Chiefs, such as the Kansi and Thama *Duwas*, who rule over fairly wide tracts and have many subordinate *Duwas*, or village headmen, under them, the majority of the so-called *Sawbwas* are of no more

consequence than the ordinary Burmese village *gaung*. The Shan Chiefs to whom the title belongs look upon the use of it by the Kachins with amused contempt. The chieftainship is hereditary, the youngest son succeeding to the title and power, as under Borough English law. The eldest sons can stay on in the old homestead if they like, but in most cases they move off with a small personal following to make a fresh settlement according to ancient use and wont. The retention of authority by the *Duwa* depends entirely on his own personal gifts. If he is intelligent, his counsels are followed, otherwise he is a mere mouth-piece of his *salangs*, who are oftenest called *pawmaings*, a Shan name for a village headman. Every *Duwa* has two or three of the elders to advise him, and in the majority of cases they are the real authority; they have no pay, but they control everything in the village. Theoretically the *Duwa* is master of all lands in his territory, but practically individual rights are respected. As Dr. Anderson puts it, speaking of the Kaori tribe: "a suggestion to a villager that the chief might evict him "from his holding was replied to by a significant sawing motion of "the hand across the throat."

No strangers are allowed to buy or cultivate land without the *Duwa's* permission. Tribute to the Chief consists usually of one or two baskets of rice from each house, but he is also entitled to a part, usually a leg, of all game and of all bullocks and buffaloes killed within the limits of his jurisdiction; while such chieftains as have their territory along the caravan routes receive also such collections as are made from travellers for free passage. Otherwise the *Duwa* is in the same position as any other villager, and has to work for his living in the same manner, with the exception that four times in the year—at jungle-clearing, sowing, weeding, and harvest time—the whole village has to give one day's labour to the ruler, but even then he gives them their food for the day. He is not even village judge or keeper of the peace. Quarrels are referred to the arbitration of the *salangs*, sometimes of the same, but oftener of a separate village, and should an award not be accepted the law of reprisals is resorted to, and the *Duwa*, unless he or his relations are personally concerned, has no right to interfere. Inter-tribal or intercommunal quarrels are always settled by reprisals, and then the *Duwa* takes the lead in executing vengeance. Our system of making each headman personally responsible for peace and order in his territories was therefore quite a novelty to the Kachins. The rise of the *kumlao* or democratic system referred to above was therefore quite easy and was effected without any noticeable change in village habits. The *salangs* did everything as before and there was merely no *Duwa*.

According to Mr. George this *kumlao* system began certainly not more than thirty years ago. The exact year, he says, can be fixed by the fact that it was the year in which a very large comet indeed was visible and remained so, which would seem to refer to 1858, for nearly two months. The story goes that the daughter of Ning Bawa, *Duwa* of Sumpawng Pum, was sought in marriage by two men: Khawlè, who is described as a Maran Akyi (headman), and Lapushaung. Ning Bawa, however, chose neither, but gave her to Naw Pwè, Chief of Ngumla, a village beyond the confluence, two days north of Wantu. Upon this Khawlè and Lapushaung joined forces. Khawlè killed the Ngumla Chief and Lapushaung disposed of Sumpawng Pum and each seized his victim's villages. This raised an appetite for more and they proceeded to kill or drive away all *Duwas* who would not yield and efface themselves. Major Fenton remarks that "Simwa, *Sawbwa* of Sakipum, and numbers "of minor *Duwas* saved their lives by consenting to give up their "emoluments, and were made *akyis*, apparently a purely honorary "title." The movement was not confined exclusively to the Lepai tribe as he says, but was found also among the Lahtawngs and Marans. It is extraordinarily widespread, considering its recent origin, for there are villages in the upper defile, just north of Bhamo, where within a few years of the annexation the *Duwas* were driven out and *akyis* established. How the system worked appears from the remarks of Captain L. E. Elliott: "The difference between "Kumlao and Kumsa is only mentioned here, as no previous "report has noted how greatly the difficulty of a march through "Kachin country is enhanced if the people of the villages passed "through have no *Sawbwas*, or in short are *kumlaos* and not *kum*-"*sas*. With a hereditary *Sawbwa*, if he is friendly, no trouble need "be expected from the villagers; but in a *kumlao* village which is "practically a small republic, however well meaning the headman "may be, he is quite unable to control the action of any badly dis-"posed villager, as the latter would strongly resent any restraint "on the part of the headman on his liberty of action. Though the "movement may be slowly extending to the north of the conflu-"ence, it is doubtful whether it is really gaining much ground, "as certain Kachin villages near the Chinese frontier are disgusted "with the new state of affairs, and the lawlessness involved thereby, "and are negotiating for the return of their *Sawbwas*. The *Saw*-"*bwas*, however, do not seem anxious to rejoin, as they are not yet "certain of their position."

The appointment of some responsible person as headman has been made compulsory on all Kachin villages within the administrative zone. Occasionally the *Duwa* acts as representative of the

whole community in offering sacrifices, as for example in the yearly festival of the "*nat* of the earth," and every villager is obliged to assist him and contribute offerings. So, too, in times of general prosperity, the *Duwa*, as head of the community, holds high festival for three or four days on end (*manaukalaw*), to which all neighbouring communities are invited. The entire company of the *nats* is then propitiated with offerings, and dancing and drunkenness help to pass the time merrily. The whole community contributes to bear the expense. When a *Sawbwa* marries, it seems to be customary, but not obligatory, for his subjects to make him offerings. There was in fact a species of *trinoda necessitas*, but the Chingpaw were too impatient of control to observe it, except when they chose.

Law.

There does not seem, so far as our knowledge of Chingpaw custom goes, to be any body of recognized legal rules. Disputes may or may not be referred to the decision of the *Duwa* or some of the *salangs* or *pawmaings*, but ultimately each man is his own avenger; compensation for injuries is allowed, and there is a tolerably recognized scale of blood money : thus, if a *Duwa* is murdered, the cession of half the village lands of the offender with many slaves and guns is required to expiate the crime; while, in the case of a lesser man, one slave, eight or ten bullocks, and some clothes and gongs will suffice. If satisfaction is not thus obtained, a "debt" is constituted, and the Kachin method of reasoning in liquidating these debts is exceedingly whimsical. Mr. George gives the following example of the wrongheadedness which characterizes Kachin notions and the tenacity with which they cling to them. In December 1890 a caravan of peaceful Chinese traders returning from Bhamo to their homes were suddenly attacked by the *Duwa* of Kasankôn, east of Bhamo, and two Chinamen were shot dead. There was no apparent motive for the crime at the time as the Kachins along that route had been perfectly quiet all the season. Subsequently, on the capture of the *Duwa*, it appeared that in 1868, when Colonel Sladen's mission marched to Momien, the Kasankôn *Duwa's* father was of assistance to the party, and in return for his services, Colonel Sladen on his way back invited him to accompany his mission to Bhamo, probably with the object of rewarding him on arrival. The father came to Bhamo and died there, apparently from natural causes. This constituted a debt against Bhamo, and the memory was carefully treasured up till 1890, when the *Duwa* suddenly resolved to square accounts. Since Bhamo was the debtor, every one connected with it, no matter in what way, became liable, even a mere merchant visiting it temporarily for trade. The twenty-three years that had elapsed made no difference as to the ultimate

working off of the debt. A still more curious instance is quoted in the Katha district. A Kachin boy was accidentally drowned in the Kauk-kwe stream north of the Katha township. For years afterwards the parents and others of the villagers came to the spot on the anniversary of the boy's death and hacked at the waters of the stream with their *dhas*. The most trivial matters are remembered and worked off after long intervals of time. The village of Naungmo was once attacked and burnt and two villagers shot, because some six years previously a Kachin who came to the village lost a cooking-pot there and failed to recover it. This system renders the keeping open of the trade routes a most difficult task. Attacks by Kachins and reprisals by traders furnished a constant series of debts which it was contrary to Kachin character to forget and which it would have been disgraceful to condone.

It is a point of honour to assist a friend in working off a "debt," and a following can be raised at a moment's notice, and without expense, which will see the account paid. A poor man is therefore on an equality with a rich one, so far as punishing injuries is concerned, and this is in a way a justification of the system. In the case of a murder the man's relations are his avengers, and divide the compensation, if any, accepted for his death. In other cases a man is his own avenger. In the case of a *Duwa's* death, all his subjects join in exacting an adequate revenge. Where the discharge of debts was not possible for the time, note of it was kept by cutting notches in a bamboo.

Property.

With regard to *taungya* or hill cultivation, individual property is not recognized; the land is regarded as belonging to the whole community as represented by their *Duwa*, and the system of cultivation does not permit of a constant use of the same plot of ground. Where land is owned in the valleys and wet-weather paddy is cultivated, the case is different, and individual ownership is admitted, with this restriction, that the land cannot be parted with to an alien. It is as a recognition of his theoretical ownership of all the land that the *Duwa* gets one or two baskets of paddy per house annually. Land descends to a household as a whole, and is worked in common for the benefit of all. Those who leave the household lose all right to participate. When the household breaks up voluntarily, a division is made according to no fixed rules, except that the youngest son gets Benjamin's share, as well as the ancestral homestead. If there are no male children, the wife takes all the property.

Religion.

The Kachins worship *nats* or spirits, of whom the number is endless, for any one may become a *nat* after his death. The original *nat* according to Mr. George's

Szi informant, was Chinūn Way Shun, who existed long before the formation of the world and before the other *nats* came into existence. Chinūn Way Shun is now known as the *nat* of the earth and he created the other big *nats*—

(1) Chitôn, the forest *nat*, a particularly vicious one.
(2) Mu (Mushang in Szi), the *nat* of the heavens.
(3) Sinlap } These live in the sky and generally interest
(4) Ponphyoi } themselves in mortal affairs. Sinlap is said to give wisdom to his worshippers.
(5) Mbôn, the *nat* of the wind.
(6) Wăwn or Khying Wăwn, according to Anderson the patron of agriculture.

The last two *nats* are worshipped only by the *Duwa* and only when a festival (*mănau*) is being held.

(7) Jān, the *nat* of the Sun } Both beneficent.
(8) Shitta, the *nat* of the moon }

After these greater *nats* had been created, the story runs that Way Shun made a pumpkin and then called in the other *nats*, who each added a little; Chitôn gave legs, Mu, eyes, and so on, and thus the first man-like being, known as Ningkwawnwa or Shingrawa, also in places called Ningganwa, came into existence. Shingrawa, though he was of human shape, was of divine nature, and from him was descended Shippawn Ayawng, the forefather of the Kachin race. When Shingrawa came into existence, the earth left much to be desired. The water was undrinkable, the ground unworkable, and every tree and shrub was covered with thorns. For some unknown reason the waters rose and submerged everything and after this had happened Shingrawa created the present earth and its vegetation out of the remains of the old earth, shaping it carefully with a hammer. For a long time he went about the earth taking care of it and the people, but eventually he went away into the skies. Since Shingrawa was kind and good and does not interest himself now in mankind, little notice is taken of him and the shrines to him are few and neglected.

The following legend is told in various ways in different parts of the hills as to the flood and origin of the races of mankind.

When the flood came on, a man Pawpaw Nan-chaung and his sister, Chang-hko, saved themselves in a large boat. They had with them nine cocks and nine needles. After some days of rain and storm they threw overboard one cock and one needle to see if the waters were falling. But the cock did not crow and the needle was not heard to strike bottom. They did the same thing day

after day, but with no better result; at last on the ninth day the cock gave a cheering crow and the needle was heard to strike upon a rock. Soon after the brother and sister were able to leave their boat and they wandered about till they came to the cave of two old *nats* called Ch'tong, male and female. The *nats* bade them stay and employed them in clearing the jungle and cultivating the ground, hewing wood, and drawing water. Soon the girl Chang-hko had a child. The old she *nat* used to look after the infant while the parents were at work and when it cried she used to threaten to cut it in pieces at the point where the nine roads met. But the child knew no better and went on crying and one day the old witch wife took it to the fork of the nine roads and hewed the baby to pieces and scattered the blood and the fragments over the roads and the country round about. But some of the flesh she carried back to her cave and made into a savoury curry. Before the mother came back the witch put a block of wood into the baby's cradle and covered it up, and when Chang-hko came in from the fields and asked for the child the *nat*-wife said. "It is asleep; eat your rice first." So Chang-hko ate the rice and curry and then went to the cradle, where there was nothing but the block of wood. She asked where her child was and the old *nat* said "You have just eaten it." The poor mother fled from the house and at the cross roads she wailed aloud and cried to the great spirit to give her back her child or to avenge its death. The great *nat* appeared and said: "I cannot piece your baby together again, but instead I will make you the "mother of all nations of men." And then from one road there sprang up the Shans, from another the Chinese, from others the Burmese and the Bengalis, and all the races of mankind, and the bereaved mother claimed them all as her children. But they would not believe her, and one said "if you will make this piece of "charcoal white, I will believe you are my mother," and another bored two holes in the bottom of a bamboo bucket and said "fill this with water if you are my mother." And the others also demanded miracles of her. Then Chang-hko was angry and said "If you will not own me as your mother then I will live upon you." And to this day when they are in trouble she demands their pigs and their cattle and, if they do not give these, she eats out their life. Therefore the Chingpaw say when any one is sick: "We must "eat to the *nats*."

A variant on the story in the Katha district omits all mention of the brother and says the girl became a mother without a husband. The races that sprang from the fragments of the child were called Hnon, Mayan, and Lapaik, north, west, and east. The old *nats* were named Ngawwa and Lamotusan.

It was after Shingrawa, the creator of the earth, went away that the lesser *nats* began to appear, until now, as Dr. Anderson puts it, "every hill, forest, and stream has its own *nat* of greater or lesser "power; every accident or illness is the work of some malignant "or vindictive one of these viewless ministers."

Additions are constantly being made to their number by the spirits of the dead. The Kachins generally seem to have no theory of a future existence. They do not go beyond consigning the soul to the place "where its fathers and mothers have gone." So far as is known they do not send the good to a heaven and the bad to a hell, though Dr. Anderson says of the Kaoris that "they believe "Tsojah is the abode of good men; and those who die violent "deaths and bad characters generally go to Marai." To questions as to the situation and condition of these places an intelligent Kakhyen answered: "How can I tell? No one knows anything." These notions, however, seem borrowed from their Buddhist neighbours, like those of the Szi, who gave Mr. George "a most thrilling and elaborate description of how the wretched soul, after "death, had to crawl along a thin bamboo bridge, underneath "which a set of huge cauldrons were kept continually boiling. If "the soul had belonged to a bad man, the cauldrons began to "bubble up and boil over and envelop the bridge, thus dragging "down the delinquent to perdition (*meungăraitā*). The souls of "others, not quite so bad, pass on to the end of the bridge, but "meeting an almost perpendicular and slippery hill, cannot avoid "slipping backwards to the region of the cauldrons, whence they "make their escape back to the earth and become *nats* after suffering a parboiling which cannot have improved their tempers. "Others get to the top of the mountain, where they meet two roads— "one to the right, "strait and narrow" leading to *meungliban*, "the region of the blessed, and the other, "broad and inviting, "leading to *suka*, where the soul is subjected to many petty annoyances." This version of the vision of Mirza seems to point certainly to Buddhist ideas. *Meungăraitā* may be taken to be the Shan *Möng Ngarai*, the *Ngayè* of the Burmese, and the lowest of the eight hells. This is all the more probable from the name *meungliban*. *L* and *N* are interchangeable among the Shan Chinese, so that Liban is simply Neibban, Nirvana. "When a man "becomes unconscious and then revives, he is said to have got to "within sight of the bridge and burning pots, but to have heard the "voices of his friends recalling him and to have returned." The Northern Kachin, however, has apparently no such notions. It seems a mere chance whether a soul goes to the ancestral home or remains behind and becomes a *nat*. Apparently the only clue is

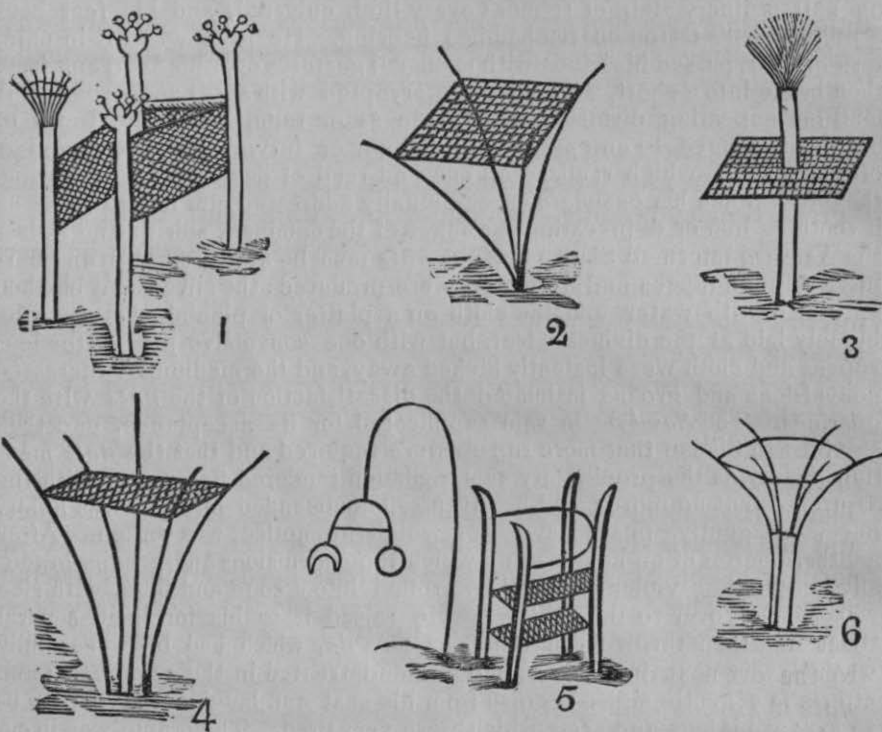
when after the death of one of a family, another member has an accident or falls sick. Then the *tumsa* is called in and, if he declares the malignant influence to be due to the soul of the deceased, this *nat* is promptly propitiated and installed among the household gods. These are usually the spirits of ancestors (*Kūm kūn Kūm hpai*), though Chitôn is occasionally included amongst them.

As a rule the *nats* are considered malignant, and are not therefore worshipped so long as everything goes on smoothly. Even the beneficent *nats* do not exert themselves actively to better the condition of their worshippers. Dr. Anderson says "there are two ways "of consulting the *nats*, either by a possessed medium termed a "*mi-tway*, or by the *tumsa* or regular priest, who is quite distinct. "There is no sacerdotal caste, the succession being kept up by "a natural selection and apprenticeship. The *tumsa* practises "augury from fowl bones, omens, and the fracture of burned mil-"grass, besides holding communication with a spirit world."

The *tumsa* is usually resorted to when it is a question of sacrifice or propitiation, the *mi-tway* when a question of purely human interest (such as the proper time to attack a neighbouring tribe) is being debated.

The *tumsa* first determines by divination which *nat* is at work, and then proceeds to deliver a long harangue in sonorous and rhythmical language, comprehensible only to the initiated. The *tumsa* suits his dress to the particular spirit he is addressing. Thus *chitôn* is invoked in full dress, with *dha* and bag complete, and the *tumsa* holds a bamboo full of water. *Yūnmū* (a *nat* peculiar to the Szis) is invoked with bare head and in a crouching attitude. The earth *nat* or *ka nat* is worshipped in ordinary dress, but no *dha* is worn. Similarly the Burmese have regulations as to the dress proper for the invocation of each of the thirty-seven *nats* of Burma. The sacrificial animal— buffalo, pig, dog, or fowl— is brought out, and the *tumsa* determines the exact moment when it shall be killed, and this is done opposite the bamboo shrine erected for the purpose. It is cut up by the *kyāng jōng* or *khing jōng*, who separates what is known as the "*nat's* flesh," special parts of the thigh and shoulder, and, with economical piety, the offal generally. These are boiled, wrapped in little packets in leaves, and hung round or deposited on the bamboo shrine. The *tumsa* then formally prays the *nat* to accept the offering and be appeased. In the case of household *nats*, as soon as the *tumsa* has finished, it is permissible to take back and use the offering for household purposes; with the outside *nats*—*ponphyoi*, *wăwn*, and others— the sacrifice may not be taken back. *Chitôn* and *sinlap* are looked upon as good natured, and it is usual, where the sacrifice has

been a pig or a buffalo, to run the risk of offending them by removing the offerings after a decent time has elapsed. When the offerings have been merely a fowl, or dried fish, or spirits, they are left on the shrine. If there is no sacrifice, but other offerings are made, these are tied to the shrine, and it is usual, as a preliminary, to offer in this way a bamboo full of spirits. The bamboo shrines referred to are a conspicuous feature near every village and are fashioned in all sorts of extraordinary shapes, of which some are annexed—



1 and 2 are altars used for the household *nats*.
3 used for *mu* and *ponphyoi*.
4 and 6 for *sinlap*.
5 for *jān* and *shitta*.

But there is no fixed form, and plenty of scope is left to individual imagination. When the three sky *nats—mushang*, *ponphyoi*, and *sinlap*—are being worshipped together, *sinlap's* shrine is always in the middle, with *mushang's* on the right and *ponphyoi's* on the left.

Certain proportions in the sacrifices seem to be conventional: for example, the *ka nat* and *mu nat* get one of each kind of animal sacrificed, while *ponphyoi* and *sinlap* get two; but *mbôn* never has anything offered him but dried fish, eggs, and spirits. The

method of consulting the will of the *nats* through a *mi-twe*, or inspired medium, is best given in the words of Dr. Anderson, who describes an actual instance which took place when Colonel Sladen was bargaining for mules to transport his party across the hills, and the *Duwas* who were to provide them wished first to consult *mitwe* and propitiate the *nats*.

"The *mi-tway* now entered and seated himself on a small stool in one corner, which had been freshly sprinkled with water; he then blew through a small tube and, throwing it from him with a deep groan, at once fell into an extraordinary state of tremor: every limb quivered, and his feet beat a literal devil's tattoo on the bamboo flooring. He groaned as if in pain, tore his hair, passed his hands with maniacal gestures over his head and face, then broke into a short, wild chant, interrupted with sighs and groans, his features appearing distorted with madness or rage, while the tones of his voice changed to an expression of anger or fury. During this extraordinary scene, which realized all one had read of demoniacal possession, the *Sawbwa* and his *pawmaings* occasionally addressed him in low tones as if soothing him or deprecating the anger of the dominant spirit; and at last the *Sawbwa* informed Sladen that the *nats* must be appeased with an offering. Fifteen rupees and some cloth were produced: the silver on a bamboo sprinkled with water, and the cloth on a platter of plantain leaves, were humbly laid at the diviner's feet, but with one convulsive jerk of the legs rupees and cloth were instantly kicked away, and the medium by increased convulsions and groans intimated the dissatisfaction of the *nats* with the offerings. The *Sawbwa* in vain supplicated for its acceptance, and then signified to Sladen that more rupees were required and that the *nats* mentioned sixty as the propitiatory sum. Sladen tendered five more, with the assurance that no more could be given. The amended offering was again, but more gently, pushed away, of which no notice was taken. After another quarter of an hour, during which the convulsions and groans gradually became less violent, a dried leaf rolled into a cone and filled with rice was handed over to the *mi-tway*. He raised it to his forehead several times and then threw it on the floor. A *da*, which had been carefully washed, was next handed over to him and treated in the same way; and after a few gentle sighs he rose from his seat and laughing signed to us to look at his legs and arms, which were very tired. The oracle was in our favour, and predictions of all manner of success were interpreted to us as the utterances of the inspired diviner.

"It must not be supposed that this was a solemn farce enacted to conjure rupees out of European pockets. The Kakhyens never undertake any business or journey without consulting the will of the *nats* as revealed by a *mi-tway* under the influence of a temporary frenzy or, as they deem it, possession. The seer in ordinary life is nothing; the medium on whose word hung the possibility of our advance was a cooly, who carried one of our boxes on the march, but he was a duly qualified *mi-tway* belonging to a Pônsi village. When a youth shows signs of what spiritualists would call a *rapport*, or connection with the spirit-world, he has to undergo a sufficiently trying ordeal to test the reality of his powers. A ladder is prepared, the steps of which consist of sword blades with the sharp edges turned upward, and this is reared against a platform thickly set with sharp

spikes. The barefoot novice ascends this perilous path to fame and sits himself on the spikes without any apparent inconvenience; he then descends by the same ladder, and if, after having been carefully examined, he is pronounced free from any trace of injury, he is thenceforward accepted as a true diviner."

The Jai Wā is a sort of arch-*tumsa* occasionally, but very rarely met with. He performs ceremonies for only the most powerful *Duwas*, and is supposed to be in more intimate connection with the spirit-world than an ordinary *tumsa*.

It is noted that effigies are not offered up in lieu of real sacrifices as they are by the Tongkinese, who present rude models of animals, houses, furniture, and so forth, or by the Annamese, who only offer pictures of them.

If the *tumsa* declares the sacrifice of a bullock necessary, and the worshipper cannot obtain one at the time, he simply promises the *nat* to sacrifice one at the first opportunity. Human beings are never sacrificed.

Divination. The methods of divination usually employed are the following:—

(1) The consultation of the bamboo termed *sămăn*, or *shimān wŏt*. The esoteric name of this operation is *ning wŏt*. A kind of thin green bamboo is taken and laid across the embers of a fire. The heat causes the wood to split and little hairy fibres stand out all along the edges of the split thus made. By consulting these the expert can foretell events.

(2) The consultation of the leaf, termed *shippa wŏt*, which is equivalent to the ဖက်ထုံးမှန်တောင်း။ *hpet-htun hman-taung* of the Burmese-Shan. A peculiar kind of leaf is used, whose veins do not interlace but run parallel to each other, something after the fashion of the plantain leaf and inclined at an acute angle to the mid-rib. This permits of the leaf being torn into thin shreds, which are taken at haphazard and knotted together. The knots and the number of slips contained in each are then counted, and this, added to other indications, such as the form of the knots and the like, known only to the initiated, permits of forecasts being drawn.

(3) Auguries are drawn from the entrails of cattle and pigs and from the brains and sinews of fowls.

(4) The Szis have a method, termed *shaw sè*. Thirty-three short bamboo splints are taken and put haphazard between the clefts of the fingers of one hand. The

odd sticks in each group are then taken out and laid on one side. The process is repeated thrice, and by the result the seer's prognostications are guided.

Mr. George does not say which furnishes the omen—the pile of odd eliminated splints or the presumably larger number which remains.

Omens (*numdaw numtan*).

If a snake (*lippu*), porcupine (*tumsi*), or wild cat (*khan*), crosses one's path, it is very unlucky and evil will happen. If they are merely seen on either side of the path, it is a matter of indifference. On the other hand, deer (*shān ngā*), hedgehog (*tu*), or rhinosceros (*dum pau*) crossing the path are good portents. Apparently no omens are drawn from the flight of birds.

Agriculture.

The most common form of cultivation is the wasteful process of *taungya* or hill-clearing. The hills to the immediate east of Bhamo treated in this manner are now practically bare, which has had an important effect on the climate, according to the Kachins. They say it is generally much warmer than in the time of their fathers and the rainfall is less. The method employed is to select an untouched hill slope, fell the jungle about March, and let it lie on the ground till it is thoroughly dry. This is set fire to in June or July, and the surface of the earth is broken up with a rude hoe, so as to mix in the wood ashes. The sowing is of the roughest description. The worker dibbles away with the hoe in his right hand and throws in a grain or two with his left. The crop is left to take care of itself till it is about a foot high, when it is weeded, and again weeded before the crop gets ripe. The crop is usually reaped about October. The straw is generally regarded as useless. The same field cannot be cropped two years running. Usually it has to lie fallow from seven to ten years where the jungle does not grow rapidly, and from four to seven years where the growth is quicker.

In the hills to the east of Bhamo, and in fact wherever they have learnt from their Shan and Chinese neighbours, wet paddy cultivation has been introduced. The hills are scarped into terraces and water is turned on at the top from a convenient stream, or brought to the field by a bamboo aqueduct. The Shan plough and the buffalo are then used to turn up the soil. In many parts of the Northern Shan States the Kachins have begun valley cultivation on lands from which they have driven the Shans. In the hill-clearings maize, tobacco, indigo, cotton, and sessamum are grown, besides the usual rice-crop. The poppy is everywhere cultivated, but only in little enclosures near the houses. In the north Kachins come long distances in the cold season to raise a crop on the alluvial

islands of the Upper Irrawaddy, but everywhere the cultivation is for local use rather than for export. The mode of gathering the opium is very primitive. The poppy-heads are notched with a *dha* instead of with the three-bladed knife of the Chinaman or the Wa, and the sap is gathered on a dirty cloth instead of the orthodox leaf or bowl. From this cloth it is not removed and, according to Mr. George, the average Kachin simply tears off a piece of the saturated cloth, puts it in his pipe, and smokes it. Farther from Bhamo, however, they are more enlightened, though they are far from orthodoxy. The opium is mixed up with dried and shredded plantain leaf and so smoked in any kind of pipe, instead of in the *yen tsiang*, or proper "smoking pistol." The Kachins do not eat opium, and in fact know little about it except as a sedative. The use of it has only been known to them for two or three generations, though now every Kachin smokes, at any rate in British territory. As to its effect on them Mr. G. W. Shaw says of the Kachins at Paraw on the Upper Irrawaddy: "The Paraw Kachins, a fine healthy looking lot of "people, who ought to be exhibited to the opium faddists, all smoke "opium, so they say themselves, men, women, and children alike. "The latter are allowed to begin as early as they please," and Dr. "Anderson says: "It is worth recording that the men invariably "smoke opium, but not to excess. Rarely, if ever, did we see them "use tobacco for smoking, though they never object to chewing "it."

Each year, before sowing time, the *nat* of the earth (*Ka*, who is the same as the great original *nat chinūn way shun*) is worshipped by the *Duwa* on behalf of the whole village, who contribute offerings. The sacrifices take place at the *numshang* or general prayer-place outside the village on the road, in which a collection of bamboo shrines are usually found. Only the *Duwa* and the *tumsa* and *kyāng jōng* (the butcher) are allowed to be present at the time of sacrifice, which usually takes place towards the evening. The villagers during the earlier part of the day worship the whole company of the *nats* at the *numshang*. After the ceremony for four days no work must be done. After these days of ceremonial holiday (*nā nā ai*) the *tumsa* determines by exorcism which particular house in the village should start sowing first in order that the crop may be a good one. This household goes out and sows its fields, and there are then two further general holy days, wound up by a feast and more offerings of eggs and liquor. Sowing then commences for every one. There are six recognized holidays in the year, when no one is supposed to do any work :—

(1) Two days after the *Duwa's taungya* hut is built. It is customary, owing to the considerable distances of

the hill clearings from the village, for each cultivator to build himself a little hut on his field and stay there while work is going on. On this occasion, the *ka nat* is worshipped by the *Duwa*, but more privately than at the regular festival.

(2) Two days at the time of first setting fire to the jungle-clearings.

(3) Four days at the time of the great *Ka nat* worship described above.

(4) Two days after the first sowing as noted above.

(5) Four days when the crop is ripening, at the time of the worship by the whole village of the pantheon of *nats*. Every house presents a distinct offering at the *numshang*. This ceremony is termed *chikkawn khawnai*. The ripening crop is commended to the care of the *nats* in a body so that danger may be averted.

(6) Two days after the reaping of the *Duwa's taungya*, which is done for him by the whole village.

In case of blight, or other harm to the crops, the *tumsa* is called on to discover whether some *nat* has caused it. If the cause is declared to be due to other than *nat* influence, nothing is done: otherwise the spirit who is causing the mischief is sought for and appeased.

No reaping whatever may take place till the first-fruits of the crop sown by the first house have been gathered in and offered to the house *nats* of that particular household. This is usually done before the crop is actually dead ripe, so that the reaping of the other crops may not be delayed.

Among the Szis, after the paddy has been dried and placed in a heap for threshing, all the friends of the household are invited to the threshing-floor and food and drink is brought out. The heap of paddy is divided, and one-half spread out for threshing, while the other is left heaped up. On the heap food and spirits are placed, and one of the elders present, addressing "the father and mother of the paddy-plant," asks for plenteous harvests in future and begs that the seed may bear many fold. Then the whole party eat, drink, and are merry. This is the only time the "father and mother of the paddy" are invoked. There is no recognized Ceres or Demeter.

Witchcraft.

Some *tumsas* have the power to cause sickness and death by bewitching (*marong mătsāai*) the victim. The necromancer recites the special charms necessary to cause the particular ill desired. While he does this his client

plants a few stalks of long grass by the side of the road leading towards the victim's house. Then either a dog or a pig is killed and the body is wrapped in grass and placed by the road and left there. Meanwhile spears are cast and shots fired in the same direction, and the ceremony closes by the *tumsa* and each of those present taking up four or five stalks of grass and casting them similarly towards the person who is to be harmed (*kumpăchin khyenai*). This process as described by Mr. George presumably refers to a very powerful and avowed enemy. Otherwise what he calls the cheaper mode of revenge, sitting behind a bush and shooting the man as if he were an Irish landlord, would be adopted. It would certainly have the advantage of secrecy.

Besides this there are people who have a species of evil eye. Such persons are said to possess two souls (*numla*), while the ordinary man has only one. It is the spare soul which has the *jettatura*. As with the Shans the belief takes the form of a kind of *Judenhetze* disastrous to the *jettatore*. Mr. George gives an instance: "C, the "brother of A and B, happened to die of fever, and, before dying, "declared that D had bewitched him. Within a fortnight A and "B collected a following, attacked D's house, shot him dead, and, "capturing the whole of his household and relations, some thirteen "in all, sold them into slavery. Even on trial A and B would "not admit the possibility of C having made a mistake, and were "scandalized that the British Government should interfere on behalf "of a wizard." The system is really an early form of Lynch Law or Jeddart Justice, but in bad hands degenerates as the *Vehmgericht* did.

Ordeals.

Mr. George cites the following as the common form of ordeal. Accuser and accused have to stake something. The value of the stake depends on the gravity of the crime alleged. The stakes are held by a referee, who wraps some rice in a leaf and boils it. If the rice boils regularly and becomes soft all through, the accused is declared innocent and takes the stakes; if not, the accuser wins.

In serious cases between *Duwas* and men of means the stakes may be several buffaloes, guns, or a slave or two, and then another form of ordeal is customary. A *tumsa* is summoned and goes to the jungle with his *dha*. After invocation he casts this from him at random. The *dha*, which has become endued with supernatural power, hits a bamboo which, when it is cut open, is found to contain about a cup full of water. The water is put in a large pot over a fire and when it boils the accused has to put his hand into it. If he is guilty, the water froths up, bubbles over, and takes the skin off the man's hand. If he is innocent, he suffers no hurt.

Hunting.

When a sportsman comes home with a bag the *kyāng jōng*, or village butcher, cuts off the parts known as *nat's* flesh and puts them in a basket. A friend then brings a heap of ashes from a neighbouring fire-place and puts them near the steps leading into the house. The hunter must tread on the ashes before he enters the house. He then places the basket on the shrine of the house *nats* and invites them to eat and be kind, after which, if the game is a large animal, a deer or a boar, it is divided. The *Duwa* gets a haunch and the village *tumsa* also gets a share. The ashes are said to be intended to propitiate the *tsikhrat* (in Chingpaw dialect) or *kyam* (in Szi), not very luminously described as a sort of genius and not a *nat*. Besides this, when the quarry is killed, a little of the blood is sprinkled towards the jungle to satisfy the *tsikhrat*, who is said to possess a sort of radiantly white body, and, if well disposed, so fascinates the game that it is unable to stir and falls an easy victim to the hunter. This belief, however, does not prevail among the Marips, nor possibly among other tribes. The fishermen have apparently no such Saint Hubert. When a hunter dies, it is customary to lay his weapons with him in his coffin. This is done because after death the ghosts of his victims block the way and he has to scare them off. This, curiously enough, does not apply to a man who has killed another. The ghost of the one who perished is said to have received such a fright that nothing would ever induce it to go near the ghost of the one who triumphed. A wounded tiger is never followed up until a *tumsa* has been consulted. This is discreet.

War.

Of war proper the Kachins have no notion; their hostilities are mere desultory raids. They cannot be called courageous and yet it is possible to under-rate them. Like all undisciplined bands when they know what is expected of them they will endeavour to do it with some pertinacity, but when there is no leading idea or leading spirit they almost invariably disperse. Their tactics with British forces have been, with very few exceptions, defensive, and for this reason they usually employ stockades and are wonderfully quick and expert in erecting them. They are generally made of split bamboos woven into a kind of trellis-work with sharpened points outwards, while the ground in front is studded with spikes. Occasionally there are several concentric rings or enclosures of this trellis-work, usually about six feet apart. Behind the innermost there is an earth-work, generally circular. This is quite three feet thick and is neatly revetted with bamboo. The earth for the breastwork is taken from the centre, so that the defenders actually stand below the level of the ground. Large hollow bamboos are built into these earth-works and form a

kind of loop-hole, trained on the path in front. The Kachins can thus fire through these without exposing themselves in the least, and there is always a line of retreat ready screened from the view of the attacking party. Generally this is down a steep ravine into thick jungle. Tree-trunks and stones are often utilized to make stockades. They are covered with earth, and the ground in front and on the flanks is liberally studded with spikes, as indeed all the defences in the hills are with all the tribes. These spikes, *nyaungsu*, or *pangyis*, as the sepoys call them, are bamboos sharpened to a point, usually triangular like a bayonet, and sometimes fire hardened, but oftener not. They vary in length from four or five feet to a few inches and are firmly planted in the ground at an angle of forty-five degrees. They are so hard to see that men knowing them to be there and actually searching for them have been known to spike themselves. They go through a boot as easily as through clothes and the essential oil of the bamboo adds irritation to the mere wound. It is said that they are sometimes poisoned, but such cases are very rare.

Pit-falls are often used. These are two to three feet wide, six feet or more long, and perhaps three feet deep. They are studded with bamboo spikes and are usually very neatly covered over. Another common defensive measure is to cut away hillside paths to the line of the slope, so that they become quite impassable for animals or baggage porters. The spot chosen for the defence of a village or a road is usually in thick jungle. The favourite places are a ravine with steep approaches or a gorge along which the road winds, keeping on the same level and following the contour of the ground. Trees are cut down to block the road for the attacking force and this is done with so much skill that the abattis is usually not discovered till the advance guard is actually brought up by it. On this spot the Kachins have guns laid from the opposite side of the gully or from the next furrow of the hill slope. The ravine itself is densely blocked and spiked in addition, and beyond this there is a stockade, or perhaps a series of stockades, if the force is large. "These may be extended into the village itself, as was the case "at Sadôn, where each house was a stockade or a part of a stock-"ade. As fast as they are driven out of one, the Kachins retire "into another and re-open fire." To attack the Kachins direct is therefore to run unnecessary risks. A flanking party causes them to vacate the strongest of positions, for there are never any flank defences. The following plan of attack originated with Captain O'Donnel, D.S.O., some time Commandant of the Mogaung Levy :—"An advance party of six men lead the way. Two flank parties of "varying strength are told off and follow the advance party some

"distance in rear. Immediately behind them comes a mountain gun. "The instant a stockade is discovered the advance party passes "the word back and disappears to the flanks. The flanking parties "move immediately right round the flanks of the stockade and a "gun is brought up and a shell is fired at the work. This generally "will result in the Kachins leaving in a hurry, and probably bolting "in the direction of one or other of the flanking parties."

Kachins usually attack at night, and the time chosen is just before the rise of the moon. This enables them to deliver the attack in a half light and they have the moon afterwards to light them on their retreat with their booty. Their system of fighting is in fact nothing but raiding developed. Before a raid the *tumsa* is called upon to decide by his magic which of the villagers are to go and who are to stay at home. When the *tumsa* has selected the party the *mi-twe* is consulted as to the road to be taken and the time for the assault.

Heads are cut off as a proof that the warrior has killed his man. When he has established this fact among his fellow-villagers the head is thrown away. The Kachin does not consider, like the *Wa*, that by securing the head he has secured the ghost of the departed as his minister and servant; nor does he think, like the Chinaman, that the appearance of the departed in the next world without a head will be to his disadvantage. The cutting off of a head is therefore with the Kachins neither an act of religion nor of spite. It is mere vanity. When the raid is ended the village *tumsa* again presides over a general worshipping of the *nats*, exultant or reproachful, according to the issue. Alliances between the Chiefs of different clans are commonly cemented by marriage. In the ceremonial making of friendship a buffalo is slaughtered, its blood is mixed with native spirits, and spears and swords are dipped in this. Then each Chief drinks, calls upon the *nats* to witness, and imprecates dire calamitites upon himself if he should break his vow: that he may be swallowed by tigers, or bitten by *nats*, or may perish by his own *dha*. Weapons, *dhas*, guns, and spears are often exchanged and it is customary for each to sacrifice to the household deities of the other.

A few of the more powerful Chiefs have jingals and swivel guns, but they are very rare now. Guns are of every kind, from the flint and match lock up to converted Enfields and even Winchester repeating carbines, obtained from Yünnan. The old Tower flint-lock musket of A. D. 1800 is frequently met with, but more generally the Kachins use what is called the cheek-gun. This has no butt and an idea can be formed of it by imagining a gun stock cut and round-

ed off just below the comb. This is held in the right hand, which is pressed against the cheek. These guns are nearly all match-locks and are of Chinese-Shan make. Few of the Samtao guns from Kēngtūng get so far as the Kachins. All of them are of very soft metal.

Powder is made locally, and is very coarse and dirty. Four fingers' breadth is a not uncommon charge. This is rammed down with Shan paper or rags for a wad. The bullet is of iron or lead chipped and hammered into some sort of shape; another wad secures it; and sometimes there are two or three bullets in separate layers. The guns carry far and hit hard. A finer powder is used for priming and to prevent this from dropping out of the vent the gun is on ordinary occasions, or on the march, carefully covered with wax. The match used is hemp soaked in saltpetre. Hunters have often a lump of wax on the butt of their gun and in this they fix some memento of the game they kill—the whiskers of a tiger, the bristles of a boar, a feather from a pea-fowl, or a bit of deer-skin. Cross-bows are also used. They are made of hardened bamboo and shoot strongly. The bows are from three to four feet in span and are nearly identical with those of the La'hu. The arrows are also of bamboo and are hardened in the fire. They are much more rarely poisoned than is the case with those of the La'hu, and metal tips are uncommon.

Spear-heads are sometimes double-edged of the ordinary type and sometimes single-edged with a worn-down knife blade. They are usually about six feet long with the shaft.

The *dha* with the Chingpaw, as with the Burman and the Shan, is a national weapon. At the hilt the blade is an inch and a half in width, widening to about two and a half inches at the truncated tip. The back is slightly curved. It is half sheathed in wood and slung over the right shoulder by a rattan ring. In the case of well-to-do people or warriors, this rattan sling is sometimes adorned with cloth and embroidery, or with the claws or teeth of wild animals. It hangs with the hilt in front ready to the hand. This is the proper shape of the *Linkin* or Chingpaw *dha*. Among the Kachins who have pushed farthest south there are other types, taken from their Shan or other neighbours, but the characteristic half-sheath is almost always retained. East of Bhamo Mr. George says the Kachins use a long straight sword, about two and a half feet long, which they call *ntugalu*. These, with the more orthodox *Linkin* are said to be manufactured mostly by the Tareng, the Nga-chang, and possibly also the Khunnongs. Like the wild Wa the average Chingpaw cannot or does not make his own *dha*.

Slavery.

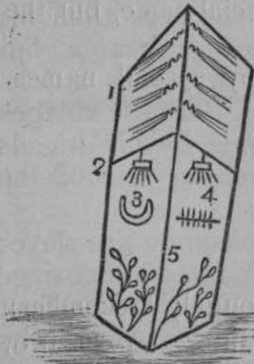
Slavery is a national custom among the Kachins. In former times the supply was kept up by the constant raiding that went on not only against enemies but by the stronger against the weaker, who were enslaved even within the limits of the same clan. Since the annexation "the inhabitants of "a village in Thama, regarding a certain household in their com- "munity as useless and a nuisance, seized and sold them." So long as the slave behaves well he appears to be treated well. He is a member of the household and works with and no more than his master. Refractory slaves are deprived of food or beaten, but never so as to be really injured, for a slave is a valuable article. Formerly the main source of supply was the Shan-Burmese villages in the plains. A slave could always be redeemed by his friends either by ransom or by the easier method of seizing one of the aggressor's household and effecting an exchange.

A male slave can marry a free woman. The offspring are slaves to the slave's master. A woman slave can be demanded in marriage by any free man. He does not buy her, because that would reflect on his offspring, but makes offerings to the slave-girl's owner, who is regarded as his father-in-law. It is said that the master practically never has intercourse with his own female slave. Instances at any rate are very rare. If a personal enemy is captured, unless he is sold off at once into distant slavery, he is usually put into the stocks and not allowed to roam about freely. Cases are instanced in which men have been kept thus for several years.

The instruments now used for making fire are tinder, flint, and steel. In former times it was usual to cut a notch in a bamboo, fill the hollow with tinder, and to work backwards and forwards with a bamboo splint as a bow, till the tinder ignited, which it soon did. The miniature piston and cylinder in which tinder is ignited by means of suddenly compressed air is quite a recent innovation and comes from China.

The Kachins have no form of salutation or obeisance, a conclusive proof that their *Duwas* are persons of slight authority. Mr. George says that they can count up to 10,000; above that they use general terms, such as very many and the like. They have different names for the cardinals 1 to 10, 20, 100, 200, 1,000, and 10,000. The others are formed in a natural way; thus eleven is ten-one, and thirty-three is three-ten-three. There are no ordinals. They count on their hands, commencing with the little finger in each, and with sticks and pebbles in the case of large numbers. The names of the numbers do not seem to indicate any root word which would show that they are derived from the custom of counting on the fingers or otherwise. They have no written character and tell the familiar

legend that the *nats* gave all nations writing, but unfortunately that of the Kachins was written on hide, which they cooked and ate. The variant with the Karens is that a dog ate it. They can draw rude pictures, such as the figures on posts outside their villages, indicating the offerings they have presented at the *numshang*, in order to obtain a good harvest. Mr. George gives the sketch in the margin copied from a post just outside the Kachin village of Sinlum Gate:—



1 represents ears of Indian-corn.
2 represents the lappet earrings worn by women
3 represents the silver torque worn.
4 represents a Kachin rake.
5 represents trees and jungle.

But they do not seem to have elaborated this picture writing into ideography. The use of knotted string is common, but the art does not seem to have become a means of communication such as existed among the Mexicans at the time of their conquest by Cortes. The knots are not conventionally distinguished from each other in shape or position on the string, and consequently they can at best only serve as memoranda for the person who made them; notched sticks are also used. Letters can be made up with familiar objects. Thus a piece of thatch indicates a village. If the ends are burnt, the village has been taken and burnt; a drop of blood or more shows that there have been losses. A crossing of the stalks indicates whence the enemy came and a special grass or leaf or soil gives other indications.

Time. The divisions of the day are thus recognized—

(1) Just before early dawn	...	*Ning Htoi Maka.*
(2) First cock crow	...	*Wu Galang Koi Yang*, 2-A.M.
(3) Second cock crow	...	*N'khawng Lang Koi Yang*, 4-A.M.
(4) Dawn	...	*Ning Htoi Htoi Sa*, 5-A.M.
(5) Sunrise	...	*Jan Pru*, 6-A.M.
(6) Time of morning meal	...	*Chippawt Shat Sha Tên*, 7-A.M.
(7) Forenoon	...	*Jan Sin Lawng Tsan*, 9 to 10-A M.
(8) Noon (sun vertical)	...	*Jan Pong Ding Di*, 12-noon.
(9) Midday meal-time	...	*Shini Shat Sha Tên*, 3-P.M.
(10) Fowl roosting time	...	*Wu Lon Tên*, 5 to 6-P.M.

(11) Sunset	...	*Jan Shang*, 6 to 6 30-P.M.
(12) Dusk	...	*Ning Rim*, after 6-P.M.
(13) Evening meal	...	*Shina Shat Sha Tĕn*, 8-P.M.
(14) Bed-time	...	*Yup Tung Tĕn*, 9 to 10-P.M.
(15) Midnight (full sleep)	...	*Youp Dong*, 12 midnight.

The months are lunar and the divisions are—

Shitta Pyaw	...	First ten days of the waxing.
Shitta Si	...	Last ten days of the waxing.

The intervening section of ten days has no special name, but the full moon is known as *Shitta lai*.

The days of the week are not distinguished by special names. The months are as follows :—

(1) *Khrū* (roughly January).	(7) *Shimari*.
(2) *Ra*.	(8) *Kupshi*.
(3) *Ūt* or *Wăt*.	(9) *Kupton*.
(4) *Shila*.	(10) *Kălā*.
(5) *Chittum*.	(11) *Măji*.
(6) *Shingam*.	(12) *Măkā* (roughly December).

They have not hit on the idea of inserting an intercalary year or month, with the result that their reckoning becomes periodically confused, and no one has a clear idea of what month it is. No calendars are kept, and there appears to be no recognized beginning or end of the year, nor are the years numbered or distinguished from each other. The calendar is therefore made to conform to the natural seasons. When sowing-time comes round, it is considered that it is the season for such and such a month, and that month it is assumed to be without further ado. Whether the Khakhus are better informed or more systematic is not known. Were it not for the formal names for the months given by Mr. George, it might be suspected that the idea of months and years was borrowed from the Chinese or the Shans. The seasons are distinguished as follows :—

(1) The rains (beginning)...	*Yunām*	...	July to August.
(2) Rains (middle) ...	*Yunām Kăang*	..	August to September.
(3) Dry season (at hand) ...	*Kheungton Măkha*		September.
(4) Paddy sprouting ...	*Māngaita*	...	September to October.
(5) Dry season (beginning time of harvest.)	*Kheungton*	...	October to November.
(6) Cold weather ...	*Ningshunta*	...	November to February.
(7) Dry season (middle) ...	*Kheungton Kăang*		March to April.
(8) Hot weather ...	*Janrawtte*	...	April to June.
(9) Paddy sowing time ...	*Mamtat Ten*	...	June to July.

The time of this last season is fixed by the rise over the horizon of a certain constellation termed *Khru Măjan Shikkan*. It is stated to rise some thirty degrees above the horizon and retire after having

remained there a month. After its disappearance it is not good to sow paddy. What constellation this is has not been ascertained. An eclipse is said to be due to the efforts of a dog (*Shitta Kwa*), not a frog as with the Eastern Tai, to swallow the moon. The usual firing of guns and beating of gongs prevents him. The rainbow (*'Nkoi La Tum*) is said to come from the mouth of a crab (*chikān*) which lives in the vast ocean, which is supposed to be under the earth. The large marshy hollows occasionally to be met with in valleys are thought to be connected with this subterranean sea, and the crab comes out of them occasionally for an airing. This *chikān* is a *nat*. If the arc is complete, it is a sign that dry weather is in store; if it is only partial, rain may still be looked for.

Thunder (*mungoiai*) is the voice of the *nat* of the heavens (*mu* or *mushang*). Lightning (*my it hpyap kălam ai*) is also due to his agency, the literal translation of the phrase being "rolling round and shaking of the eye," presumably Mushang's. An earthquake (*shirut ru*) is due to the movements of the crocodiles (*puren*) of the subterranean ocean, who persist in burrowing in the superincumbent earth. The *nats* of the sun and moon are worshipped once each year, but only by the *Duwa*, a privilege jealously guarded. This ceremony is called *nat sut ai* and takes place in the cold season. No living sacrifice is made, but food and drink are offered and the Chief begs the protection of these *nats* for the whole village. The only other time they are worshipped is at the time of the *manau*, the general festival described above, which may take place only once in four or five years. On this occasion again the Chief is sole worshipper.

The markings in the moon are said to be due to the foliage of a big India-rubber tree, which suggests the thorn bush of other folks-myths. The India-rubber tree is specially reverenced by the Kachins, as the banyan is by the Wa.

The universe is imagined as three parallel planes: the first is the heavens, the second the earth, and the third is *kasangka*, the abode of the *kasangs* or Liliputians. These people are shaped like men, but are so small that ordinary grass appears to them like trees, and their deer and wild game are of about the bigness of crickets and grasshoppers. When the sun or the moon sets below the plane of our horizon it rises in *kasangka*, so that when it is day on earth it is night in *kasangka*, and *vice versa*.

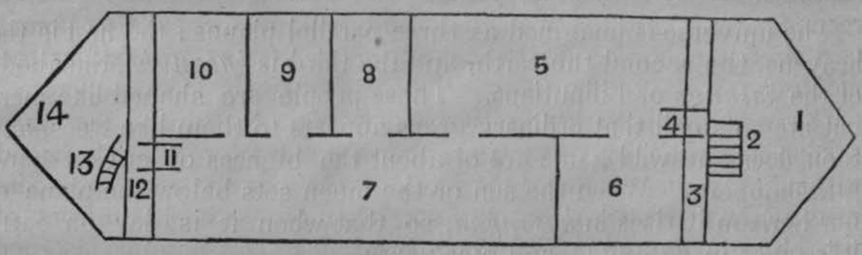
The Chingpaw will eat most things; but snakes, wild cats, monkeys, and tigers are excepted. Dogs are only eaten by Marus; crows and hawks are eaten like other birds and all fish are eaten including eels. Porcupine's flesh and honey are forbidden to preg-

nant women for fear of miscarriage. Pigs and domestic cattle are rarely if ever killed merely to be eaten. They are utilized as sacrifices first and as food afterwards. Fowls and game generally are killed simply for the pot. Ordinarily the Kachin will not eat cattle found dead or that have died a natural death. Blood is not drunk, though flesh from which the blood has not drained off is cooked and eaten. Beyond the notion that eating a tiger's heart makes a man subject to uncontrollable fits of sudden fury, there are no superstitions about food.

Cannibalism is unknown among the true Chingpaws, though Captain Fenton, speaking of the Kalangs, Kamôns, or Kamas, says their chief peculiarity seems to be that they eat their aged relations, though they do not practise any other form of cannibalism. "My "informant said that when any man or woman became old and decre- "pit, their relations assembled together, put the old person upon a "high sort of bamboo scaffold, such as the Kachins erect in front of "their villages in connection with their *nat*-worship, and then poke "them off with bamboos, so that they fall down and die; then they "cut them up into small bits and cook and eat them. Only relations "and intimate friends assist at this ceremony."

Lieutenant Master says: "There is a tribe called Ling (*Query*, Li-ang) who live in the Assam direction, north-west from here (the Jade Mines), who dispose of their old men and women by making them drunk, killing, and eating them by boiling or rather cooking the flesh." The story is probably as untrue as that which ascribed cannibalism to the Wa.

The Kachin house is in the form of a long oblong, with a projecting porch at each end, the one in front being the larger. The following ground-plan given by Mr. George will serve to explain better than any description.



1.—Front porch *(mpang)*.
2.—Steps *(likang)*.
3.—Narrow verandah or landing in front, about two feet wide *(nau kum)*.
4.—Doorway, usually very narrow *(ching-ka)*.

5.—General apartment; can be used as a spare room for guests or for any of the family when the place is crowded.

6.—The maiden's apartment *(nta)*. This apartment serves in lieu of the bachelor's hut or *dum'nta*, before referred to, in villages where special huts are not built for the purpose.

7.—Men's apartment *(lupdaw)*.

8.—Room for eldest son and his wife or eldest married couple in the hut.

9.—Fireplace *(tapnu)*.

10.—Apartment of the parents of the household *(ganu-gawa tap)*.

11.—Back door.

12.—Back landing.

13.—Back stairs.

14.—Back porch.

There are no windows, but when the hut is a long one, one or two doors are cut in the sides for easy egress. The back door is not used except by members of the family, otherwise the household *nats* are offended. The houses are often very long, sometimes as much as a hundred and fifty feet; but this is exceptional, though they are always larger than Shan or Burmese houses. They stand on piles two and a half to three feet off the ground. The space below is usually fenced in for the pigs and dogs and fowls. The houses are built of bamboo with thick "cotter's thatch" and are far more solidly constructed than Burmese houses. The posts, particularly in some of the Chiefs' houses, are very substantial. In front of the main porch, on the central post, are nailed up skulls of buffaloes and other animals that have been sacrificed; under the porch paddy-husking and weaving are carried on. The paddy is put into a heavy wooden mortar, and two women standing opposite each other pound it in alternate strokes with heavy wooden pestles grasped in the middle.

The weaving is very primitive; there is no frame, and the warp is kept stretched by being attached to a bar from which a broad leather strap passes round the back of the woman weaving. She leans against this with her legs stretched out straight in front of her. The farther end of the warp is attached to a bamboo fastened to a peg in the ground. The cloth is very coarse, but tough and strong, and indigo is the commonest dye. The ends have a narrow strip of variegated pattern, usually in red and yellow. Striped cloths are also met with, but are not so common; the shoulder bag is worn as universally as the wallet of the Shan and indeed of all the hill

tribes. Some of the Kachin bags are very neatly embroidered and are ornamented with a variety of tassels and ribbons, and occasionally with beads, cowries, seeds, and Chinese cash. The patterns appear to vary with the clans.

Besides this the only other industry seems to be the manufacture of *dhas*, and that is confined to the Tarengs, who do not appear to be true Kachins. Mr. Errol Grey, who calls them the great blacksmiths of the Khakhu country, says that they make all the *dhas* worn by every Kachin and Hkamti Shan adult north of the confluence. These *dhas* under the name of Hkamti *dhas* form one of the chief articles of trade between the Hkamti valley and Assam. The iron is found in the hills forming the boundary between the Tarengs and Khunnongs. It is of excellent quality and the knives are very durable. Mr. Errol Grey continues: "These *dhas* are "made in four varieties :—

(1) The streaked (or *dorica mela* as it is called in Assam), having four lines running longitudinally down the blade.
(2) The spotted *dha*, having numerous black spots covering both sides of the blade, as if indented by being hit by some pointed instrument, but really natural.
(3) The white *dha*, with a perfectly clear blade, without spot or line.
(4) The black *dha*, a dirty, rough-looking blade, giving the idea that the process of manufacture is not complete.

"These weapons are about eighteen inches long in the blade, and "are broader at the point than at the handle. They are ground to "have an edge in the form of that of the chisel. With the handle a "couple of such *dhas* weigh a little over two pounds. The streaked "*dha* is invariably worn by the nobility and gentry of the Hkamti "country."

As to Kachin dances and musical instruments no precise information is available. Gongs of Chinese and Burmese manufacture are in great request, and near Bhamo the Kachins have adopted some of the musical instruments of their neighbours. Those of their own manufacture according to Captain Couchman appear to be confined to a species of one-stringed violin and a double-barrelled pipe, with the stops on one side of the pipe only. At the end of this there is a kind of drone formed by a piece of bamboo split up into small shreds, which is moved up and down like the piston of a trombone.

Like most highlanders the Chingpaw practically never wash. The explorer Alaga says: "They are not cleanly, but eat and live

"like pigs; they use leaves as plates; they have no cups or knives "or spoons. They have nothing in their houses. Their cooking "pot is either a large iron vessel brought from China, or else of "stone. Sometimes they boil their food in bamboos and they use "these solely for water," that is to say, they have no water-jars or buckets. It is a question whether the long bamboo carried on the back is not the most convenient vessel for carrying water up the steep hill paths, for the water-supply is usually a considerable distance below the village. In addition to being dirty, the Kachin is very lazy and he is also very vindictive and treacherous. Some points in his character may have been darkened and exaggerated by his Ishmaelite existence. The better traits certainly want fostering. Many have been employed as civil police, and an attempt is being made to drill some into military policemen. At the time of writing the success of the experiment is a point on which opinions differ as much as light does from darkness. On the one occasion in 1898 in which they have been under fire, however, they seem to have behaved with praiseworthy courage and discipline, and the most experienced and trustworthy opinion is that they will make excellent soldiers and policemen.



Photogravure.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, September 1899.

SIYIN CHIEFS.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CHIN HILLS AND THE CHIN TRIBES.

EXPEDITIONS against the Chins were forced on us by the action of the tribesmen, just as the Kachins made it impossible for us to disregard them and leave them to themselves. Very full details as to the Chins and our operations against them are to be found in the *Chin Gazetteer* of Messrs. Carey and Tuck. Our relations with them need therefore here only be shortly summarized.

During the cold season of 1887-88 Lieutenant-Colonel F. D. Raikes, then Deputy Commissioner of the Upper Chindwin district, had negotiated with the Tashôns, the most powerful of the tribes, who lie between the Siyins, Sagyilaings, and Kanhaos, on the north, and the so-called Baungshes on the south. The most important Tashôn Chief, Sônpek, met the Deputy Commissioner, and it was hoped that his confidence and good-will had been secured. But the suspicions of the Chins were apparently aroused by the proposal of the Government of India to explore their hills with a view to opening communication between Chittagong and Upper Burma, and the Shwegyobyu Prince, a Pretender who had been driven from the Yaw country, and the ex-*Sawbwa* of Kale, who had escaped from Mandalay and sought refuge in the hills, succeeded in inducing the Tashôns to commit raids in Kale. In May 1888 the Tashôns carried off the *Sawbwa* of Kale (a nephew of the fugitive) from Indin, and he was released only on undertaking to join in a rising against the Government. Somewhat earlier the Siyins and Sagyilaings had raided into the Kabaw Valley (Kubo), while certain septs of the Baungshes had continued to raid in the Yaw country, and negotiations with them had been unsuccessful. During the rains of 1888 attempts were made to bring the Chins to terms. The Tashôns gave up a few Shan and Burmese captives, but refused to surrender the Shwegyobyu Pretender and other rebels and made counter demands and counter threats. The Siyins and Sagyilaings answered menaces by raids and the Baungshes entered into an alliance against Government.

At the end of the year 1888, therefore, a column marched against the northern tribes. Near the foot of the hills, on the 7th December the Chins commenced hostilities by firing on a working party and

mortally wounding Lieutenant Palmer, R.E. Severe punishment followed. All the villages of the Siyins were destroyed and much of their grain was taken and rendered useless. Seventeen villages of the Kanhaos also were burnt, and the operations lasted, with interruptions for negotiation, until May. Our casualties were, including losses at Gangaw and Kan, twenty-six killed and fifty-four wounded. Sub-Lieutenant Mitchel, of the Norfolks, was mortally wounded in an attack on Tatan, a Siyin village. Surgeon Le Quesne, who dressed his wound and was himself wounded, received the Victoria Cross. Nearly two hundred captives were restored to freedom during the operations and the Chin losses in action were heavy, but the tribes still held out, and, after the rains had set in, the Siyins more than once attacked the post of Fort White, which was built while the operations were going on.

The Tashôns had not been encountered during the operations and, though their representatives met Lieutenant-Colonel Raikes in the latter part of 1889, they failed to comply with the demand for the surrender of all captives and the recognition of British authority. Accordingly in the open season of 1889-90 a strong column entered the Chin country from Kan in the Myittha valley, and another from Fort White in the north co-operated with it. The converging point was Falam, the main village of the Tashôns, and the Military and Political command was entrusted to Brigadier-General W. P. Symons. Such resistance as was met with was absolutely petty, and harassing shots into camp and ambuscades were the main incidents. In this way Lieutenant Foster of the K. O. S. Borderers was shot near camp while on a stroll. Haka was occupied on the 14th February and was made the headquarters of the Southern column. On the 11th March 1890 the combined Northern and Southern columns met at Falam and occupied the hills commanding the village. After hesitating for two days the Tashôn Chiefs accepted the terms offered them. The village was strongly fortified and resistance had been intended, but was frustrated by the commanding position of the British troops. Brigadier-General W. P. Symons then returned to Haka, where he met General Tregear, who had come eastwards with a column from Chittagong. A permanent post was established at Haka and a Political Officer was stationed there. Many captives were surrendered, roads practicable for baggage animals were constructed from Kan to Haka, from Haka to Fort Tregear, and from Fort White for some distance in the direction of Falam; and all the tribes gave assurances that they would abstain from raiding. But the attitude of the Tashôns remained far from satisfactory for several years. They arrogated an equality of authority with the British Government.

The Baungshes of Yokwa and Haka agreed to an annual tribute, but those of Thetta were defiant and refused to give up their captives. Altogether the results, though satisfactory, were not commensurate with the magnitude of the force, or rather the unwieldiness of the force made settlement slow and submission delusive. In the north Mr. Carey induced the Sagyilaing Chiefs to submit and administered further punishment to the Siyins, with the result that they also submitted. The Kanhaos, however, raided Kabaw and could not be dealt with owing to the march to meet General Symons.

In December 1889 also Captain Rainey, the Commandant of the Chin Frontier Levy, visited the detached tribes to the south of the Chin country proper, the Chinbôks, Chinbôns, Chinmès, and Yindus, who occupy the country at the head-waters of the Yaw and Maw rivers. Only very slight opposition was met with, captives were given up, tribute fixed, and durbars held. Up till this trade and intercourse with the plains had been forbidden to the lawless clans, but Captain Rainey succeeded in getting them to appoint a responsible headman, and the prohibition was withdrawn. A track known as the "Sawbwa's road" leads through their country from Arakan to the Irrawaddy.

In 1890-91 there was much wire-cutting up in the north and the Kanhaos had to be punished for raids on the plains. Their village of Tungzang (the chief centre after the destruction of Tiddim in 1889) was taken by assault and a number of Chiefs, who were taken prisoners, were sent down to Rangoon, the sight of which it was hoped would ensure their loyalty.

In the south there was more trouble, though everything was quiet in the immediate neighbourbood of Haka. The Thetta Baungshes were the main source of trouble. They murdered Mr. Wetherell, Assistant Superintendent of Police, and attempted to murder Mr. D. Ross, the Political Officer. Early in January 1891 a small party went to punish them. The village was attacked unsuccessfully and Lieutenant James, R. E. was killed. A parley was then arranged. The Thettas offered to submit, to pay a fine for past misconduct and tribute for the future, and to obey orders, and the force then withdrew. To prevent misconception a combined movement was made later by a column from Gangaw co-operating with another from Haka. These marched through the Baungshe country and were received in a friendly way at Thetta, where the fine imposed was paid in full. A number of other villages made full submission and the Baungshes gave no more trouble.

In March 1891, however, there was trouble with the Tlantlangs, a tribe to the west of the Hakas, lying between them and Fort Tregear. Mr. Macnabb had left Haka with a column of one hundred

men under Lieutenant Mocatta to meet a party from Fort Tregear at Tao and to visit the Tlantlangs (Messrs. Carey and Tuck write this Klangklang), who had made formal surrender to General Symons in March 1890. It was reported that they had been raiding on the Lushai side, and Mr. Macnabb's intention was to order them to abstain from raiding in future. The march to Tao was unopposed, but the Tlantlang Chiefs were not seen. They were reported to be propitiating their *nats* and to be very drunk, so the interview was postponed for the return journey. The Political Officer at Fort Tregear was not able to come himself to Tao, but sent his interpreter with letters instead, and Mr. Macnabb's party therefore soon marched back. It was then discovered that the absence of the Tlangtlang Chiefs was really for the purpose of preparing an attack on the column on its return. In the neighbourhood of Hryankan the party was suddenly set upon by a body of Chins estimated at between seven and eight hundred men. The column fought its way with some difficulty to Tlantlang, and had five men killed and ten wounded, besides Lieutenant Forbes, who was wounded. At Tlantlang they were met by reinforcements from Haka under Colonel Mainwaring, who had come out on receiving news of the intended attack on Mr. Macnabb's party. To punish the Tlantlangs for this unprovoked attack a fine of 50 guns and Rs. 2,500 was imposed, and five days were given to them to pay up the fine. The fine was not paid and arrangements were accordingly made for a punitive expedition. While these were in progress Yahywit (Jahuta), the head Chief of the Tlantlangs, came into Haka. Yahywit explained that the attack had been carried out in opposition to his wishes by two of the other Chiefs, Lalwe and Koikye, the former of whom wanted to revenge himself for having been arrested by Captain Rundall in the previous year. Yahywit showed an earnest desire for peace, and as it appeared that his statement that he had not been concerned in the attack was correct, the Political Officer determined to accept his submission and abstain from destroying the Tlantlang villages on condition that Lalwe and Koikye should be given up, that their houses should be razed to the ground, and that the arms and moveable property of all those who were engaged in the attack on our column should be confiscated and given up. As an earnest of good faith Yahywit handed up 17 guns, six *mythun*, a large elephant tusk, and a number of brass vessels and gongs. Yahywit was then, on the 20th April, permitted to return to his village. As the two Chiefs were not given up, a column consisting of 300 rifles and two mountain guns started for Tlantlang on the 2nd May. It was found that Lalwe and Koikye had fled and that their houses had been destroyed as desired by the Political Officer.

Yahywit was found to have to some extent re-established his authority and the villages of Tlangrwa and Twalam paid up ten and eight guns respectively, while others sent in five guns between them. Hryankan and Tungzang, however, remained defiant. The lateness of the season and a want of transport prevented immediate submission being exacted and operations were deferred till the next open season.

The Chinbôks, Chinbôns, Chinmès, and Yindus on the Yawdwin frontier, who up till then had given no trouble, on the 6th January 1891 attacked the Yawdwin post, looted the house of the Assistant Superintendent of Police, and carried off his pony, and committed other raids, in which five women were carried off prisoners from Saw and a villager was killed. A large party of mounted infantry from Myingyan speedily punished Panchaung, the chief offending village, all the captives were recovered, and most of the tribesmen took formal oath of fealty to the Government.

During the rains of 1891 two parties of Chin Chiefs, one from the north in May and the second from the Southern States in October, visited Rangoon, saw the sights of the town, were introduced to the Chief Commissioner, and were present at a parade of troops. They were duly impressed and it was thought that the recital of their experiences would do much to pacify the tribesmen. The results, however, were somewhat disappointing. The tales told were too marvellous for the acceptation of their fellow-countrymen. Their scepticism irritated many of the travellers, who had moreover seen so many marvellous things that after a time they seem to have doubted the evidence of their own senses. Sneers and insinuations worked so effectively with some that a few of the sight-seers themselves were stung into taking part in later disturbances in the hills.

The massacre of British officers in Manipur and the subsequent operations in that State did not affect the general behaviour of the Chins, though a few of the villages nearest the plain of Manipur actually took part in the attack on the Residency. They returned almost immediately to their hills and spread reports that thousands of British troops had been killed in Manipur, but they also seem to have been looked on as braggarts, or were stolidly disbelieved.

The troubles in Manipur and later in the Lushai Hills under the administration of the Bengal and Assam Governments, however, seriously interfered with the scheme of operations drawn up, and columns which had been intended only to establish influence, collect information, select Chiefs, grant preliminary sanads, and settle tribute found themselves occupied in much purely punitive work. Still much work was done which was summarized for the Northern Chin Hills as follows:—"The hitherto unknown and un-

"explored tracts inhabited by the Thado, Nwite, Yo, Whelno, and "Nwengal were explored and placed in the maps. The number "and size of the villages was ascertained. The Kanhao and Siyin "tribute was collected and 190 slaves were recovered. This "number comprises 117 Burmans and Kale Chins, 15 Manipuris "and Nagas, and 58 Chins of various clans. Of these 88 were "recovered from the Siyins, 22 from the Kanhaos, 11 from the "Thado, 11 from the Nwite, 36 from the Yahao and Whelno, and "20 from the Nwengals. No less than 17 villages were punished, "the fines usually taking the form of confiscation of guns and other "arms and of live-stock. Wire-cutters, camp-thieves, and two "murderers were also arrested during the year as well as several "slave-owners. Two important crimes were satisfactorily settled. "In the first case out of 12 Yo, raided a year ago by Yahao, 11 "were recovered, the twelfth is dead. In the second case two "head-hunters carried off five heads and both murderers were "arrested 75 miles from Fort White.

"A mule road to Lenacot from Fort White (80 miles) was made. "From Lenacot a branch road was made running north-west "through the Yo tract to the Nwite country, 50 miles. From "Lenacot the road was continued north to Shuganu in the Manipur "plain, hence a mule-road is now open from Manipur on the north "straight through to Haka on the south. From Lenacot to "Yazagyo a trade route was re-opened, 61 miles. The main road "to Falam was completed, with the exception of a bridge across the "Nankathè river. The two roads to Sagyilaing were repaired and "continued to Mobyingyi (Molbem) and several other Chin tracks "and paths were repaired and improved. All this most excellent "road work was accomplished by the 4th Madras Pioneers."

The exploration of the Nwengal country by columns from the Northern and Southern States was cut short by the attack at Lalbura on Mr. McCabe, the Political Officer in the Assam Hills. The Nwengal country, inhabited chiefly by Soktes and Kanhaos, is a strip of land on the west of the Nankathè or Manipur river, stretching roughly from the latitude of Molbem (Mobyingyi) on the south to that of Tiddim on the north. West of them lie the Whelno or Whenno tribes, which extend to the Lushai country. Mr. McCabe stockaded himself at Fort Aijal, eight miles west of Lalbura, and the Nwengal column marched as far west as Arban peak to assist him. On its way back, the rising in the Southern Lushai country assumed serious proportions and, after getting fresh rations at Bozong, Captain Rose and Mr. Carey marched for Daokhoma in the heart of the Southern Lushai country and the centre of the rising. The column marched one hundred and four miles in twelve

days through an unknown and hostile country across several lofty mountain ranges at the most trying time of the year. At Daokhoma they were joined by Captain Shakespear, and that place with Kanglova, Lalruma, and other villages which had joined in the revolt were destroyed. There were a few skirmishes, but no casualties were suffered by our troops. The march, however, was a very notable one. The column went on to Lungleh and then returned to Burma by way of Chittagong. Meanwhile, a party of Chins had attacked one of our outposts at Botong, and in consequence of this and the murder of a Burman at Hele, Hele was attacked and some houses were destroyed by way of punishment. Apart from this no raids were committed during the year either in the hills or in Burma, and it was thought that considerable progress had been made in establishing satisfactory relations with the Chins.

In the Southern Chin Hills the Baungshe column explored the country to the southern limit of the charge, and, except for an unfortunate *contretemps* at Shurkwa, where the villagers resisted a demand for coolies and attacked a party of troops on their entry into the village, the proceedings of the column were perfectly peaceful. The Shurkwa affair ended disastrously for the Chins; 35 of them were killed and 20 wounded in the *melée* which followed their attack upon the troops. Our loss was one sepoy killed and one wounded. The whole of the Baungshe country was visited, tribute was levied, and Chiefs recognized. Twenty-five slaves were released and a mule track made from Shurkwa to Minywa.

The Tlantlang column had for its object the completion of the punishment of the villages which attacked Mr. Macnabb's escort in the previous year. This object was attained almost without bloodshed. Some twenty-one villages were visited by the column; all fines imposed were paid or punishment inflicted for nonpayment; the whole Tlantlang tribe was completely subjugated, and tribute was levied and Chiefs selected for appointment. The season's operations concluded with the Tashôn column and the occupation of Falam, which it was proposed to make the future headquarters of the Chin Hills. The occupation was successfully and peacefully effected by combined columns from Haka and Fort White. The Tashôns were supposed to be able to put a force of 10,000 fighting men in the field, so a strong force was sent to overawe any possible opposition. The Tashôn column commenced the post and after leaving a detachment at Falam made a tour through the country to the northwest occupied by the Yahao, Lyenlyum, and Lushai tribes. The column was received in a friendly way throughout.

In the hills south of the Baungshes, which are controlled by the Assistant Commissioner, Yawdwin, Lieutenant Tighe made a very

successful tour among the Chinmès, Yindus, and Chinbôks, collecting tribute and accepting submission from various Chiefs, who had remained unvisited up till then. Opposition had been threatened at Khreum, a village of nearly 200 houses, beyond Bawông in the Chinmè country, but at the last moment the Chiefs submitted. The Chinmè tribe is reported to be a sort of connecting link between the so-called Baungshe and the Chinbôks, and inhabits the sources of the eastern Môn, called here the Thetlaung. The tribe of Chins inhabiting the western branch is known as Yindu, and extends beyond the watershed of the Arakan Yomas and even, it is said, across the Kaladan, called here the Otlaung.

Up till July 1892 the Chin Hill Tracts were administered from Fort White and Haka, under the names of the Northern and Southern Chin Hills respectively, but from that date they were formed into one charge with headquarters at the new Falam post.

During the rains a plot was concerted by the Siyins and the Soktes of Nwengal to overthrow the Government in the hills, and in it were implicated several of the Chiefs who had been conducted in the preceding year by Myoôk Maung Tun Win to Rangoon. The cause of the rebellion is believed to have been the fear of total disarmament due to the infliction of fines in guns on offending villages and individuals. It had been hoped thus to disarm the country without causing a general rising, such as would have been the result of an attempt to impose wholesale disarmament. The rebellion broke out on the 9th October 1892, when Myoôk Maung Tun Win and his escort were treacherously ambuscaded near Pomba village, where the Myoôk had been sent to meet Twum Tong, Chief of Kaptyal, at the Chief's request. The Myoôk, his clerk, an interpreter, a peon, and eight sepoys were killed and seven men were wounded. The attack was brutal and treacherous and indicated what the subsequent tactics of the rebels in persistently attacking our posts and convoys and in themselves abandoning and burning the villages on the approach of our troops subsequently proved, the determined and desperate character of the rebellion. It was absolutely necessary that the rebellion should be thoroughly and completely suppressed, and it was also of the greatest importance that it should not be allowed to spread to other tribes. The military force employed therefore numbered 2,600 men and they were six months in the field. The tactics adopted were the establishment of many small outposts dotted about the rebel tract, so as to prevent all building and all cultivation, and at the same time to destroy all food-supplies. Military Police columns from the Upper Chindwin district co-operated with the Chin Hills troops in November 1892 and in February 1893 against the Môntôk villages and in

March against Pimpi. During the operations our casualties of all ranks exceeded 70, including Lieutenant Geoghegan, 6th Burma Battalion, and the Subadar-Major of the 1st Burma Battalion. The operations resulted in the thorough cowing of the Siyins and the people of Nwengal. A large proportion of their arms and of those of neighbouring tribes were withdrawn, the number so withdrawn reaching to over 1,600. Most of the ring-leaders, including the prime instigator of the rebellion, the Kaptyal Chief, Twum Tong, were captured or surrendered themselves into our hands; hostages for their future good behaviour were given by the principal tribes; of the nine rifles, one gun, and one revolver, which fell into the hands of the rebels on the occasion of the attack on the Myoôk, eight rifles and the gun were recovered. Of the captives carried off from the plains in a raid committed in November on the village of Taungu near Kalemyo, five out of six were recovered; and of the rifles taken from the Upper Chindwin police in an attack in December on a small party near Nansaungpo, two out of three were given up. From six villages fines were levied and the amounts were paid away in compensation to the families of the men killed on the 9th October and to the sufferers from the raid on Taungu.

At the same time the area of the rebellion was strictly confined to the two tribes with whom it began. The other Chin tribes behaved well, except the Baungshe village of Tlantlang, which harboured a proclaimed outlaw and former Chief. For this they were heavily fined in guns by Mr. Tuck, the Assistant Political Officer.

Apart from the military operations the chief work was the successful collection of a regular house-tax in cash. Up to this time a nominal tribute only had been rendered in cash, ivory, *mythun*, goats, and the like, but now a rate of one rupee was fixed for each house. From this time also began the systematic visiting of the hills by Burmese and other pedlars, who hawked their wares and stopped in the villages with perfect safety. From the very beginning the cutting of telegraph wires by the Chins was systematic. The steel insulator shanks were broken off and converted into knives and hoes. The wire itself was rarely cut until the rebellion started, when it was utilized in place of bullets, and most of the wounds from the Chin fire were found to be caused by lengths of telegraph wire. Sometimes also the wire was cut out of pure mischief. The practice was put a stop to by collecting the full value of the wire and a small fine in addition from each village in the responsible tribe when they failed to produce the offender.

In the season 1893-94 a small and stubborn remnant of disaffected Siyins in the neighbourhood of Pimpi was finally suppress-

ed; the Northern Chin tribes were finally disarmed and have since given no trouble. Messrs. Porteous and Carey during this season demarcated the boundary between the Chin Hills and Manipur, which had remained undetermined from the previous year owing to the Siyin revolt. The Southern Chin tribes were quiet on the whole, but an inter-tribal quarrel was only settled by prompt action and the village of Thetta committed a couple of raids towards the close of the year. Nevertheless the tribute collected during the year amounted to Rs. 16,686 and there were no raids from the Chin Hills people on the plains. The Kaswa-Aswa tribe, who are beyond the administrative border, committed two serious raids on the Upper Chindwin district, for which they were promptly punished by a force of military police under Mr. Porter, the Deputy Commissioner of the district.

Thetta, the most turbulent village in the south, was brought to submission and disarmed in 1894, and following this all the Southern tribes were also disarmed, the number of guns withdrawn being 1,938. In all nearly 7,000 guns were taken from the tribes north and south between the years 1893 and 1896, and since this the hills have not only enjoyed peace, but there has been an almost total absence of serious crime. The growth of trade and intercourse between the Chins and the people of the plains was rapid, and considerable numbers of Chins settled in the Kale valley. The garrison of the Chin Hills was taken over by Military Police in 1895 and 1896, with a consequent great reduction in expenditure, and trade with the hills is steadily increasing.

Only a narrow fringe of the tribes bordering on the Yawdwin and Pauk subdivisions of Pakôkku are administered. They remained quiet for some years, but in 1896 Chinbôks from Kyingyi and Yindus from Atetsôn Pyedaw committed some raids, one savagely successful, on the village of Shwe Legyin near Laungshe, and the other abortive, on the military post at Mindat Sakan. Against these raiders three parties of Military Police went out in 1897, one coming from the Northern Hill Tracts of Arakan. No opposition was encountered; the offending villages were punished and compensation was paid to the persons who had suffered in the raids. Tours were made throughout the whole tract, which up to this time had not been completely surveyed, and feuds and disputes were settled in many parts beyond the administrative boundary. The questions of the administrative boundary and of the introduction of the Chin Hills Regulation were still under consideration in 1897. In 1896 the Chin Hills were declared by proclamation to be a part of Burma and were constituted a scheduled district. The Chiefs, however, will be allowed to administer their affairs, so far as may be, in accordance

with their own customs, subject to the supervision of the Superintendent of the Chin Hills.

The pacification of the Chin Hills, even more than that of the Shan States, is a notable triumph for the British art of governing savages according to the methods of civilization. When we first encountered the Chins in their mountain ranges we found them practically savages. Their chief occupation was raiding, and this, with their blood-feuds, engrossed their entire attention. Amongst themselves they were as much at enmity as the Chingpaw, and one village raided on another and carried off men, women, and children into slavery, while all the villages made common cause in raiding on the Burmese villages of the plains. There was no cultivation and no industry worthy of the name. The will of the Chiefs was law, but it was only maintained by truckling to the savage instincts of the people, who were quite ready to get rid of a leader who was not energetic in raids on his neighbours. To the Burmese the Chin Hills were practically unknown, for amongst people where it was unsafe for the inhabitants of one village to visit its immediate neighbour, a stranger had little chance. If he was lucky enough not to be killed, it was only to be held up to ransom.

Now not only are the plains undisturbed, but the hills themselves are quite peaceful. Raids are unknown, and scarcely any crimes are committed, so that the Chin Hills are actually more secure than many parts of Lower Burma. Roads, on which Chin coolies now readily work, have been constructed in all directions; the rivers have been bridged; the people have taken up the cultivation of English vegetables, and the indigenous industries have been largely developed; British officers now tour about with escorts of only four or five men in places where formerly they could only go with columns. Burmese pedlars wander unmolested all over the hills and the Chins themselves not only visit but settle in the plains. The relations with Manipur, the Lushai Hills, and Arakan are equally unrestricted. The completion of the Falam-Indin road will still more open up communication and cheapen goods. A settlement of Gurkhas in the valley of Laiyo, five miles from Falam, suggests great developments, though similar colonies at Haka and Fort White were not so prosperous. Altogether the reduction of the Chins to order is as great a matter of congratulation as the pacification of the Kachins and the peaceable development of the Shan States.

THE CHINS, YO, ZHÔ, OR SHU.

Mr. J. A. Baines, in a paper on "the Language Census of India," read before the International Congress of Orientalists in 1893, says of the tribes on the hill ranges separating India from Burma:

"In their northern extension these tribes are collectively known as "Kuki. The term Lushai, which is applied farther south, is not "recognized by the people themselves, who use the name Zhô. "Shendu is also a synonymous title for the Lushai tribes. In the "country between Bengal and Burma, the tribes are known as Khyin "in the east, and by a variety of local names in Bengal. The whole "mass was left very much to itself in former years, as the inhabit-"ants of the plains hold such races in considerable respect, and "trading on this feeling, mountaineers have manifested their superi-"ority over the peaceful communities they overhang in ways that "the British had to stop with some vigour. It is hardly necessary "to point out that with so many tribes close together, each under "hereditary obligations to lay by a store of the skulls of its neigh-"bour, the diversity of language is as great as in the tract across "the Brahmaputra."

There is little doubt that the pronounced dialectic differences have led individual students to believe that they were linguistic and to dispute the connection of the Chins with many of their neighbours. Studies of the language, legends, and traditions are being made from both the India and the Burma side and the true position and connections of the Chins will no doubt ere long be determined, but at present their identity is a matter of conjecture. Messrs. Carey and Tuck in their *Chin Gazetteer* say:—"Our close connection with "the Chins and Lushais during the last five years (1890—95) does "not appear to have taught us anything more than we knew twenty "years ago of the ethnology of the tribes." Yule in 1855 described the Chins and Lushais as "of Indo-Chinese kindred, known as Kukis, "Nāgas, Khyenes, and by many more specific names." Colonel Hannay identified the Chins with the Nāgas of the Assam mountains and thinks that they must be closely allied to the Kukis. In 1866 Colonel Phayre classified the Chins living on the north of Arakan as Indo-Chinese. Mr. Taw Sein Kho, in a pamphlet on the Chins and Kachins bordering on Burma, wrote:—

"Ethnically these tribes belong to that vaguely defined and yet little understood stock, the Turanian, which includes among others the Chinese, Tibetans, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and the Turks. The evidence of language, so far as it has been studied, leaves little doubt that ages ago China exercised much influence on these Turanian races, whose habitat, it is said, included the whole of at least Northern India before its conquest by the Aryans."

Mr. Taw Sein Kho, in the same paper, also says:—

"Of all the surrounding tribes, the Chins appear to reflect most the pre-Buddhistic phase of the Burman. Some of the customs of these two peoples, as those relating to marriage, inheritance, and slavery, are so

strikingly similar that he who would like to know about the Burmese people of prehistoric times might with advantage study the language, habits, manners, and customs of their congeners, the Chins."

Messrs. Carey and Tuck continue:—

"Mr. McCabe of the Assam Commission, whose service has been spent amongst Nāgas, Lushais, and the other hill-tribes of the province of Assam, designates the Chin-Lushai family as Indo-Chinese. Captain Forbes calls the race Tibeto-Burman. Mr. B. Houghton, of the Burma Commission, in an essay on the language of the Southern (Sandoway) Chins and its affinities in 1891 writes:—'As a mere conjecture of the original habitat, &c., of these races the following may be hazarded. At first the stocks of the Dravidian, Chinese, Tibetan, and other races may have lived together in Tibet, or perhaps a good distance to the west of it. The Dravidian hordes first started on the immigration, some entering India by the northern passes and some perhaps by the north-west. Some time after them the Chinese separated themselves and went to the east, occupying gradually their present country, this separation occurring at least three thousand years ago, if the supposition may be trusted that about that time the Chinese altered the old pronunciation of their numerals. After the departure of the Chinese smaller hordes from time to time poured into India, the largest being the Burman one, which, perhaps by the pressure of the newly arrived Aryans, was forced into Burma. The hillmen of Arakan I would regard as rather later immigrations.'

"In the Burma Census Report of 1891 Chin ethnology is dismissed with the remark that the Chins or Kyins are a group of hill-tribes, all talking dialects of the same Tibeto-Burman speech and calling themselves by various names. Without pretending to speak with authority on the subject, we think we may reasonably accept the theory that the Kukis of Manipur, the Lushais of Bengal and Assam, and the Chins originally lived in what we now know as Tibet and are of one and the same stock; their form of Government, method of cultivation, manners and customs, beliefs and traditions all point to one origin. As far as the Chins are concerned, we know from our own experience, as well as from the records of Manipur, that the drift of migration has changed and is now towards the north. The Nwite, Vaipe, and Yo Chins, who within the memory of man resided in the Northern Chin Hills, have now almost entirely recrossed the northern border, either into the hills belonging to Manipur, or to the south of Cachar, and their old village sites are now being occupied by the Kanhow clan of Sokte Chins, which also is steadily moving northwards.

"From the available records it would seem that some authorities class the Nāgas as nearly akin to the Kukis, but this is more than doubtful. The Government of the Nāga tribes is distinctly democratic. Their Chieftainships do not necessarily pass from father to son, but are practically dependent on the will of the tribesmen, and the Nāga Chiefs are therefore without much individual power and their rule is based on the general approval of the clan. The Kuki Chiefs, on the other hand, invariably inherit their position by the right of birth and take the initiative in all matters concerning the administration of their clansmen, by whom they are respected and feared. [It may be remarked that this alone is somewhat slender ground for denying the identity of the races. The *Kumlao*, or

'republican' Kachins are admittedly the same as their Chief-governed brethren]. It is true that the elders of the village, called *Waihaumte* in the north and *Boite* in the south and by the Lushai Officers *Kharbari* and *Mantri*, surround the person of the Chief, but although they all discuss questions together, they have no power to over-rule the decision of the Chief himself.

"The Nāga and Kuki methods of cultivation are totally different, for whereas the Nāga takes the greatest care and pride in his elaborate system of terrace cultivation, the Kuki merely *jhums* in a most untidy and wasteful manner. The dress of the Nāga is invariably a cloth tied round the loins with the loose ends hanging down in front, while the Kuki either wears nothing but a blanket, or else a *dhoti* wound round the loins passing between the legs from the front and fastened behind in the regular Indian way. In appearance the Nāgas and Kukis differ; some Nāgas cut their hair, which the Kukis never do. The Nāga features are more pronounced and in many other ways the light-hearted Nāga is far apart from the solemn slow-speaking Kuki.

"Those of the Kuki tribes which we know as Chins do not recognize that name, which is said (by Mr. Taw Sein Kho) to be a corruption of the Chinese *Jên*, man. The Northern Chins call themselves Yo; the Tashôns, Haka, and more southern tribes Lai, while the Chins of Lower Burma give their name as Shu. Some of the Assam tribes have also been christened by names unknown to them; for instance *Nāga*, the meaning of which is simply 'naked,' and the Arbors, who call themselves Padam.

"The Chins subordinate to Burma are not all confined in the tract administered from Falam, for besides the Chinbôks, Chinbôns, and Chinmès, administered from Yawdwin, and the political charge of the Arakan Hill Tracts, the Deputy Commissioners of Minbu, Thayetmyo, Kyaukpyu, and Sandoway all have dealings with Chins who reside in their districts."

The separate tribes recognized in the tract controlled from Falam are the Soktes, Siyins, Tashôns, Hakas, Tlantlangs, and Yokwas. In the south there are independent villages belonging to none of these main tribes. Each of these independent villages has its own Chief. They have no tribal system. The Thado, Yo, Nwite, and Vaipe tribes have almost disappeared from the Northern Chin Hills. The Sokte tribe, which includes the Kanhao clan, is found on both banks of the Manipur river, which led to the people on the left bank calling those on the right Nwengals (from *Nun*=a river, *Ngal*=across). They are, however, the same tribe.

The Siyins are the Tautes and Tauktes of the Manipur records. The Tashôn tribe includes the two powerful communities of Yahaos and Whenos, which were formerly known as Pois, Poites, and Paites. The formidable Shendus, so well known on the Chittagong and Arakan frontiers, are mainly Tlantlangs (or Klangklangs) and Hakas. The term *Baungshe* (from the Burmese *Paung*, to put on, and *she* in front) is a mere nickname applied to all the Chins

who tie their hair in a knot over the forehead. Messrs. Carey and Tuck estimated the numbers of the tribes as follows in 1895:—

Tashôns	...	39,215
Hakas	...	14,250
Soktes	...	9,005
Tlantlangs	...	4,925
Yokwas	...	2,675
Siyins	...	1,770
Independent Southern villages	...	17,780
Total	...	89,620

The most thickly populated tract is that of the Tashôns; the thinnest those of the Siyins and Kanhaos. The headquarters of the Political Officer are at Falam, whence the Tashôns and their tributaries are administered. The Siyins and Soktes are controlled from Tiddim; the Hakas, Tlantlangs, Yokwas, and the southern villages from Haka.

The late Dr. Forchhammer in his notes to Maung Tet Pyo's *Customary Law of the Chin Tribe* writes, from information gathered from Chins settled in Lower Burma, that the Chins were originally divided into 36 clans or *zo*, of which he gives the names. These do not correspond with the clan and tribal names mentioned in the *Gazetteer* of Messrs. Carey and Tuck, and these gentlemen make absolutely no reference to the list. Dr. Forchhammer says:—

"The names of the 36 clans imply professions, which are hereditary in each of them. The *Pazan zo* furnishes their priests, whose sole occupation is to preside over the ceremonies performed at marriages and funerals. None but they know the formulas pronounced on such occasions, the old sacred songs, embodying the mythological notions of the Chins. Other *zos* have their name from being by occupation goldsmiths, manufacturers of swords, of knives and spears, boatmen, &c. But most of the names refer to the nature of military services which they render to the King of Burma and formerly to the Chinese. The clan appellations imply 'guardians of the palace,' 'spear-bearers,' 'lancers,' 'bowmen,' 'elephant-keepers,' &c."

From a consideration of the Chin Laws as collected and codified by Maung Tet Pyo, it appears certain that the Chin race was at one time more united and certainly much more civilized than we found it. Messrs. Carey and Tuck ignore these customary laws altogether. They say "Law in criminal matters according to our "definition of the word does not exist and the word 'custom' must "be borrowed to express the arrangements for dealing with crime. "But it must be clearly understood that might quashes right and "avarice smothers justice and custom amongst the Chins, whose "quaint reasoning has decided that drunkenness is a valid excuse for "murder and adultery, but that the action of a sober man committed "by inadvertence and pure accident must be punished in the same

"manner as a crime committed with deliberate intent. Before our "coming there were no judges among the Chins; each man protect- "ed his private interests, each village defended its rights, and each "tribe was the guardian of its honour and property." Even if we admit that Maung Tet Pyo, in taking down the customary law from Chin elders, generalized a great deal and insensibly introduced much from his own knowledge of the *Dhammathats*, yet there is enough that is distinct and individual in the primitive law of the Chins to stamp it as original, at any rate with respect to the Burmese, though corresponding customs exist among other nations, such as the law of Borough-English or *Mainetè*, their laws of marriage, inheritance, and the like. At any rate they point to a much better state of things than that described by the authors of the *Chin Gazetteer*. About the origin of the Chins and their affinities we have as yet little more than vague guesses. They are becoming rapidly Burmanized. It may be hoped that enough will be learnt to assign them their proper place before it is too late. As far as appears from the account of separate clans given by Messrs. Carey and Tuck it would appear that the Chins have no history intermediate between the remote legendary and the quite modern. The following is a summary of the various tribal histories.

Soktes.

The Soktes and all the Northern Chins believe that their race began at Chin-nwe, a village which still exists, but affords as little proof or enlightenment as the Majaw Shingra Pum of the Chingpaw, the Pakkatè, which the Wa consider their original home, or Mount Ararat. The Sokte derive their name from *Sok*, or *Shok*, meaning below, or to go down, and *te* which is the sign of the plural, and they say this proves the point because Molbem (Mobyingyi), their old capital, lies to the south of Chinnwe. The Sokte otherwise trace their history back for six generations, but have no real historical facts earlier than the time of Kantum, who conquered the Northern hills about 1840. Ten years later the tribe under the name of Sooties and other aliases (Mackenzie's North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal) began to give trouble on both the Lushai and the Burma side, and brought on themselves invasions from Manipur, and about this time they split up into Soktes proper and Kanhaos, and lost much of their predominance, for the Nwites migrated north to Manipur and many Soktes went over to the Falam Chiefs. At present Dok Taung rules the Soktes and Haochinkup the Kanhaos.

Siyins.

The Siyins, like some of the Wa, believe they came out of a gourd. It fell from heaven and split open and Chinnwe was the home of the primæval pair Eventually they moved eastwards and settled near some alkali.

springs, whence their name from *She*=alkali and *Yan*=side, while *te* is the sign of the plural. Sheyante was corrupted by the Burmese into Siyin and we took the name from them. The Siyins are called Taute or Taukte (the sturdy people) by the Lushais and Southern Chins.

Neyan of Chinnwe, the father of the Siyins, is traced back no farther than 13 generations, and the various clans of the tribe—Twantak, Toklaing, Limkai, Bweman—are named after various descendants. The Limkai people are those we know as Sagyilaings, also one of the Burman names of which we have adopted so many: *Shan, Kachin, Panthe, Lawa*. The Siyins for the last half century have been at constant war, mostly with the Tashôns and Burmans, but frequently among themselves, and till they were overwhelmed and disarmed by us there was no peace in the hills. They bear such a bad character that the *Chin Gazetteer* says "Never pardon a Siyin for any offence."

Thado, Yo, and Nwite.

The great majority of these tribes have migrated into Manipur, where they are known as Kukis or Khongjais. They believe that their ancestors came out of the bowels of the earth and account for the variety of Chin dialects by a tale that a father told his sons to catch a rat. In their excitement they were stricken with a confusion of tongues and moreover did not catch the rat. The eldest son spoke the Lamyang, the second the Thado, and the third either the Vaipe or the Manipur languages. The Yo were driven out by the Sokte ruler Kantum, and those that remained were absorbed by the Kanhao. "Soktes, Yos, and Kanhaos are practically one people, though "no Sokte Chief would admit that he is not of superior birth to a "Yo."

The Nwite believe that they are descended from a man and a woman who fell from the clouds to the earth at Chinnwe. Formerly they lived round Tiddim, but almost all have now settled in Manipur.

Tashôns.

The Tashôns believe that they came out of a large rock at Shunkla, and by this name they call themselves and are known to the Southern Chins. The Northerners call them Palam-te, the people of Falam. Tashôn is a Burmese corruption of Klashun, the name of an early capital, the remains of which were utilized by our troops when they built a post in 1892. Klashun was founded four generations ago from Shunkla, but was abandoned because a syren sat on the high rocks above the village and on whatsoever man she looked he pined away and died. But the *Chin Gazetteer* says it was no Circe, but the Hakas

who turned them out by force of arms. "The Tashôn tribesmen, "unlike the Siyins and Soktes, do not claim one common progenitor. They are a community composed of aliens, who have been "collected under one family by conquest, or more correctly by "strategy." They are divided into five classes—

(1) Shunkla,	(3) Tawyan,	(5) Wheno,
(2) Yahao,	(4) Kweshin, and	

which are further subdivided.

The Yahao believe that they were hatched from an egg, laid by the sun on Webula hill, and hatched by a Burmese woman in a pot.

The Kweshins look on Shimpi as their original village and are believed to be Burman half-breeds; they often acted as intermediaries between the Burmese and Chins. They were quite as much under the Kale *Sawbwa* as under the Tashôns.

The Tawyan are said to be quite distinct from the others. They at one time subdued all creation and set about building a tower to capture the sun. A tribal quarrel, however, led to one half the tribe cutting the ladder while the other half were upon it. They fell uninjured in the Kale and Tawyan neighbourhood and elected to stay there. They rebelled against Falam and were conquered and enslaved by the Shunklas.

The Wheno are said to be Lushais and believe that they came out of the rocks at Sepi. Like the Lushais they wear the hair on the nape of the neck and live in temporary bamboo villages.

Falam and its territory is administered by a council of five Chiefs chosen by vote of the people, but always from the Shunkla tribe. They decide cases as a bench and never as individuals and are not distinguished for impartiality. Throughout the Chin Hills operations they sat on the wall.

The Lais.

The clans which claim the title of Lai are Hakas, Tlantlangs, Yokwas, Thettas, and Kapis as well as many of the southern villages. The two former are universally recognized as Lai and deny the right to the three last, who are said to have been born of a wild goat.

The Hakas had much fighting with the Shunkla Tashôns before they established their independence. Then they fought among themselves and raided the Lushais and the Burmese, whom they routed when they invaded the hills.

The Tlantlangs confined their raids to the Arakan and Chittagong side, where they were known as Shendus.

As to the race-identity of the Chin tribes, there can be no doubt, but there is as great a variation in appearance as there is among the different Kachin tribes, and the divergences of speech seem to be even greater. It is only a long day's march from Falam to the heart of the Siyin country, but the two dialects are mutually unintelligible. The dialects to the south differ to the same extent or perhaps even more. There is little doubt that the Chinbôks, Chinbôns, Yindus, and other tribes beyond the Chin Hills administrative district are of the same race as the many-named inhabitants of that area, but the *Chin Gazetteer* makes no definite statement on the subject, and in the absence of means of making a formal comparison it seems best to simply record the information available as to the inhabitants of the eastern foot-hills of the Arakan Yomas. The following notes are quoted or condensed from the report of Major R. M. Rainey, former Commandant of the Chin Frontier Levy, and now Commanding the II Burma Regiment, and were collected in 1890. They concern—

Chinbôks and other southern tribes.

(1) The so-called *Wèlaung Chins*, who inhabit the villages on the head-waters of the Myittha river. They are bounded on the north and west by the tribes of the Southern Chin Hills, Hakas, Yokwas, and Tlantlangs; on the south by the Chinbôks; and on the east by the Taungthas of the villages round Wethet, which is four days' journey off.

(2) The *Chinbôks*, who live in the hills from the Maw river down to the Saw *chaung*. They are bounded on the north by the Wèlaung and "Baungshe" Chins; on the east by the Burmese; on the west by the Arakan Yomas; and on the south by the Yindu Chins.

(3) The *Yindus*, who inhabit the valleys of the Salin *chaung* and the northern end of the Môn valley, bounded on the south by the Chinbôns: otherwise the same as the Chinbôks.

(4) The *Chinbôns*, who inhabit the southern end of the Môn river and stretch across the Arakan Yomas into the valley of the Pi *chaung*. They are bounded on the south by the Chinbôks of the Minbu frontier; on the east by the Burmese; on the west by the Arakanese.

The Wèlaung Chins are said to be of Baungshe origin, that is to say, they approximate to the tribes of the Southern Chin Hills. The Chinbôks claim a like origin. The Yindus say that they are akin to the Taungthas, an industrious race who inhabit the Yaw and

Myittha valleys in Burman territory and claim to have come from Pôpa hill. The Chinbôns further south point out a rock which they state is the body of a *Min*, or official, who was killed in a quarrel with his brother, when they were migrating from Pôpa, and was turned into stone. The brother returned to Pôpa. The Chinbôns claim to be of Burman origin. Their general appearance is that of Burmese with somewhat better accentuated features.

The villages on the headwaters of the Myittha speak two dialects, one spoken by the people of Wèlaung, the other by the remaining villages of the group.

There are three distinct dialects of the Chinbôk tongue,—the northern, spoken from the Maw river to the north bank of the Chè, with patois here and there; the central, between the south bank of the Chè and the Kyauksit rivers; the southern, spoken by the Kadin and Saw river Chins.

The Yindus speak an entirely distinct language. That of the Chinbôns is the same as that spoken by the Chins of the Laungshe township, to whom they are related. No doubt all have an infusion of Burmese blood and possibly also of Shan.

Besides these main divisions there are also local clans, such as the Chinmès, Yanans, Kunsaws, Pusaws, Lusaws, Hlwazaws, Sogats, and others, to consider whom as separate tribes, though their patois may differ, is obviously absurd.

All these tribes seem to have had no other system of government than that of village communities. Each village has a headman and the title appears to have been hereditary. Usually among each group of villages there was one noted as a sportsman or raider, who had more influence and led the others.

They have no ministers of religion and their religion is the most primitive form of spirit worship. Buffaloes, bullocks, *mythun*, goats, pigs, fowls, and dogs are all sacrificed, but chiefly the last three, and dogs especially when they are on a raid, because they follow the camp. Omens are drawn from the way the blood flows. Eggs are consulted in the same way and are blown in school-boy fashion with holes at each end. The empty shells are afterwards painted and put on sticks with cocks' feathers, and rows of such sticks frequently run across jungle paths. Drink, the music of tom-toms, and dancing accompany the ceremony of consulting the spirits. They have no defined ideas of a future world.

The dress of a Chinbôk man consists of a very small *langoti*, such as is worn by natives of India when wrestling, and a piece of cloth about three feet long and one foot broad, which is folded and hung behind, suspended by a string from the shoulders. The chief

object of this garment is to have something to sit on when the ground is wet and cold. They are woven by the Chin women and when they are new they show red and blue stripes. The dress of the woman is a sort of tabard, or sleeveless jersey with a V-shaped throat. Below this is a small loin cloth, which shows about six inches below the jacket. These jackets are of the same pattern as the men's cloth and are also home-made. Chinbôk women with any sense of modesty can only stand or kneel. Any other position is indecent. Neither sex cut the hair; it is tied with strips of cloth, usually red, in a knot on the top of the head. In the cold weather both men and women wear blankets over the shoulders.

The Yindu man wears a loin cloth like the Chinbôk and also a loose blouse, or gaberdine, which reaches to below the knees. Except in the cold weather, they slip their arms out of the sleeves and tie them round the waist. Their women have the same dress as those of the Chinbôks with this smock in addition.

The more civilized Chinbôns dress practically as Burmans. Those on the Arakan side of the Yomas are said to wear tree bark occasionally, but the majority appear to wear nothing.

Ornaments are much more freely worn than dress. The hair is often decorated with coils of different coloured beads, cowries, and seeds, and brass pins are skewered through it, and these in the case of the Yindus are usually embellished with tassels of goats' hair dyed red, or bunches of the teeth of the hog-deer. Sometimes bone, ivory, bamboo, or porcupine quill hair-pins are worn. The men all use feathers as hair decorations. Sometimes only a few feathers, usually white cock's tail feathers, are stuck into the top-knot, sometimes the whole of a cock's tail and part of the back is worn. In this case the bird is skinned, and the part to be worn is dried and stretched on a bamboo frame with a bamboo pin to keep it in place. This when worn at the back of the head strikes the unaccustomed as being comical rather than decorative. Green parrot's feathers are also used. Women wear the long hair-pins, but no feathers.

Both men and women wear necklaces. These are made of all kinds of beads, glass marbles with holes drilled through them, white metal bands, and bells like ferret bells, cock-spurs, teeth of hog-deer, cockle-shells, cowries, coral, and bright coloured pebbles and stones. The men wear earrings, simple plain rings about two inches in diameter, usually brass dignified with the name of gold. They are put on or taken off by pulling the ends asunder. The springiness of the metal keeps them closed. The lobes of the ears are much pulled down by these rings. Ordinarily the women fill

the large holes in their ears with thin strips of bamboo tightly rolled up. They seldom wear actual earrings, but Captain Rainey saw some with pieces of telegraph wire about five inches long bent into an oval-shaped ring.

The men wear bracelets of brass wire, sometimes covering nearly the whole right forearm. They are seldom worn on the left. The women wear white metal instead of brass. The men invariably wear wristlets to protect the left arm from the bow-string. Among the Chinbôks these are made of cane wicker-work lacquered over. Sometimes a strip of leather is used. These wristlets are about six inches in length and are frequently ornamented with bells. The Yindus wind a piece of string or rope round their wrists, instead of these wristlets. The Chinbôks of the Chè river wear long brass guards covering the whole of the back of the left arm up to the elbow. These are kept in position by the wristlets. They serve partly as ornament, partly as a protection against dagger thrusts.

Every Chinbôk and Yindu male carries a bow from the time he begins to toddle. It is made of bamboo seasoned in the smoke of the house-fire. It takes five years to thoroughly mature a bow. A grown man's bow is usually about five feet across. It is thickest in the centre and tapers to the ends, where it is notched to hold the string. This is made of cotton, sometimes plaited with bamboo and other fibres. When bows are not in use they are frequently unstrung. The arrows are carried in a basket quiver on the left side. They are about eighteen inches long and the shaft is of bamboo about the thickness of a pencil. They are neatly winged with feathers or bamboo shavings and various kinds of tips are used. For war and for big game the heads are of iron, some barbed, some lozenge-shaped, and the sizes vary. Others are hardened wood points spliced on bone heads for shooting fish, at which they are very expert, and for shooting birds plain sharpened shafts are used. The arrows with iron heads carry a hundred and fifty yards and more and are very deadly. Bears, tigers, and deer are killed at eighty yards range. The Chins do not poison their arrows, which are usually kept bright and clean, but the arrows are used time after time and are often recovered from an animal which has been wounded and has died in the jungle. Blood-poisoning therefore not uncommonly follows an arrow-wound.

The only other weapon which every man carries is a dagger, a little over a foot long, worn on the war-path in a bone scabbard on the right side attached to the shield or leather breastplate. Ordinarily it is worn in a basket on the right side, in which there is a sheath to receive it.

The bone scabbard is formed of the shoulder-blade of a buffalo or bullock, fitted with a bamboo back. The daggers serve both for fighting and feeding and are most used in drunken brawls.

Many of the men carry spears, but these appear to be usually obtained from the Burmese. Every man wears a kind of leather armour, which consists of a strip of buffalo hide bent over, reaching from the waist in front to the small of the back behind and about nine inches to a foot broad. It is worn over the left shoulder like an officer's sash and the ends are tied together at the right side with a string, and to this the dagger in its bone sheath is attached. It does not appear to be so extensive as the leather armour (the *cuir bouilli*) which Marco Polo says the Miao-tzu used.

The Yindus often make this armour of cane basket-work thickly covered with cowries, and the Chinbôks adorn theirs with cowries and small bells like ferret-bells.

The arrows are carried in a neat basket slung over the right shoulder and hanging on the left side. This basket is divided into compartments, the nearest to the hand of which contains a bamboo quiver with iron-headed arrows kept in place by cane loops. This holds about a dozen arrows and is covered with a lid, sometimes of bamboo or cane-work lacquered over, sometimes ornamented with red beads. This top is attached by a string to the breast-plate and this string is often decked with bells. The next compartment in the basket contains a somewhat smaller bamboo which holds tobacco, tinder, steel, and flint. The tinder used is generally bamboo scrapings. The lid of this bamboo is usually ornamented with red seeds. The rest of the basket holds untipped arrows, the pipe, and general odds and ends. Outside the basket, at the back, is a small bamboo which carries a spare bow-string. The ordinary basket measures one and a third foot deep, one and two-thirds foot long, and eight inches broad.

On the right side another basket is worn, a foot in depth and eight inches broad, which carries food and other necessaries. In a special compartment is the knife or dagger described above.

The pipes smoked by the Chinbôks and Yindus are of three kinds,—first, a plain bamboo pipe, with a bamboo stem about a foot long; secondly, a pipe with an earthen bowl and a bamboo stem; thirdly, a pipe on the principle of a hubble-bubble. This consists of a gourd which holds the water, a bamboo tube projects about an inch from the upper side of the gourd, and on this a neat clay bowl is fitted. The smoke is drawn into the mouth through the end of the gourd, which tapers off to the stem. The tobacco smoked is home-grown and is rank and offensive in smell. Both men and women are constant smokers.

The Chinbôns generally carry nothing but spears, though they have a few guns and a few bows and arrows. They carry a square leather shield in the left hand when they are on the war-path and with this ward off arrows and spear thrusts. They have no defensive armour.

The articles exported are small in quantity and value and consist chiefly of cane-mats, bees-wax, honey, ginger, turmeric, chillies, tobacco, plantains, Indian-corn leaves for cheroot wrappers, millet, and pork. The imports are salt, various articles of clothing in small quantities, cotton, dyes, petty hardware articles, gongs and cymbals, bells, beads, spears, trinkets, and brass wire. All the tribes carry on the same sort of hill cultivation, the ordinary *taungya* of all the hill tribes. They use no plough cattle. The women do most of the farm work. A few of the Chinbôns at the southern end of the Môn valley use buffaloes, but these were often in former days carried off by their wilder neighbours to serve as sacrifices. The jungle is cut by the men in the usual way in October and burnt in April. The seed grain is dibbled in with a pointed stick. The weeding is done by the women, who also loosen the soil round the young plants with small *thambya* or diggers bought from the Burmese. The same field is only cultivated for two years. In the third the grass grows too strong. After five years of fallow it can be cultivated again. Threshing is done by treading on cane mats with the naked feet. The grain is stored in huge bins standing over four feet high. Indian-corn is stored loose in the ear. Besides hill-rice, various millets, jowar, bajra, and ragi are grown, as well as Indian-corn, peas, beans, yams, and sweet-potatoes, dâl, ginger, sugar-cane, brinjals, pumpkins, gourds, tobacco, cotton, turmeric, ginger, plantains, pine-apples, and chillies. The crops are much damaged by bears, pigs, and birds. Huts are built up in the trees from which to frighten the bears and scare-crows are also used.

A little pottery is made, mostly in villages on the Môn and Myaing streams and no doubt learnt from the Burmese ; daggers, arrows, and spear-heads are made in special villages only. A certain amount of lac is gathered but seems to be all used locally. Salt is obtained on the Maw at a place called Sanni, six *daings* from Tilin, where two hundred viss (633 lbs.) can be produced daily. There are other salt-pits further up the stream. The brine is boiled to evaporation. The women make their own and their husbands' clothes. They do not grow enough cotton for their requirements. The men hunt regularly and many are killed every year by tigers and bears. The Chins are very skilled in shooting fish with arrows. They also catch them in traps, with nets, and by poisoning the water with the bark of a tree. A certain amount of teak is found on the lower

slopes along the Yaw, Maung, and Chè streams and cutch also occurs.

Their houses are on the Burmese pattern, but stronger and better built, with thatch often a foot thick and floors of teak or fir planks hewn out of a single tree. They are raised on piles, and pigs, goats, dogs, and fowls live below. During the cultivating season the villages are abandoned for temporary huts on the fields. The granaries are built on piles six feet off the ground and branches of firs are tied round the piles to keep out rats; flat circular collars are also used for the same purpose. Rattan bridges are slung across the streams and there are others on the cantilever principle. Like the Wa they bring water into their villages by split bamboo aqueducts, often from considerable distances. They have no household furniture beyond the fire-place, cooking, and water-pots. In the verandah of every house are the householder's trophies of the chase, heads of tiger, boar, bear, and deer. The Chinbôks also carve boards or rather posts, about eight feet high, which they set up outside their houses to show the number of head of game the owner has killed. The Chinbôns are much poorer sportsmen than the Chinbôks and Yindus.

In the raids of former days women, children, and *pôngyis* were preferred as prisoners, because they were so readily ransomed and had so little chance of escape. Captives were at first put in the stocks and afterwards allowed the freedom of the village with a log attached to their legs. A hole was cut through the beam, a pin fastened the foot in, a string attached to either end of the log enabled the prisoner to take the weight off his ankle when he was walking. If not soon redeemed, captives were sold from village to village. They had to work in the fields, fetch water, husk grain, and do such like work. The value of a prisoner varied from eighty to three hundred rupees, and payment was usually taken in cattle. In former days certain villages depended for their livelihood entirely on raiding, on other Chins as well as on Burmese villages. Raids were organized by the headman of the village or some prominent person. He gave a feast, collected men, sometimes from several villages, arranged for food on the road and took the lion's share for his trouble. The spirits were always consulted for a favourable day and moonlight nights were usually chosen. The path was spiked behind them on their retreat and, if they were close pressed, they often killed their prisoners, which often prevented pursuit being made at all. Their method of warfare was either by ambush or by a sudden surprise. Chinbôk villages are never fenced. Those of the Yindus have thorn or bamboo fences, but not of a formidable character. The Chinbôns stockade their villages and form

abattis by felling bamboos when they expect to be attacked, and plant innumerable spikes. All the Chin villages are built in dense jungle, usually in hollows on the side of the hill. They can always be taken from above. The roads from below are always spiked and rocks are rolled down the path that leads to the single gate.

All the tribes are great drunkards; they make their liquor from boiled and fermented grain of various kinds. The rice-beer is the best and strongest. Good Chin beer is described as a very palatable drink, much resembling cider in taste, but more like perry in appearance. It is stored in jars standing about two feet high and half full of the fermenting grain. As the liquor is taken out more water is poured in. Debauches are often kept up for many days on end. The liquor is drunk out of the jar. A bamboo pipe of the thickness of the little finger is thrust well down into the fermenting grain. The drinking party take it in turn to suck. A more polished way is to use a kind of syphon. The top of the bamboo pipe is closed; another bamboo is fixed in at an angle to serve as a spigot; the host gives a preliminary suck to start the flow and the beer is then handed round in gourd cups.

All the women have their faces tattooed, unlike the Chins of the Chin Hills proper, who do not tattoo. The process is commenced when they are quite little girls and is gradually completed, sometimes only after a good many years. The pattern differs with the tribes.

The Chinbôks cover the face with nicks, lines, and dots of a uniform design. The women's breasts are also surrounded with a circle of dots.

The Yindus tattoo in horizontal lines across the face, showing glimpses of the skin.

The Chinbôns tattoo an entire dead black and are the most repellent in appearance, though many of them are fair-skinned. The men are not tattooed at all. The beauty of a Chin woman is guaged by her tattooing. The origin of the practice is still uncertain, but from the fact that it is only the tribes near the Burmese who practice it, it would appear probable that the first intention was to protect the women from being carried off, or to enable them to be easily discovered if they were carried off.

Some of the villages have both Burmese and Chin names, but the commonest practice is to name the village after its headman, or after the founder.

The most prominent musical instruments are gongs, cymbals, drums, and bells, which, however, seem to be all imported rather than national They have, however, a curious kind of banjo of their

own. This is made of one piece of bamboo, a little thicker than a man's wrist and about eighteen inches long. The bamboo is hollow and cut off at both ends just beyond the joint. Narrow strips of the bamboo are then slit down and raised on small pegs without severing the ends. There are four or five such strings and they are strummed with the fingers. The music is not unpleasing.

Both women and men take part in the dancing, usually after drinking a good deal. The men brandish spears and *dhas* and yell. Otherwise the scene round a camp fire is attractive.

The tribes have several forms of oath, but none appear to be very binding. The form most feared is to drink water which has been poured over the skull of a tiger. Another is to drink blood, in which a great deal of liquor is mixed.

Births, marriages, and deaths are all occasions for sacrificing to the spirits. Marriages among the Chinbôks are arranged by the parties, subject to the approval of omens. The bridegroom must give at least one *mythun* to the girl's parents. If she has many necklaces, he must give several. The value of the *mythun* may be paid by instalments.

The Yindus manage differently: a young man selects the girl he wishes to marry and goes to her father's house with ten pairs of earrings, or their value. In return he gets the girl, whose likes or dislikes are not consulted in any way.

Divorces are not known. If a man's wife goes off with another man, the husband kills his rival, if he can, and takes his wife back again. Polygamy is permissible and unrestricted. If a man dies, his brother must take his wife and children, as is the case with the Kachins.

The dead are burnt, after a wake which lasts according to the age and dignity of the deceased. The burning place is far from the village on the ridge of a hill. The charred bones are collected and kept in an earthen pot along with the clothes of the departed. The pot is placed on the ground under a slab of stone supported on four upright stones. In the Chinbôk and Yindu country there are large cemeteries of such memorials. Some of the stones are of enormous size and must have required great exertion to carry them to the burial-ground.

The Chinbôns do not erect such dolmens, but put up miniature houses instead, of the same kind of architecture as that of their village, some standing on piles, some not. The pots are placed in these miniature houses. Chinbôns who die away from home are cremated and their ashes are brought to the ancestral village. This Chinese custom does not seem to be practised by any other of the races of the province.

Chin characteristics and customs.

For a full description of the Chins of the Chin Hills the *Chin Gazetteer* may be consulted. The chief Kuki and Chin characteristics are said to be slow speech, serious manner, respect for birth and pride of pedigree, the duty of revenge, love of drink, virtue of hospitality, clan prejudices, avarice, distrust, impatience of control, and dirt.

The average Chin is taller than most of his neighbours, about five feet six inches in height, but men only an inch or two under six feet are not uncommon. Some of them measure sixteen inches round the calf. The finest built men are the Siyins, Hakas, and the southern tribesmen.

They carry loads in baskets on the back, with a yoke which fits on the neck and a band which passes round the forehead. In this way they can carry 180-lb. loads for twelve miles over a hilly country. The Whenos and Yahaos grow beards, but otherwise the Chins are hairless, though in the south elderly men cultivate a scanty moustache and goatee. All the tribes are uncleanly in their persons. All have a character for treachery. The Hakas are least unattractive in appearance and habits, the Siyins most so.

The Siyins, Soktes, Thados, Yos, and Whenos wear the hair in a knot on the nape of the neck ; the Tashôns, Yahaos, Hakas, and the southerners generally tie it up on the top of the head, whence the name Baungshe, because it is usually just over the forehead. The hair-pins, like those of the southern tribes, are heavy, and are formidable enough to be deadly weapons in a sudden quarrel. The southern women are very proud of their hair, but it is considered illomened to compliment them on it, and the same desire to avert bad luck prevents them from wearing flowers in their tresses.

The Chins are rapidly adopting Burmese forms of dress. When the hills were first occupied some wore a rough white cotton blanket or mantle only, some a loin cloth in addition. In the fields they worked mother-naked. The Shunklas, Whenos, Hakas, and other southern tribes had distinctive patterns or tartans for shawls worn over the mantle on State occasions. The Shunkla tartan consisted of broad red bars separated by bars of black and green and crossed by narrow red, or red and yellow, bands. Red, blue, and green were the predominating colours and the Haka clan tartans were worked in silk. They were worn much like the Scottish plaid, over the left shoulder under the right arm, across the chest, and with the end brought from the back over the right shoulder. Bamboo spathe, date-palm, grass, and bark coats and hats are worn in the rains. They had no shoe-wear.

The women wore a skirt wound once and a half round the body and hitched in like the Burmese woman's petticoat; with the southern Chin women this kirtle reached the ankles; among the Tashôns it had shrunk up to the knee; the further north one goes the scantier the skirts become. The skirt is kept in place by a brass or iron girdle, like the chain of a cogwheel, and from three to ten pounds in weight. Sometimes a belt of many coils of a light shiny grass is substituted. The Haka and southern women wore a sleeveless jacket. The northern women were nude above the waist. All are now beginning to cover the bust.

The earrings worn by men and women were not the brass rings of the Kukis and the Chinbôks and Yindus, but usually cornelians strung on a cord. The cornelians are bought from the Lushais. In the north the men wear necklaces of tiger and bear claws. Women wear among many other things the long tooth of the hog-deer. Children wear the claws of wild-cats. The necklaces of the women may number as many as fifty. Bangles are of beads, brass, or coils of wire. Merry-thoughts are worn round the neck by some women and indicate that she recovered from an illness through the sacrifice of a fowl. In a similar case the men wear cocks' feathers at the throat.

Garters like those of the Danu women are worn by the Soktes and the southern tribes. They are said to support the muscle of the leg on long marches. A tiger's claw or some cocks' feathers are sometimes attached.

As is usual among raiding communities, the villages used always to be placed in strong defensible positions, on peaks or steep ridges. Artificial means were adopted to make them diffcult of access, and ramparts, rifle-pits, thorny hedges, and spikes were added. The houses were often built over platforms cut out of the side of the hill. Water was often led in by bamboos or wooden trough aqueducts. Zigzag paths like those of the Tongkinese, or tunnels like those of the Wa, approached the solitary village gate. Villages were most often named after the founder, but sometimes after natural features, as Dabon=the village built on a ledge, Mwelpi=the village on the big hill, Taksat=pine-tree clearing. The houses were built of planking with thatched roofs and stood on piles. Pine is the most common material for planking, but walnut and teak are used where they are available. In the front verandah are hung or stacked up the trophies of the chase acquired by the householder or his ancestors. Human skulls are never brought inside the village. They are mounted on posts outside.

Like the Wa, the Hakas, Shunklas, and other southern tribes bury those of the family who have died a natural death in the yard

in the front of the house. The Siyins and Soktes never bury their dead inside the village.

All the Chin women smoke perpetually, partly for the sake of the smoke, but chiefly to supply the men with nicotine. The women's pipes are hubble-bubbles, with a clay bowl, a bamboo or gourd water receptacle, and a metal stem. The smoke passes from the bowl into the water receptacle and the nicotine is held up in the water. When the nicotine water is strong enough it is poured into a gourd which the southern women carry in their baskets and the northern women round their necks, and from these the nicotine gourds of the men are re-filled. The nicotine is not drunk. The men keep it in their mouths for a time and then spit it out. It is merely a lazy form of chewing. The nicotine gourds of the men are often ornamented with ivory stoppers and painted with vermilion. They also colour with the nicotine like a pipe.

The most common pipe in the hills is of bamboo, with a bowl lined with metal, usually copper. In the western Tashôn country brass pipes are cast in moulds, and the stems are ornamented with figures of men, horses, elephants, horn-bills, and bison.

Chin liquor, *yu* or *zu*, is most commonly made from millet, but also from Indian-corn and from rice. It is drunk in the same way as among the Chinbôks. Marriage is a mere matter of purchase. In the north the capacity of a girl as a field-labourer, in the south her pedigree (in addition to this) are the chief points.

In the north, part of the name of his male forebears is given to a boy, and to a girl part of a name on the spindle side. Thus father, No Shwun, son Kup Shwun, grandson Shwun Lyin, great-grandson Shwun Hao : mother, Dyim Man, daughter Manwet, grand-daughter Dyim Nyet. In the south names are said to be given according to fancy.

Unlike the Chinbôks and Yindus, the Chins bury and do not burn their dead. Great importance, however, is attached to the remains being buried in or near the ancestral village. The Hakas and Southerners, Tashôns and their tributaries, bury inside the village in deep vaults with receptacles branching off at right-angles.

The Siyins, Soktes, and Thados bury outside the village always, and the corpse is usually dried for a year before burial. The Sokte graves are built on the surface of the ground with mud and stones. They are also in the form of vaults and each family of position has one of its own and can enter at will through a wooden door. Chiefs are not buried in the common cemetery, but, like the Kachins, on the side of a road leading to the village. Their vaults are easily recognized by the number of stone pillars which stand round them and by the carved posts.

Siyin corpses are also artificially dried. The dried corpse after the funeral feast is exposed in an open coffin on a platform a few feet above the ground. After a few months the bones are collected and buried in an earthen pot in the ground. The funeral ceremony is a drunken debauch with firing of guns, beating of gongs, and singing of songs. Captain F. M. Rundall gives an account of a Siyin funeral at which he was present: "The three corpses were completely concealed from view by gay coloured cloth, one of them, a woman's, being ornamented with bangles, &c. These people died some years ago and, according to Chin custom, had been smoke-dried, sun-dried, and mummified till they were about a quarter of their original size. The three mummies were tied in an upright position in a bamboo frame-work, and were being paraded on a large wooden platform in front of a hut, and the Chins were dancing round them in a slow measured cadence, with their arms on each other's shoulders and their heads bent down. Some extremely dirty women were crying, and a man and three boys were beating a small drum and some dried *mythun* horns. As the men danced they chanted the following words:—

Háng Suon Pó! Háng Liou, Liou!
Tong Suon Pó! Tong Liou Liou!
Tong Hi Suonè,
Háng Suonè,
Khutáng Shiè Báng,
Pial Moè.

Which fairly literally translated runs:—

Brave relations all! Brave again and again!
Feast relations all! Feast again and again!
Our relations (*i.e.*, the corpses) have had their
feast; our brave relations are caught (by
death) as in a trap; they cannot get free.

In the hut and outside it were a dozen or so of liquor pots, about two and a half feet high, filled with Chin liquor, from which men and women were drinking by means of reeds, through which they sucked up the liquor, and many of both sexes were getting hopelessly drunk by sunset. Guns with blank ammunition were fired off, and the Chiefs particularly requested that my men might fire three volleys, which they did. The Chiefs and men were delighted and said: "Now the women have seen for themselves that you can load and fire a great deal more quickly than we can, and they are all saying we spoke truly, and it is vain to hope to fight against you."

The wake is called a *Mithi*. The memorial erected in the north to departed Chiefs consists of a thick plank of hard wood, with ordinarily the head of a man carved on the top, with a spike protruding from the skull. The head represents the deceased, and on the plank are carved men, women, children, animals of all sorts, gongs, beads, guns, and so on. These represent the Chief and his possessions, his wife, family, the animals he has killed, and the slaves whom he has captured. This is the modern interpretation, but probably they represent what in earliest times would have been sacrificed to accompany him to the Land of Spirits. The carving is rough and none are likely now to be erected, for the Chins say they are no longer allowed to take heads or capture slaves, and therefore the life of Chiefs is no longer worth perpetuating in memorials. Skulls used frequently to be fixed on the topmost spike, and round the memorial were poles and forked boughs, also hung with the limbs and heads of human beings. The wood from which these hatchment posts were carved is so hard as to have resisted the weather in many instances for more than fifty years.

The Tashôns also erect such poles, about fifteen feet high. The lower five feet are rudely carved in the semblance of a man, and the remaining ten feet represent the turban of the Chief. Round this smaller posts represent his wives and children. The Siyin carving is much better than that of the Tashôns.

The commonest form of oath between Chin villages was the following,—A *mythun* is produced and liquor poured over it and the spirits called to witness. The contracting Chiefs then simultaneously shoot or stab the animal to the heart. Its throat is cut and the blood collected in bowls. Then the tail is cut off, and with this the Chiefs and men daub one another's faces with blood, while the wise men chant: "May he who breaks this agreement die as this beast "has died; may he be buried outside the village and may his spirit "never rest; may his family also die and may every misfortune befal "his village." A big stone is set up to remind the contracting parties of their agreement. Heaps of stones are found near every village to record oaths that were never kept.

In some parts, especially in the south, it is customary to eat earth as a sign of swearing to tell the truth, and earth is administered to witnesses giving evidence in a criminal case. This is considered a very binding oath and more likely to extract the truth from a Chin than anything else.

The Chin religion is a belief in spirits, all malignant. The Northerners disbelive in a supreme being; the Southerners accept such a deity and call him *Kozin*. He is indifferent and may become malignant; at any rate he is not beneficent. Spirits preside over

the usual places, the village, house, clan, family, individual, the flood, the fell, the air, the trees. They are not merely unwilling to bestow blessings, but incapable of doing it. The Hakas believe in another world called *Mithi-kwa* (dead-man's village), which is divided into *Pwethi-kwa*, the pleasant place, and *Sathi-kwa*, the abode of misery. Good or bad livelihood does not affect the destiny after death. Those who die natural or accidental deaths go to *Pwethi-kwa*. Those who die by the hand of an enemy go to *Sathi-kwa* and remain there till their deaths are avenged in blood. *Kozin* does not live in *Mithi-kwa* and the occupation of its inhabitants is not known. The belief prevalent among many savage races, that the slain becomes the slave of the slayer, is held in many parts of the Chin Hills.

The Siyins not only deny the existence of a Supreme Deity, but also of another world, though they believe in a future existence, when there will be drinking and hunting. As to fighting and raiding they are uncertain.

The names of spirits vary greatly. There seem to be no generally recognized spirits as among the Burmans, Kachins, and Karens. "No less than twenty spirits which inhabit the house alone have "been named, of which six only need be mentioned: *Dwopi* lives "above the door of the house and has the power of inflicting mad-"ness; *In Mai* lives in the post in the front corner of the house and "can cause thorns to pierce the feet and legs; *Nokpi* and *Nalwun* "live in the verandah and can cause women to be barren; *Naono* "lives in the wall and causes fever and ague; *Awaia* lives above and "outside the gate and can cause nightmare and bad dreams."

Different spirits require different sacrifices. It is useless to sacrifice a pig or a cock to a spirit who requires a *mythun*. There is a wise man or wise woman who understands spirits in every village. Throughout the hills there are various sacred spirit groves. Omens, witchcraft, and the evil eye are believed in.

The Chins cultivate grain, pulses, roots, and vegetables. The grain comprises three kinds of millet, including Job's tears and jowari, rice, and maize; pulses include gram, various legumens, including dhal, a bean like the scarlet runner, and the dangerous *aunglauk*, which is poisonous till it has been soaked in water; the roots are yams, sweet-potatoes, ginger, lily bulbs, and turmeric; the vegetables are of the ordinary kind, including wild varieties of spinach.

The only articles manufactured for export are cane and bamboo mats and baskets. Spears, *dhas*, axe-heads, hoes, and knives are manufactured locally.

PLATE XII.



Photo-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

WA HEADMEN IN PÉT KEN.

CHAPTER IX.

ETHNOLOGY.

WITH VOCABULARIES.

IN the first volume of the Report on the Census of Burma of 1891, Mr. H. L. Eales has discussed the classification of the very numerous vernaculars of Burma. Since that time a greater knowledge of the more outlying parts of the Province has made us partially acquainted with a considerably greater number of new dialects, or vernaculars. A full knowledge and consideration of these might lead to an amendment, or possibly a confirmation, of his classification. His survey of the theories of the most eminent scholars only results in the conclusion that, according to their individual temperaments, they contradict, severely criticise, or wholly disregard one another; certainly they all differ; moreover they all invent titles which beg the question. Thus we have Turanian from the supposed patriarch Tur; we have Turano-Scythian, Thibeto-Burman, with a variety of branches; we have Kolarian, Lohitic, Kuenlunic, Môn Khmer, Môn Taic, and Taic Shan. If it were a question of scholarship merely, it would be simply foolhardy to differ from men like Professor Max Müller, the late M. Terrien, M. Hovelacque, Adalbert Kühn, Bréal, Professer Whitney, Dr. Carl Abel. But the revolutionary student of language is encouraged by the discovery that these scholars usually differ from each other. The inference is that the whole edifice of their theories is built on a foundation of shifting sand. The methods are called orthodoxy, but there is none of the beautiful unanimity of orthodoxy about the results. Mr. Eales recognized this and suggested the classification of the languages of Eastern Asia according to the use or non-use of tones. He thus formulated a new division into polytonic and monotonic languages and arranged them as follows:—

(1) *Polytonic.*—This includes the languages of China, the Tibeto-Burman and the pre-Chinese languages, the Taic-Shan, Môn Taic, Môn Khmer, and Karen, which de Lacouperie (M. Terrien) classifies as pre-Chinese.

(2) *Monotonic*, which will include the Aryan, Semitic, and Dravidian family.

If Mr. Eales had stopped at this he would probably have done all that can be done in the present state of our information, but with the assistance of Dr. Cushing and Mr. B. Houghton he ventured on a detailed classification. It seems more than probable that this will have to be modified.

This classification is—

Polytonic languages.	(i) Môn Khmer or Môn Annam group.	Talaing or Peguan.	
		Palaung.	
		Khamu.	
	(ii) Taic Shan	Northern	Ahom.
			Hkampti.
			Chinese-Shans, Maingtha.
			Burmese-Shans.
		Intermediate	Hkün.
			Lü.
		Southern	Lao or Yun.
			Siamese.
	(iii) The Karen	Sgau.	
		Pwo, including Taungthu.	
		Bghai or Bwè.	
	(iv) Tibeto-Burman	(1) Burmese	Burmese.
			Arakanese.
			Tavoy.
			Chaungtha.
			Yau.
			Kadu.
			Danu.
		(2) Chin Lushai or Chin.	Southern Chin.
			Pallaing.
			Kun.
			Daignet.
			Thet.
			An.
			Mro.
			Kami.
			Haka or Baungshe.
			Siyin.
			Shandu.
			Kyau.
			Lushai.
		(3) Kachin Naga	Kachin.
			Lishaw.
			Sak or Thet.

This list is imperfect, for it omits all notice of the Wa, the La'hu (Lao-êrh or Muhsö), the A-hka (Hka Kaw), to say nothing of the comparatively few and scattered Yao-jên (Yawyin or Yaoyin,), the Yang Lam, and Yang Sek, the Miao-tzu, and several others. All these will probably prove to be valuable connecting links for an eventual classification. In addition to this there is a little too much sub-classification; in the case of the Chins and the Shans certainly, and probably in other groups. The differences between Lao, Lü,

Tai-lông, and Hkampti are no more marked than between the dialects of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and the Mearns, or between Neapolitan and Florentine patois.

Moreover the scholars differ. Dr. Cushing is of opinion that modern Chinese (meaning the *Kuan-hwa*, the "Mandarin" dialect, as distinguished from the *Man-hwa*, the sweeping phrase for the dialects of the south), Shan, and Karen are sister, or (perhaps if still farther separated) cousin languages. "He thinks that they may "have all been derived from a common stock, and Tibeto-Burman "may perhaps be traced to the same origin." Mr. Eales does not agree with him; but nevertheless both verbally and structurally there are great affinities between Shan and Chinese.

Again in classifying the dialects of the Chin-Lushai and Kachin-Naga groups Mr. Eales followed the grouping suggested by Mr. Houghton, except that he left the Kadu in the group of Burmese dialects. Mr. Houghton would place them in the "Kachin-Naga sub-group." There are sufficient traces of Shan in their language, to say nothing of the names of the villages they live in, to warrant their being claimed for the "Taic Shan" group. The differences between, local scholars who know the languages are as great as between the experts of the Bodleian and the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothek of Munich or Vienna, who only know the books.

All classifications of the languages of Indo-China are likely to be greatly modified and extended when M. Pavie brings out his work on the countries between Tongking and the Mèkhong, for which he and others have collected many vocabularies and much information.

We have been content to assign the name of Chinese to all the dialects and idioms of the Middle Kingdom; the Cantonese, Hakka, Fuchow, Wênchow, Ningpo dialects, as well as the four idioms of the *Kuan-hwa*, those of Peking, Hankow, Yangchow, and Szch'wan. Yet we know that the Chinese empire is made up of a great number of races, some absorbed and some still independent or semi-independent, with remnants driven south-westwards to and beyond the boundaries of the Chinese Empire. We may well therefore be contented with the general names of Burmese, Tai (or Shan), Karen, Chin (or Naga), Kachin (or Chingpaw) and leave the assignation of the numerous branches of these groups to their proper place when local students have made detailed researches. It must not be forgotten that the splitting up, intermingling, and transfer from one place to another have happened on so extensive a scale that hybridity is much more common than pureness of race. The Tai of the east have been greatly affected, but not absorbed by the Chinese and by the pre-Chinese races. Those of the west have come under

the influence of the Aryan and Dravidian races and have been equally, if not more, affected and still not absorbed. Other races may not have originally possessed so strong an individuality. It is only by a comparison of legends, religions, traditions, as well as language that we can eventually assign each particular race, or tribe, or group, to its proper family.

Changes have been brought about not merely by conquest, or migration, forced or voluntary. Slave-raiding was until comparatively recent times universal all over Indo-China, at one time on a huge scale, latterly more in the fashion of the rape of the Sabine women. Dr. Richardson says in the journal of his visit to Chiengmai (Zimmè) in 1836, of the Chao Rajawun of that place :—

"He has twenty-eight wives and told me with evident exultation that they were all taken prisoners by himself but one. He was Chief of the Dummyas, or licensed robbers, for many years—a situation of some honour and danger, where the most barbarous system of border warfare is carried on with the most rancorous hatred, and where the State looks upon the prisoners taken by these treacherous midnight robbers as a principal source of its population."

Where the Chief had twenty-eight wives, the captain might well have had his half dozen and the plain soldier his couple. Most of the wives were aliens. Thus the physical features of the inhabitants of a locality might completely change in a couple of generations and the language as well, for the mothers teach the children. Males were usually killed, but not unseldom they were kept to till the ground and, when they married, helped in the transformation. The result may be seen on a small scale in the Shan Chiefs of ruling families. For years it has been the fashion for the *Sawbwas* to have Chinese, Burmese, Karen, and Kachin wives, sometimes captured, sometimes bought, sometimes received as presents. Occasionally the issue of such unions succeeded to the State, with the result that often a *Sawbwa* is in appearance of a different race from the bulk of his subjects.

In addition to this the intricate mountain ranges of the country bounding the Irrawaddy valley served to seclude settlements. Unless they were attacked and carried off as slaves the inhabitants of a remote valley often so changed their dialects in two or three generations that they were unintelligible to their nearest neighbours. Hence the multiplication of dialects so conspicuous in all the hilly parts of the province. Beyond the lowest level of civilization to which natural evolution gradually raises the people, there is no hope for a secluded race of advancing much beyond their point of departure. On the other hand, a comparatively civilized race, if driven into seclusion, will fall rapidly to a much lower level. Otherwise we cannot account

for the present state of the savage Wa in view of the universal traditions that at one time they held all the country as far south even as Chiengmai and were not savage beyond their neighbours. There is a common capacity of the human race to attain in independent groups a similar culture of a higher or lower standard according to idiosyncracy, but this is controlled by the immediate influences of climate, character of soil, food, and facilities for clothing far more than by peculiarities of race or intellect. We cannot therefore judge altogether by language, for that may have been altered by seclusion, by migration, or by intermarriage. We cannot judge by physical features alone, for they also have been altered by similar influences, and a high or low grade of civilization is not necessarily a proof that two communities are of different origin. Allowances for every kind of influence, direct or indirect, must be made. But it is too soon to endeavour to sort into their places the "imbroglio of hybrid communities" which constitutes the population of Indo-China.

The "Comparative Dictionary of the non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia" is the result of more than a century of British rule in India. It deals with about 140 forms of speech and shows that much has been done, yet it shows that we are still only at the beginning of extensive linguistic research. If this is true of India after so long a period, it is much more so of Burma. The topography of Yünnan alone gives a list of 141 tribes, probably few of which are represented in the comparative dictionary, and to these have to be added the names of many more on our western and south-eastern borders. If it has been impossible for any scholar or combination of scholars to produce even now an account at once comprehensive and complete of the many languages of India, how much more so is it in Burma, where our stay has been much shorter, where most of the languages are neither Aryan nor neo-Aryan, and where above all hardly any one has had leisure for study or means of getting about the country. So far little beyond lists of words and hurried notes have been made. From these it is impossible to determine which is the mother-tongue and which is the patois; still less which are the families and which are the groups. This must be the excuse for recording every obtainable point of divergence in dialect and customs. Hovelacque in his Science of Language says:

"These languages are for the philologist merely varieties of some one primæval form of speech formerly spoken in Central Asia. Convinced of this truth we have undertaken to restore the words of this primitive language organically, by everywhere re-establishing the original type by means of its better preserved varieties. This contains the very essence of the modern science of language."

This is a most excellent ideal, but before the edifice is reared the material must be gathered together and it must be tested.

We have it on excellent authority that "there is not a single work treating of the Indo-Chinese races and languages which does not contain gross mistakes on important points."

There is not the slightest doubt that owing to the very numerous epithets applied to one another by the different races of the Peninsula, we have a great number of names on our lists which have no business there. The Siamese call the Cis-Salween Shans Ngio; the Burmans call the Lao Shans Yôn; the Tongkinese call the Tai tribes Tho or Doe or Moï or Muong; the La'hu are variously called Muhsö, Lao-êrh, Law'hè, Musur, and Moucen. The names of the Kachin tribes or clans are bewildering beyond endurance, and the sub-tribes of the Karens recall a history of tartans. All this is very much as if an inhabitant of Mars were to land in America and gravely record Yankees, Hoosiers, Blues, Pukes, Pennamites, Creoles, and Beef-heads as tribal names distinct from the Americans proper. On the other hand, the Chinese lump whole groups together contemptuously as Miaotzu, Mantzu, Yè-jên, and Lolo, which are terms like the Dutchmen of the British sailor, the Yank of the halfpenny comic paper, or the nigger of the junior subaltern.

Wherever it is possible therefore, the name by which they call themselves is given to the tribes mentioned in this compilation, but the list of the races no doubt still greatly resembles a slang dictionary.

The system of grouping adopted in this Gazetteer does not profess to be more than tentative. It is as follows:—

(1) *The Tai languages.*—Though there is very great difference between Siamese and Shan, and though there are not less than six different forms of Tai written character, there can be little doubt of the common origin of all the Tai races. They are treated of in the chapter on the Shan States.

(2) *The Chingpaw languages.*—The differences between the various Kachin dialects are no greater than between those of the Tai, but Kachin students have hitherto been eager rather to split up than to classify. A comparison of the various forms of speech in the tabulated vocabularies seems to show that there has been needless subdivision not less among the Chingpaw forms of speech than with—

(3) *The Zho, Shu, or Chin languages*, where a common form may be traced through all the six dialects given in the parallel vocabularies. The Chingpaw and the Shu are discussed in the chapters on the Kachin and Chin Hills.

(4) *The Vü-Rumai, or Wa-Palaung languages.*—This connection is now first established. The original stock remains uncertain,

but that the languages are cognate seems fairly clear. There is a regular trail of cognate tribes extending from the Stiengs and other tribes of Cambodia through the Hka-mūks and Hka-mets of Trans-Mèkhong territory to the Wa of Kēngtūng and the Wa country and beyond them through the nondescript "La" and "Lawa" to the Rumai or Palaungs of the Northern Shan States and Yünnan. How much farther the trail will lead can only be known when Tibet ceases to occupy the position of "Hermit State" as successor to Korea. It seems more than doubtful that the supposed connection of the Palaungs with the Môn or Talaings can be sustained. Linguistic evidence seems entirely against it, no less than physical characteristics and habits, customs, and practices.

(5) *The Karen languages.*—The great bulk of the Karen tribes are in Lower Burma, but since the Pwo-Karens are supposed to have come down the valley of the Salween and the Sgaws and Bwès (or Bghais) down the Nam Mao (Shweli), those who have remained behind on the way may furnish clues as to the original home of the race.

(6) *The half-bred languages.*—It seems indisputable that the Danus, Danaws, Kadus, Yaws, Taungyos, Inthas, Taungthus, and others have no right to be considered as other than mixed races, but as such they may furnish clues.

(7) *Ungrouped languages.*—On all the loftier and more clearly defined ranges of the Shan States and especially on the northern and north-eastern frontiers there are numerous settlements of hill tribes. Some of these are very small and do not consist of more than two or three, or even one single isolated village; others are more extensive and cover a whole range, or, as in the case of the Lahu in Möng Hsat, a compact block of country. As Mr. Warry writes: "Owing to the operation of causes as yet only partly understood there is in this particular region (the north-eastern frontier) a collection of races diverse in feature, language, and customs such as cannot perhaps be paralleled in any other part of the world. Up till now they have been almost entirely isolated owing to the insecurity which has prevailed in the regions where they are settled. In consequence they have no doubt preserved their languages and institutions in a far purer state than members of same races who have lived under happier and more peaceful conditions elsewhere." Among these scattered races is to be found the key of many problems: who inhabited China before the Chinese; who are the aborigines of Indo-China; whether the Tai and the Karens are related and, if so, through whom, and when the divarication began; whether the Wa, the Chins, and the Khasias had a common primæval ancestor and

whether the Palaungs, the Hka-mūks, and La-mets, to say nothing of the Stiengs, are cadets of the family, or belong to the main line; who are autochthonous, who are immigrants, and who enforced wanderers; who are pure-blooded and who what the Babu calls "demi-official infants."

About all or most of these tribes we have as yet only scattered and disjointed notes picked up by officers passing rapidly through the country. Little more than the most prominent peculiarities have been noted and anything like a trustworthy account of either their languages, their institutions, or their traditions is wanting. Unfortunately too they are known by as many aliases as a *Chevalier d'industrie*, applied to them by their different neighbours and differing in different parts of the country. This has led probably to an altogether unnecessary over-estimate of the number of distinct tribes and has also caused distinct tribes to be confused with one another. Thus Mr. George declares that the Lihsaws, whom he calls Kachins, are the same as the Yaw-yins, Yao-jên, or Yao tribes. It would be rash to say in as many words that this is not the case, but the statement seems to demand qualification. Again the Shans apply the name Myen indiscriminately to the Mu-hsö or La'hu and to the Kwi, who seem to be Mr. Parker's Gwè Shans. Yet the La'hu will not admit that the Kwi (who are notorious thieves) have any connection with them. Linguistic evidence seems conclusive that they are wrong. The establishment of peace in the hills will rob philologists of their opportunity if the study of these hill tribes is not soon begun. Contact with the outside world will rapidly modify or obliterate language, assimilate customs, and mangle traditions.

As to the majority of these tribes Mr. Warry is the chief authority. Almost all of them talk Chinese with some fluency, whereas their knowledge of Shan is ordinarily very slight. The more valuable portion of the notes is therefore chiefly based on his reports, with additions from what has been observed by other officers and by the compiler.

In the trans-Salween country Mr. Warry thinks that, apart from the Wa, the majority of the hillmen may be referred to one or other of the following divisions—

(1) The Yao tribes.
(2) The Akha tribes.
(3) The Miaotzu.
(4) The La'hu.
(5) The Panna and Lotè.
(6) The Hka-kwen, the Hka-muk, and the Lamet.

It is premature to alter this grouping, but it seems at least possible that the number may be early reduced.

It is still too soon to endeavour to solve the problems suggested in the late Captain Forbes' "Languages of Further India." We cannot yet say whether Burmese tradition, which represents that the founders of their race and nation came from the west, from the valley of the Ganges, into their present seats is right, or whether they came through the south-western provinces of China from the table-land of Asia as Sir Arthur Phayre maintained. The history of the Shans, so far as we know it, seems to show that it would be unwise to reject peremptorily the Burman tradition, because it appears to prove clearly that Phayre's theory was without foundation. Everything combines to prove that Forbes was right when he concluded—

"That both the Tai and Karen races came by a different route from that taken by the Burman and Mōn-Anam families. The Tibeto-Burman tribes, which now form the Burmese nation, arrived according to their traditions in their present seats from the westward, about six centuries before the Christian era. In confirmation of this we find a chain of fragmentary cognate tribes reaching from the Gunduk river in the west of Nipāl to the banks of the Irrawaddy, the footprints as it were of the march of their race."

It seems that the Burmese were very nearly dispossessed by the Tai, rather than that they drove the Tai out.

The clues are too slender to enable us to determine whom they turned out, but the allusions are much the same as those found in the Mahabhārata, to the fierce black degraded savage tribes, the Asurus or Bilus, on the one hand, and to the people who lived in cities and possessed wealth and whose women were fair, whom they termed Nagās, or serpent-worshippers, on the other. As a matter of fact, Indo-China seems to have been the common asylum for fugitive tribes from both India and China. The expansion of the Chinese Empire, which for centuries did not extend south of the Yang-tzu river, and the inroads of Scythian tribes on the empires of Chandragupta and Asoka combined to turn out the aborigines both to the north-east and north-west, and these met and struggled for existence in Indo-China. It is only some such theory which will account for the extraordinary variety and marked dissimilarity of races found in the sheltered valleys or the high ranges of the Shan States and the surrounding countries.

It may be hoped that the Linguistic Survey of India, instituted at the request of the Oriental Congress at Vienna in 1886, will soon include Burma in its labours. The magnitude of the task is far beyond the powers of any single student, no matter how great an enthusiast in linguistic research.

The Rumai or Palaungs.

This race is so quiet and peaceable that it has not been much studied. They have a State of their own, usually called Loi Lông

by the Shans, though Tawngpeng, the Shan way of pronouncing the Burmese Taungbaing, is equally often used. The Chinese name Ta-shan has the same meaning as these other two names: The Great Hills (country). The form Ch'a-shan (tea hills) is, however, very often used. The Rumai are found all over the Shan States, British and Chinese, but almost always high up in the hills, and usually in secluded places. Details about them are much scantier than concerning perhaps less estimable races. Sir Henry Yule suggested that they might be of Karen origin, and their own legends, with the constant references to the Taungthu, seem to hint at the same thing. The analogy of language, however, distinctly points to a connection with the Wa, who in their isolation and the character of their hills, not less than in the extremely guttural character of both languages, otherwise strikingly resemble them. The Palaungs are therefore probably connected with the Hka Mūks and Hka Mets, and possibly also with the Stiengs and other races farther to the south. The connection with the Môn or Talaing stock, suggested by Professor Forchhammer, seems very doubtful. Their own traditions do not help. One of these relates that the race migrated in a body many centuries ago from Thatôn near Moulmein. This would certainly seem to suggest an identity with the Taungthu, but the details are too vague and extravagant to be trustworthy. The Kun Hai clan not only say that they come from Thatôn, but claim to be Talaings, and date their emigration a few years later than the time of the visit of Yamadi Kyèthu Min. The Tawng Ma people on the other hand say they come from Kēng Hūng and are Yōn Shans. The people of Nam Hsan, the capital, call themselves Samlong, and say they came from Kawsampi, the name of the old Shan Empire. The Hpawng-myo, who are a branch of the Samlong and mostly of the ruling class, on the contrary declare that they came from Sabènago and that they had to leave that country because of a huge pumpkin which overgrew their villages faster than they could cut it down. The following is the account of the origin of their *Sawbwa* as it appears in the State records.

About three centuries before the time of Buddha Gaudama there lived a Nagā Princess Thusandi in the *nat* tank on the Möngkūt (Mogôk) hills. Prince Thuriya, son of the Sun-*nat*, fell in love with her and she loved him. The Dragon Princess was delivered of three eggs, and immediately after her confinement Prince Thuriya was summoned by his father, the King of the Sun. He could not choose but go, but when he arrived he sent a letter with a precious stone called "Manikopa" to the Nagā Princess and gave it to two parrots as messengers. The two birds on their way met others of their kind and rested with them in a large tree and for a time for-

got all about the letter and its enclosures. A Taungthu and his son came by, found the letter, took out the Manikopa jewel, put some birds' fœces in its place, and went their way. After a time the parrots took up the letter again and went on to the Nagā Princess. She read the letter with pleasure, but when she found what was enclosed she was so angry that she took two of the eggs she had laid and threw them into the Irrawaddy river. One of them moved up stream to Man Maw (Bhamo), where it was picked up by a gardener and his wife and put in a golden casket as a curiosity. In time a male child hatched out of the egg and the gardener and his wife called it Hsēng Nya at first but afterwards Udibwa. When Udibwa grew up he married the daughter of the Sè Lan Chief and had two sons by her. The younger of these, Min Shwe Yo, became Emperor of China and took the title of Udibwa—born of an egg. Hence the title given to Emperors of China down to the present day.

The elder boy, Min Shwe Thè, was afflicted with a kind of leprosy from his childhood. He preferred cold and mountainous places and therefore built the town of Sètawn Sam, on the crest of the Sagabin hills in Loi Lông Tawng Peng, and lived there as *Sawbwa*. From him all the Palaung *Bo*, or Rumai *Sawbwas*, are descended.

The other egg drifted down the river, until it reached Paukhkan (Pagān), where it was picked up by a dhobi and his wife, who put it away in a golden pot. Out of this egg also was born a man child of so noble a bearing that they named him Min Rama, because they thought he must be of the Pagān Rama Min's family.

The third egg was thrown away at Kyatpyin, where it broke on a rock and all that it contained was scattered. This place produces rubies of all kinds to the present day and is known as Mōng Kūt (Mogôk).

Thus the *Sawbwa* of Loi Lông, the Udibwa of China, and Min Rama, who became King of Pagān, were all brothers and were descended from the Nagā Princess Thusandi. The Tawngpeng *Sawbwa* and all his people are her descendants and the Rumai women to the present day wear a dress which is like the skin of the Nagā.

This story has very Burman characteristics about it, and its general lines are of the familiar kind which recall the statement that till King Nawra-hta destroyed Thatôn the Pagān people were all serpent worshippers. The Udibwa of ancient days it is almost certain was the King of Yünnan Sen and therefore probably a Tai. It would seem therefore that the Rumai were in Tawngpeng and probably other parts of the present Shan States before the overthrow of the ancient Shan Kingdom of Nanchao and were isolated and

scattered by the irruption of the Tai. In six hundred years there is abundance of time to create the differences which make it now difficult to determine whether the Rumai belong to the Môn or the Karen race, whether they are nearer to the Wa than to the Taungthu.

No one as yet has made a study of their language, and all that is known is derived through Burmese or Shan and has inevitably been coloured in the process.

Hence the contradictory character of the information about them. There is a vague general division into Palaungs and Pales which has a basis in distinction of dress and dialect, but is Burmese rather than national. So far as it goes, it may be said that the Pales are found north and west of a line drawn from Kun Hawt to Saram and Man Wai, and the Palaungs east of it. Within quite recent times the Kachins have driven the Rumai out of the whole of the north of Tawng Peng, which has tended to confuse old divisions. Broadly speaking it may be said that the Palaungs live on the higher hills and cultivate little but tea, while the Pales settle lower down and often grow more rice than tea.

Another division into Man Tôn, Ho Kün, Hu Mai, and Möng Kwang Palaungs is administrative rather than national, though there are differences of patois which are sufficiently marked to make the people themselves believe that they are different clans, instead of merely home-keeping folk who have developed a slang of their own. A further division is into the following clans: the *Kadu* round Nam Hsan, the capital; the *Padwè* round Man Loi and Kōng Hsa; the *Teao Rai* round Nam Lin; the *Kawn Gyawn* round Tawng Ma and Tawng Mè; the *Kawn Lè*, who seem to correspond to the Pale.

In the Rumai language Pale seems to mean "the tribe of the west;" other national names are Pato Ru, "the tribe of the centre," Hu Mai, "the clan of the east," and Ôm Ko, "the clan beyond the river" (the Nam Tu or Myit-ngè). The Pato Ru claim to be the Rumai proper, and their village of Tawng Ma, south of Nam Hsan, the capital, vaunts itself the oldest in the State. It is asserted that the clan originally consisted entirely of relatives of the ruling house, who kept up a jealous exclusiveness and did not marry out of their own clan. This at once recalls the Yindalè or Yang Talai sept of the Karenni. Apparently the Pato Ru claimed at one time a variety of privileges and distinctions. They alone of the Rumai men wore colours; all the other clans were restricted to plain black and white. Now-a-days, however, these differences have vanished. There are no such restrictions, and members of all clans intermarry so freely that seemingly the old distinctions have vanished.

The men at any rate have all adopted the Shan dress, and it does not appear that the dress of the women, though it is distinct from that of the Shans and Kachins, keeps up the old clan distinctions. The better class women wear broad flat torques. As a race they are peaceable and industrious, though they are rough and uncouth. They are short and sturdily built, with fair skins and not uncommonly grey or light brown eyes. The nose is flat and very broad at the nostrils. They are exceedingly superstitious, but at the same time are very zealous professing Buddhists. Villages of no more than three or four houses regularly maintain a monastery.

Their houses are of the same general pattern as those of the Shans, built of bamboo wattle, raised on posts about six feet from the ground and roofed with thatch, strung on flakes like the Shans and not in wisps like the Kachins. There is an open platform at one end, sometimes at both, and in the corner of this is almost always a shrine for the *lar familiaris*. Very often several families live in the same house and the houses are therefore much longer than those of the Shans, sometimes as much as 100 feet long. This may be due to the difficulty of finding sites on their steep hill-sides. It has not been ascertained whether the various families living under the same roof are relations or connections, or whether the conjunction is merely one of convenience. The houses are always divided transversely, and many of the rooms are of very fair size. The space between the floor and the ground is used sometimes as a storing place for paddy but tools, but more often perhaps as a stable or byre.

The ordinary every-day dress of the women is a dark-blue cut-away jacket and a skirt and blue leggings. The full dress is much brighter in colour. A large hood is worn, which is brought to a point at the back of the head and reaches down over the shoulders. The border is white with an inner patch-work pattern of blue, scarlet, and black cotton velvet. The skirt is often composed of panels of cotton velvet of these various colours with garters to match, and the general effect is very gay. Silver earrings and bangles are the ornaments and so are torques, but apparently with some limitations. More children wear them than women, but the *Sawbwas'* wives usually wear several. Round the wrist are worn numbers of black varnished bamboo hoops of the same character as those of the Kachins, sometimes plain, sometimes decked with cowries and seeds. Some women do not wear these, but whether because they are inconvenient or because it denotes a clan distinction has not been ascertained. The Pale women wear a hood which is entirely white, with a short dark-blue coat and a skirt striped horizontally with red and blue.

According to Rumai custom every official receives a fan on his appointment, and as long as he remains in office and gives satisfaction in his work he receives annually a new one from the hands of the *Sawbwa*. These fans are treasured as a sort of insignia of office. The local titles, Paw Lam and Lam Möng in use in Tawng Peng for officials, are not noticed elsewhere west of the Salween and east of it apparently only in the neighbourhood of the Wa.

The following notes on Rumai customs and superstitions are condensed from the notes of Mr. W. G. Wooster:—The origin of the name Palaung is explained in this way. Many years ago there was a great Princess, Nang Hkam Lông, who lived somewhere in China and had miraculous powers. She set out on a raft and was able to produce water in front of it so that it went in any direction she chose. After much journeying she came to Loi Hpra, a great hill to the north of Zeyan village in Tawng Peng. Here she moored her raft and went to visit the *Sawbwa* of Tawng Peng and asked him to marry her. But "her bosom indicated old age" and the *Sawbwa* ungallantly evaded the alliance by declaring he had too many wives already. So she went back to her raft. But some mischievous youths had set fire to it, and Nang Hkam Lông exclaimed *Hpaung* (*mi*) *laung thi*, "My raft is burnt." Though the Chinese Princess knew Burmese, the Rumai did not and they made a catchword of *Hpaung laung*, corrupted it into Palaung, and then accepted it as their name. This story is obviously in the best style of the Burmese etymologist, but to lend it verisimilitude the Palaungs believe that, if the *Sawbwa* had married Nang Hkam Lông, the Nam Tu would now flow by Loi Hpra and that the country would not be hilly. The Princess took away the water from this unchivalrous neighbourhood to where the Nam Tu now flows and went on to Hsi Paw, where she stayed with the *Sawbwa* for a season and then proceeded to Ava. The Nam Tu, the Burmese Myit-ngè, marks the line of her journey and indeed was created by it.

The truth of this story is proved by the pagoda on Loi Hpra. The Chinese Princess built that and the Rumai still worship it. The Palaungs have no alphabet or written character of their own. Whatever may have been their national way of naming their children, they have now adopted the Burmese system of letters apportioned to the days of the week, but use it in a somewhat slovenly way as follows:—

Monday: *k*, *kh*, *g*, *ng*—

Male—Kyaw Tha, Kyaw Thein.

Female—Et Kya, Et Ke.

Tuesday: *s*, *z*, *ny*—
Male—Sam Sa, Sam Zwè.
Female—Et Saw, Et Ze.

Wednesday: *h*, *l*, *w*—
Male—Hla Sa, Twe Hla.
Female—Et Hlu, Et Hwe.

Thursday: *p*, *hp*, *b*, *m*—
Male—Ai Man, Pan Hpyu.
Female—Ma Hpe, Et Hpawng, Pan Sōn.

Friday: *hs*.
Male—Ai Hswe, Hswe Awng.
Female—I Hsaw, I Hsi, I Hsam.

Saturday: *t*, *ht*, *n*.
Male—Tôn Hla, Ne Htun.
Female—I Ti, I Nu, I Htawn.

Et appears to be the national feminine form of address, but Burmese and Shan forms are being rapidly adopted.

Marriage customs seem to be an equally queer mixture of probably national traditions and Burmese fashions. Once a year, on a day fixed by the local thaumaturgist, a meeting of all the youths old enough to be married is held. They have a band and go round to the houses of all the girls who are marriageable, and "pull them about with due regard to decency." These romps are carried on after the parents are gone to bed, but the band must ensure that everything is strictly proper. After this the girls are said to be prepared for wooing, and three days later a meeting of the young men is held, at which lots are drawn. The names of the youths and the maids are written on slips of paper and they are drawn together in pairs. For the next three days the lads are instructed in the way of love-making by *sayas*, while "experienced women" take the lassies in hand. On the third day the youth sends a silk handkerchief and a betel-box with a looking glass on the cover, to the girl whose name has been drawn with his. Three days later she sends him a tasselled cloth, a sort of connecting link between a towel and a handkerchief, and a belt worked by herself. After this the young man is at liberty to press his suit in person and goes to the girl's house at "lads-go-courting-time," about nine o'clock at night. For the first few nights he is accompanied by his instructor in love, while the girl is backed up by her mistress of dalliance. If the girl happens to be asleep in bed it is perfectly correct to go and wake her up. The pair sit on either sides of the fireplace and philander, so far as the situation allows and their instructors have taught them.

It is reassuring, if somewhat unbusiness-like, to learn that the girl is by no means bound to have the young man who has drawn her in the lottery. She may coquet with whom she pleases and make her selection from among all those who come courting.

This is no doubt where Burmese influence comes in. Presumably national custom respected the fortune of the lottery, otherwise the institution seems aimless. When matters are arranged, a night is fixed on which the girl is to elope. The accepted lover takes her to a relation's house and then goes home to tell his parents. The girl has explained her departure by leaving a little packet of tobacco and some rice for her father and mother. Convention requires the bride's parents to make a great fuss the next day, but, if the match is a suitable one, they search for her in the wrong directions and are quite ready to meet the young man's parents when they come to make formal proposal of marriage. It is disconcerting to find that, when matters have gone so far, the match may be forbidden because the girl is wanted as a help in the house, or because the bridegroom is too young or too poor. Sometimes, it appears, a youth steals three or four girls before he is married. When, however, there are no such objections, a feast is held, to which the village elders are invited, and they pronounce a blessing on the pair. Presents to the girl's parents are not necessary, nor does she get a dowry. The custom is evidently a reminiscence of marriage by capture, such as prevailed in Sparta and Crete and is to be traced in the rural customs of Wales.

Among the Pales the rule is different. The man who intends to marry has to bargain for his bride, and she usually costs not less than one hundred and fifty rupees, paid in cash or in goods or produce.

When a Palaung dies, the nearest of kin, if not present, must be immediately informed. He must be present at the burial and must defray its cost. There is usually no limit to the time that the corpse may be kept unburied, but the headman of the village must be told how long it is proposed to keep it. The body of a person dying on the last day of the month must, however, be buried at once, otherwise, the Palaungs believe, some harm will befall the village—there will be a fire, an epidemic, or a murder. As long as the corpse remains above ground everybody in the village, native or foreigner, is feasted. The entire village helps to make the coffin and to dig the grave, which is from four and a half to five cubits deep. The head of the body is laid towards the village, the feet away from it. The bodies of monks are burned as they are in most Buddhist countries. So are those of the *Sawbwas* and their family.

The Palaungs are fervent professing Buddhists, but they are also staunch believers in spirits. Their *nats* live in a big tree, a well-

marked hill, a large rock, or some such natural feature. They are male and female, and all of them have their names. The most powerful is the spirit who dwells on Loi Seng and is called Tā-Kalu. Others of note are: Tāru-rheng, who lives near the group of pagodas at Zeyan village; Peng-möng, who frequents the dense jungle on the west side of the big hill near Zeyan; Tā-hku-lông used to live close to the ruin of an old pagoda near Payagyi, or Sèlan village, but he was much neglected and has been invited to bestow himself in the clump of jungle on the hillock at the east gate of Namhsan, due east of the *Sawbwa's* palace; the Loi-lan *nat* lives on a hill near Myothit; and there are many more.

Every year in *Tawthalin* (September-October) a great *nat*-feast is held in Namhsan. This is presided over by the "Damada *Sawbwa*," the hereditary priest of the *nats*. He is assisted by two old men, Wai-lông and Serai, the heads of the Rumai clans, or families of that name. The special date is fixed by the astrologers and, when this is ascertained, the Damada *Sawbwa* instructs Wai-lông and Serai to formally bid the *nats* to the feast. This is generally done the day before. A room in the Damada *Sawbwa's* house is cleared out, *kalagas* and curtains are hung round, mats and carpets spread, and a few paper shrines erected for the accommodation of the *nats*. The *nats* accept the invitation and fix the hour. At the time arranged Wai-lông and Serai go out into the verandah and ceremoniously conduct the invisible visitors to their shrines, before which offerings of rice and flowers are placed. The *nats* are fed first and then the assembled people. The arrival of the *nats* is usually signalized by some atmospheric change, the clouding over of the sky, or a shower of rain accompanied by sunshine. The Damada *Sawbwa* is able to interpret such manifestations. He is allowed the use of a white umbrella.

The other Rumai feasts are the ordinary Buddhist festivals, and do not differ from those of Burma.

The cultivation of tea is the great industry of the Rumai, and the following legend is told of the manner of its introduction:—

Many years ago, during a feast held by Bilus on a certain river, a Bilu youth fell into the water and would have been drowned had it not been for the great lord Yamadi-kyè-thu, who rescued him. The mother of the lad in gratitude offered to the great lord the body of a dead bird that had remained in a state of perfect preservation for several years. Yamadi examined it and found a lump in its throat. He cut the body open and found a seed which had stuck there and killed the bird. When he removed the seed the body immediately decayed and was thrown away. Yamadi-kyè-thu kept the seed, it

is said, until he should visit some place where the soil was suitable to plant it in.

About three hundred and sixty years ago he visited Loi-seng hill in Tawngpeng on a *hpaung set-kya*, or magic barge, accompanied by 100,000 officials and followers. He stopped at Tat-mang-sa village, about five hundred yards from the hill, and visited Loi-seng on a white elephant.

When the elephant reached the foot of the hill he knelt down and worshipped it, thus indicating the presence of some relic of Buddha. A search was made and some bones were found under a ruin. These were re-buried and Yamadi-kyè-thu built a gilt pagoda over them and declared the hill a place of general worship. He then called two hunters (said to have been Taungthus) named La San and La Yi and gave them the seed he had found in the dead bird's throat to plant. The great lord stayed seven days at Tat-mang-sa village and left three officials to look after the growing of the seed. The Taungthus held out one hand to receive the seed and consequently the plant was called "Let-tit-pet" (or one hand), which has now become corrupted into "Let-hpet." The great lord told the Taungthus that, if they had held out two hands (as etiquette and respect demanded), they would have been rich, but that now they would be poor. Loi-seng hill is still held sacred by the Palaungs, and annually in the month of *Tabaung* (March) a feast is held there.

A number of small pagodas have at different times been built at the hill and one of them is glazed. A large tea tree, said to be the original plant that grew from the seed planted by Yamadi-kyè-thu, is still pointed out. Some, however, say that the first tree was cut down by Burmese soldiers.

This big tree is, however, worshiped by the Palaungs. There are also a few ancient images on the hill. One of a bullock at the foot is said to have been erected by the first tea trader, a Shan named San Law, in memory of a bullock of his that died there. On each side of the tea tree is a bird in stone, and they are said to have been built by Yamadi-kyè-thu.

When Yama-di camped at Tat-mang-sa village the Pale tribe of Palaungs are said to have cooked for him, and because he found a hair in his food he ordered their hair to be cut off. Consequently to this day some of the Pale women cut their hair short.

A reference to the comparative vocabularies proves conclusively to the arm-chair student that Wa and Palaung (Lavü or Vü and Palawng or Paraok) are very closely allied languages, not much farther apart than the various dialects of the Chingpaw, or the Chin. But the Rumai will not have it and reject attempted proofs

with contumely. The Wa in their own country have no knowledge of the Rumai or Palaungs at all, but believe themselves a race apart.

It is, however, very disconcerting to find colonies of Palaungs and Wa settled close to one another in Kēngtūng and steadily denying any possible relationship. Mr. Stirling gives the following count of these Palaung settlements:—

"There are very few villages of this race in Kēngtūng State. All that are known have been here for many years, but they believe their forefathers came from Tawngpeng. They are Buddhists. The western Shan character is taught in their monasteries. Intermarriage with other races is of very rare occurrence, not because the Palawngs have any objection to it, but because (they say) their women are not beautiful, and they are mostly poor. A wife is practically bought from her parents, as much as Rs. 70 being paid if the man is wealthy, and she belongs to her husband's family after his death. The bodies of old men and *pôngyis* are burnt; other dead are buried. The Palawng do not seem to be great spirit-worshippers, though they make the usual offerings in case of sickness. They have no domestic hearth or altar to their ancestors, but the spirits of these are propitiated by offerings as well as the local spirits of the hills, rivers, &c. Several families live in one house. Their villages are fixed, and invariably at a high elevation. They cultiviate opium as their main crop, and, although they have the usual hill rice-fields, they rarely raise enough rice for their support. It is bought from the nearest Shan community. The Palawng are accounted an honest and hard-working people, and most of their settlements are fairly prosperous."

The Palaungs are great wanderers and small settlements are scattered over all parts of the Southern Shan States on the higher ranges. But they always profess to have come from Tawngpeng and scout any connection with the Wa or the Riang tribes—Yanglam, Yangsek, and Yang Wan Hkun. The Wa of the "Wa country" declare themselves to be autochthonous. The Wa of Kēngtūng on the other hand claim to have been the original inhabitants of all the country down to Chiengmai. This is significant in connection with the Rumai tradition that their ancestors came from Thatôn.

The Wa.

These people, in one dialect at any rate, call themselves Wü or Vü. In most places, however, they use, or accept, the name Wa. The Burmese call them Lawa; so do the Lao of the Siamese Shan States. The Chinese appear to have the general name Hkawa for them, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the clans, according to Mr. Warry, they discriminate. The name Hkawa is there reserved for what the Shans call the Wa Hai, the wild or savage Wa; that of Yet Hka-la (or wild Hka-las) is applied to those who are very objectionable, but do not resent all intercourse; while those

who appear at markets partially, sometimes even decently, clad are called Chia Hka-la, or domesticated Hka-las. This is not very scientific, but it indicates a disconcerting division which is everywhere met, but nowhere run to ground. This is the distinction between Wa and La. The Shans are convinced of its existence, but direct enquiry brings out nothing more divergent than that the La are Buddhists, or at any rate are more civilized and are willing to and do live among other races, while the Wa do not leave their homes, are mere spirit-worshippers, and have all the objectionable qualities which tradition assigns to the race. The Wa Pwi, who are the wildest of the race yet seen, also recognize the name La, but the tribesmen they designate by the name La, such as the inhabitants of Kang Hsö and Sônmu, disown the title and claim to be Wa. The inhabitants of Ken Pwi and Ken Fan and a few other villages in Kokang, it is true accept the name La, but they apparently do so because they are too isolated to oppose the volume of public opinion, and moreover they appear to be half-breeds, like the Danus and Kadus and Danaws, and Yaws who vex the enquirer's spirit. It would almost appear therefore as if La were a euphemism, or a diplomatic expression, the sort of language necessary in dangerous company all the world over. But on the Mèkhong slope of the Salween-Mèkhong watershed near the Wa country there is a tribe which calls itself Hka-la (the La being pronounced very short like La(t), with the *t* unsounded). Their language to the ear is precisely like Wa; their appearance, villages, and habits are practically the same, but they themselves strenuously deny any connection. Too little is known of them to be dogmatic, but the opinion may be hazarded that they are quite mistaken as to their ancestry and that they are really Wa; it is also possible that their shamefastness is responsible for the use of the term La for such of the race as are not brazen in their savagery. The Wa of the Pēt Ken call themselves Krak or K-l-rak, which seems to be the same, but is locally said to be nothing of the kind.

Captain H. R. Davies found that "the inhabitants of a very civilized village near Mêng Mêng (a Chinese-Shan State), far away from the head-hunters, were described as Wa." The people of this village called themselves Parow(k) and said they called the wild Wa Rave(t). It is unfortunate that these names do not seem to be known at Wa headquarters, as, until more is known, the wilder Wa country must be considered. It is well known that *l* and *r* are easily interchanged and Ra-ve(t) might well be La-ve or (La) Vü. Moreover, the name Parow-k would seem to be a link with Palaung. Thus we would have La-vü, La-wa, split up into La and Wa, and Parow(k) Palaung.

As far as language is concerned, it would seem that the Wa are of the same race as the Palaungs (Rumai or Tasoru) and Hka Muks and therefore, if we are to accept Professor Forchhammer's idea, the same stock as the Cambodians, Annamese, and Talaings or Môns. Such a connection is rather startling and suggests the dictum that speech is meant to deceive. Linguistic evidence cannot be entirely trusted, but when it is backed up by physical appearance and habits and customs it is incontrovertible. The comparison of vocabularies no less than race types seems to show that Forchhammer was wrong and that there is no relationship between the Môn and the Palaung and therefore none with the Wa.

The fact that the Lawa and the Wa are the same and that they are of the same race as the Rumai or Palaungs and the Riang tribes seems to be conclusively proved by comparative vocabularies, and there the matter might rest for the present if it were not that Wa traditions in the Wa country represent that country as having been always peopled by its present inhabitants. The Wa or Lawa of Kēngtūng on the other hand say, and are said by their neighbours, to have been the aborigines of all that country and of the territory down to Chiengmai. McLeod, writing in 1837, says (Parliamentary papers): "Zimmè and all the country in this direction formerly belonged to the Lawas, who are now but few in this district; "some are found in about six villages to the northward, besides "those near Muang Niong; the rest have fled to the mountains "round Kēngtūng, which country, however, is said also formerly to "have belonged to them." The Wild Wa know nothing of this and the history of Mang Lön (*q. v.*) makes no allusion to such dominion. It will therefore be most satisfactory to discuss the titular "Wa country" first.

These self-styled Wa live in an extremely compact block of territory on our north-eastern frontier, extending for about one hundred miles along the Salween and for perhaps half that distance inland to the watershed between that river and the Mèkhong. Within this area, which is roughly bisected by the ninety-ninth parallel of east longitude and lies between and on either side of the twenty-second and twenty-third parallels of latitude, there are very few people who are not Wa. Their boundaries may be roughly said to be the Salween on the west, the ridge over the Namting valley on the north, the hills east of the Nam Hka on the eastern and southern sides, while the country ends in a point formed by the junction of the Nam Hka with the Salween. Beyond this few Wa are found, though they occur as far east as the Mèkhong, but only in isolated villages, and it is only on the fringes of this block that other races, chiefly Shans and La'hu, venture to settle.

Of more extended possessions the main body of the Wa have no recollection. They claim to have inhabited the country where they now are since the beginning of time. One account of their origin (from a huge gourd) is given under the head of Mang Lön, but this is much disfigured by additions obviously taken from Shan and Buddhist history. Another gives the reason for the head cutting, but it is no doubt toned down from the true head-hunter's version.

All the Indo-Chinese races have a predilection for totemistic birth stories. Some claim to be sprung from eggs, some from dogs, some from reptiles. The Wa claim tadpoles for their rude forefathers. The primæval Wa were called Ya Htawm and Ya Htai. As tadpoles they spent their first years in Nawng Hkeo, a mysterious lake on the top of a hill range, seven thousand feet high, in the centre of the head-cutting country. When they turned into frogs they lived on a hill called Nam Tao and, progressing in the scale of life, they became ogres and established themselves in a cave, Pakkatè, about thirty miles south of the mountain lake on the slope over the Nam Hka. From this cave they made sallies in all directions in search of food, and at first were content with deer, wild pig, goats, and cattle. As long as this was their only diet, they had no young. But all Hpi Hpai in the end come to eat human beings. It is their most distinguishing characteristic, after the fact of their having red eyes and casting no shadow. One day Ya Htawm and Ya Htai went exceptionally far afield and came to a country inhabited by men. They caught one and ate him and carried off his skull to the Pakkatè cave. After this they had many young ogrelets, all of whom, however, appeared in human form. The parents therefore placed the human skull on a post and worshipped it. There were nine sons, who established themselves in the nine Wa glens, mostly in the west, and they bred and mustered rapidly. The ten daughters settled on the fells and were even more prolific. Their descendants are the most thorough in head-hunting and the skulls are always men's. The language the new race spoke was at first that of the frog, a sort of Brekkekkekkexkoax, but this was elaborated in time into modern Wa.

Ya Htawm and Ya Htai enjoined on their children the necessity of always having a human skull in their settlements. Without this they could not have any peace, plenty, prosperity, comfort, or enjoyment, and this injunction has always been piously obeyed. When the venerable ogres felt death coming they summoned all their progeny together and gave an account of their origin and said that they, Ya Htawm and Ya Htai, were to be worshipped as the father and mother sprits. Other spirits there were, but they were bad and malevolent. Ya Htawm and Ya Htai alone were genial

and benignant and the most seemly offering to them was a snow-white grinning skull. The ordinary sacrifices on special occasions, however, were to be buffaloes, bullocks, pig, and fowls, with plentiful libations of rice-spirit. The special occasions were marriage, the commencement of a war, death, and the putting up of a human skull. In addition to these meat offerings a human skull was always desirable under exceptional circumstances, or for special objects. Thus when a new village was founded, a skull was an imperative necessity. If there were a drought, which threatened a failure of the crops, no means would be so successful in bringing rain as the dedication of a skull. If disease swept away many victims a skull alone would stay the pestilence. But the good parental ogres expressly said that it was not necessary that the villagers should slay a man in order to get his head. They might get the skull by purchase or barter.

Thus the intermediate Wa account for their lack of enterprise Until a British party visited the Wild Wa country in 1893 it was firmly believed that the Wa were cannibals. The story is as old as the time of Vasquez Da Gama, for there seems no reason to doubt that "the Gueos" of Camoëns' *Lusiadas*, Cant. X, *cxxxvi*, are the present-day Wa. The passage is thus, none too musically, rendered in Bowring's Siam, Volume II, page 1.

" O'er these vast regions see a varied throng
Of thousand unknown nations crowd the coast;
The Laos both in lands and numbers strong,
Avas and Birmahs in their mountains lost,
And savage Gueos, scarcely seen among
The deep recesses, where the barbarous host
On human flesh with brutal hunger feed,
And with hot iron stamp their own—rude deed!"

Vasco de Gama's first voyage, of which the Lusiad tells, began in 1497.

It is, however, certain that the Wa are not cannibals, at least not habitual cannibals. The assertion is, however, so universally made by all their neighbours—Chinese, Burmese, Shans, Lem, and La'Hu—and is so firmly believed, that it seems probable that on special occasions, possibly at the annual harvest feast, human flesh may be eaten as a religious function, a sort of pious remembrance of the diet which made the Wa first ancestors fecund and produced the race. The Wa themselves, however, even the Wa Lön, who are the most thorough-paced supporters of rules and regulations, deny it, not indeed with scorn, or horror, or indignation, or any well-regulated sentiment, but with a placid, well-fed chuckle as who should say: Why should we eat men's flesh, when the regular posting up of men's heads will ensure us plenty of dogs, plenty of

maize and buckwheat, and plenty of spirits? Certainly headless corpses are left lying about the roads as if they were of no value to anybody. We are therefore forced to abandon belief in the attractively graphic story of the good wife putting "the kettle on the fire" when the men of the village go out head-hunting. The Shans still firmly believe that the Wa eat their parents. When they become old and feeble, so it is said, the children tenderly and lovingly help them to climb into the branches of a tree. Then they shake the boughs until the old people fall down. "The fruit is ripe: let us eat it" they say, and proceed to do so. This prepossessing old story seems to be true only of the Battak of Sumatra, who find no grave so suitable and honourable for the authors of their being as their own insides, though it is told also of the northernmost Kachins.

But as to the head-hunting there is no manner of doubt. It is true that the Wa are not mere collectors. They do not accumulate heads as one collects stamps, or botanical specimens, or matchbox labels, from the pure pleasure of possession and an eclectic gratification in difference of size, shape, or in the perfect condition of the teeth, and the well marked definition of the sutures. No individual Wa has a private collection, nor does it appear that success in the accumulation of heads ensures the favours of the fair. They do not mount their heads, fresh lopped off, on posts as the people of the Mambwe country, south of Lake Tanganyika, do, in the belief that such exhibits are pleasing and impressive; nor do they regard them as tokens of individual prowess as the Dyaks do, or as the American Indians used to glory in the scalps they carried about them. The Wa regards his skulls as a protection against the spirits of evil, much the same as holy water, or the sign of the cross, or like texts at a meeting house, or Bibles on the dressing table at a temperance hotel, or hallelujahs at a Salvation Army service. Without a skull his crops would fail; without a skull his kine might die; without a skull the father and mother spirits would be shamed and might be enraged; if there were no protecting skull the other spirits, who are all malignant, might gain entrance and kill the inhabitants, or drink all the liquor.

The Wa country is a series of mountain ranges, running north and south and shelving rapidly down to narrow valleys from two to five thousand feet deep. The villages are all on the slopes, some in a hollow just sheltered by the crest of the ridge, some lower down where a spur offers a little flat ground. The industrious cultivation of years has cleared away the jungle, which is so universal elsewhere in the Shan hills, and the villages stand out conspicuously as yellowish brown blotches on the hill sides. A Shan

village is always embowered in bamboos and fruit or flowering trees; Kachin villages straggle about among the peaks with primæval forest all around; Akha, Kwi, and La'hu hide away their settlements in gullies, or secluded hollows; but a Wa village is visible for miles, the houses all within one enclosure and the gray of the thatched roofs hardly distinguishable from the litter of cattle and pigs which covers inches deep all the ground within the fence and makes it as conspicuous as a chalk mark on a billard cloth.

But outside every village, every village at any rate in the Wild Wa country, there is a grove of trees, usually stretching along the ridge, or a convenient *col*. It is usually fairly broad and is made up of huge trees, with heavy undergrowth, strips of the forest which, years and years ago, covered the whole country. From a distance it looks like an avenue, sometimes little over one hundred yards long, sometimes stretching for long distances from village to village. This is the avenue of skulls. It is not necessarily, and as often as not is not, the usual mode of approach to the village. Occasionally, however, the skulls actually line the main road and are practically out in the open. This appears to be the case rather with the more recently established villages, and the avenue, sombre with the shade of high over-arching trees and dense undergrowth, is certainly the more usual.

Here there is a row of stout posts, about three and a half to four and a-half feet high and five or six feet apart. In each of these, a little below the top, is cut a triangular hole with a ledge on which the skull is placed. Sometimes the niche is on the side facing the path, so that the whole skull is in full view of the passer-by; sometimes it is inserted from behind and grins at him through a slit. As a rule the posts are perfectly plain with nothing but the bark stripped off, but here and there they are fashioned into slabs with rude carvings, or primitive designs in red and black paint, by way of adornment, but this seems to be the case on the outer fringe rather than in the heart of the downright business-doing head-hunter's country. The posts stand on one side of the road only, not on both sides, and there appears to be no rule as to the direction, either of the grove or of the line of skulls, north or south, east or west. Most villages count their heads by tens or twenties, but some of them run to hundreds, especially when the grove lies between several villages, who combine or perhaps run their collections into one another. The largest known avenue is that between Sung Ramang and Hsan Htung. Here there must be a couple of hundred or more skulls. There is no assertion, however, that this is really the largest.

The skulls are in all stages of preservation, some of them glistening white and perfect in every detail, some discoloured with the green mould of one or more rains, some patched over with lichens, or shaggy with moss, some falling to pieces, the teeth gone, the jaws crumbling away, the sutures yawning wide; sometimes the skull has vanished with age and the post even is mouldering to decay.

No doubt a Wild Wa never misses a chance of taking a head, when an opportunity presents itself. The skulls are looked upon as a safeguard against and a propitiation of the evil spirits. The ghost of the dead man hangs about his skull and resents the approach of other spirits, not from any goodwill for the villages, for all spirits are mischievous and truculent, but because he resents trespassing on his coverts. For this reason the skulls of strangers are always the most valuable, for the ghost does not know his way about the country and cannot possibly warder away from his earthly remains. He also all the more resents the intrusion of vagrant ghosts on his policies. They cramp his movements and a ghost wants plenty of elbow room. An unprotected stranger is therefore pretty sure to lose his head, if he wanders among the Wild Was, no matter what the time of the year may be. The more eminent he is the better, for the Wa are quite of the opinion of the tribes farther to the north, that an eminent man will make a puissant, brabbling ghost, who will dominate the country side, and secure his owners sleep of nights.

But though heads are thus taken in an eclectic, dilettante way whenever chance offers, there is a proper authorized season for the accumulation of them. Legitimate head-cutting opens in March and lasts through April. The old skulls will ensure peace for the village, but at least one new one is wanted, if there is not to be risk of failure of the crops, the opium, the maize, and the rice. In these months journeying is exciting in the hills. A Wa must go out with the same reflection as a self-respecting dog, who never takes a stroll without the conviction that he is more likely than not to have a fight before he comes home again. Nevertheless there are rules of the game; lines of conduct to be observed, which assume the the dignity of customary law. Naturally the Wa never take the heads of their fellow-villagers. The elements of political economy forbid that. It would be a very urgent necessity, a raging pestilence, a phenomenal drought, or a murrain among their cattle which would justify the immolation of a man from an adjoining village. To behead a man from a community even on the same range of hills is looked upon as unneighbourly and slothful. The enterprise should be carried out on the next range, east or west, at any rate at

PLATE XIII.



Photo.-Block.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899

AKHA WOMEN.

a distance, the farther the more satisfactory from the point of view of results—agricultural results. When the head is secured the party returns immediately travelling night and day without halt. It is not necessary to have more than one head, but naturally the more heads there are, the less danger there is of agricultural depression. They may therefore take several heads at their first stoop and, if they meet with a favourable opportunity on the way home, a party of misguided pedlars unable to defend themselves, or a foot-sore, or fever-stricken straggler from a Chinese caravan, they promptly end his wanderings.

The hunting-party is never large, usually about a dozen. Villages are therefore never attacked. That would be too much like slaughter, or civil war, which is not at all what is intended. The act is simply one of religious observance, or the carrying on of a historical tradition. It does not appear that the neighbours of the victims harbour any particular animosity against the successful sportsmen. No doubt they go questing the following year by preference in that direction, but they apparently never think of exacting immediate vengeance.

Further, the Wa never seem to make raids beyond the limits of their own country, or at any rate of country which they have not regarded as their own in the past, or consider as likely to become theirs at some future time. There is no case on record of a Wa raid across the Salween, into Shan territory, to collect heads, nor have they ever invaded the Chinese Shan States on the north. The Shans of Möng Lem to the south-east do indeed complain that certain roads, which, they say, are in their State, are very unsafe when the Wa hill fields are being got ready for planting, but it is only the roads that are unsafe. Shan villages are so open that disappointed hunters might very well creep in at night to get the heads which they have failed to secure in the open country, but it does not appear that this has ever been done. It is probably this discrimination on the part of the head-hunters which, as much as anything else, has restrained the neighbouring people from combining to put an end to the Wild Wa, or at any rate to their accumulation of skulls.

The head-hunting party usually goes out quietly enough. There has probably been some consulting of sacrificial bones, or some scrutiny of the direction in which feather-light plant down floats, but there is no blessing of the questing party or any demonstration on the part of those who stay behind. Not even the women and children go to see them beyond the village gate. It is as much a matter of course every year as the sowing of the fields.

Sometimes they are out for a long time, for naturally every one, whether stranger or native of the country, is very much on the alert during the head-cutting season. Occasionally two search parties come across one another. There is as much feinting and dodging and beguiling then as between two wrestlers trying for the grip. The Hsan Htung head-hunters actually did thus waylay a party from Yawng Maw, north of the Nawng Hkeo lake in 1893, and took three heads from the party of ten. This was legitimate sport, for the Yawng Maw men were in the Hsan Htung limits and presumably after Hsan Htung heads. Ordinarily, however, Wa heads are not taken. The vulture does not prey on the kite. It is said that the bodies are never mutilated, but on the occasion referred to one corpse had hands and feet cut off. The Hsan Htung men were too drunk and excited to be favourable subjects for cross-examination, but it was said that the wretched man was a noted thief and that his hands and feet came off before his head as a warning to ill-regulated characters.

There is a tariff for heads. The skulls of the unwarlike Lem come lowest. They can sometimes be had for two rupees. La'hu heads can be had for about three times as much, for the La'hu are stalwart men of their hands and use poisoned arrows in their cross-bows. Other Shans than the Lem are more rarely found, for they usually go, if they go at all, in large parties. Burmese heads have not been available for nearly a generation and Chinamen's heads run to about fifty rupees, for they are dangerous game. European heads have not come on the market. There are no quotations. Wa skulls, probably from motives of delicacy, are not appraised. They probably fetch the average price, about ten rupees, according to the successful nature of the season and the number of semi-civilized Wa villages who are buying.

When the head, or heads, are brought home, there is great rejoicing. The big wooden gong is frantically beaten. All the bamboos of rice-spirit in the village are tapped, the women and children dance and sing and the men become most furiously drunk. The head is not put up as it is. It requires preparation, for it is only the cleaned skull that is mounted outside the village.

At one end of the village, usually the upper end, for all the villages are built on a slope, stands the spirit house, a small shed, fenced round with stakes and roughly thatched over. In the centre of this stands the village drum, a huge log of wood with a narrow slit along three-quarters of the length of it, through which the interior has been laboriously hollowed out. These drums are sometimes ten or twelve feet long and three or three and a half feet thick. They are beaten with wooden mallets and give out deep vibrating

notes which travel very long distances. This gong is sounded at all crises and moments of importance to the village, but chiefly when heads are brought home, or when sacrifices are being made, or when a village council is to be held. Outside this spirit-house the sacrifices to the spirits are made, the buffaloes, pigs, dogs, fowls, are killed and their blood smeared on the posts, and rafters, and thatching, and their bones hang in clusters round the eaves.

Here the head is taken. It is wrapped up in thatch, or grass, or plantain leaves and slung in a rattan or bamboo basket and is then hung up in a dark corner to ripen and bleach against the time when it is to be mounted in the avenue. This is the commonest practice, but some villages seem to prefer to hoist the head, slung in its rattan cage, on the top of a tall bamboo fixed in the centre of the village. This seems to savour of ostentation. Others hang the heads in aged, heavy foliaged trees, just within the village fence, but the spirit-house seems to be the more regular place. Wherever the skull is seasoned it remains until it is cleaned of all flesh and sinews and blanched to the proper colour. Then it is mounted in the avenue. What the ceremonial then is does not very clearly appear. None but a Wa has ever seen it. There seems, however, to be much slaughtering of buffaloes, pigs, and fowls, much chanting of spells by the village wise men, but above all much drinking of spirits by everybody. This last item no doubt accounts for the meagrenesss of the information on the subject. Apparently, however, the elders of the village carry out the skull with glad song and uplifting of voices, accompanied by every one who is in a condition to walk, and some traditional invocation or doxology is intoned before the skull is inducted in its niche. Those who are sober for this function do not long remain so. The service throughout seems to be corybantic rather than devotional.

It is noticeable that no offerings are made in the avenue of skulls. The skulls are offering, altar, and basilikon in themselves. The sacrifices are all made at the spirit-house in the village and the bones, skins, horns, hoofs, feathers are deposited there or in individual houses, not in the calvary.

A Wa village is a very formidable place, except for civilized weapons of offence. Against all the arms which any of their neighbours possess it is impregnable, and it could not be carried by direct attack except by a very determined enemy, prepared to suffer very considerable loss. All the villages are perched high up on the slope of their hills, usually on a knoll or spine-like spur, or in a narrow ravine near the crest of the ridge. Thus all of them are commanded by some neighbouring height, which could, however, only be used by a force provided with arms of precision.

Round each village is carried an earthen rampart, six to eight feet high and as many thick, and this is overgrown with a dense covering of shrubs, thin bushes, and cactuses so as to be quite impenetrable. Outside this, at a varying distance from the wall, is dug a deep ditch or fosse, which would effectually stop a rush, though it is seldom so broad that an active man could not jump it. The depth, however, is usually very formidable, and anyone falling in, could hardly fail to break a limb, even if his neck escaped. This chasm is very carefully concealed and must be a very effectual safeguard against night attacks.

The only entrance to the village is through a long tunnel. There is sometimes only one, though usually there are two at opposite sides of the village. It is built in the shape of a casemate or a sunk road, most often of posts and slabs of wood at the sides and on the top, but not uncommonly of earth overgrown with shrubs, specially chosen for the purpose, whose branches intertwine and weave themselves into one another so as to form a densely reticulated roof. This tunnelled way is not much higher than a Wa, that is to say, a few inches over five feet and not quite so much wide, so that two persons cannot pass freely in it, and it winds slightly so that nothing can be fired up it; moreover the path is frequently studded with pegs in a sort of dice arrangement, apparently to prevent a rush. None of them are less than thirty yards long and some are as much as one hundred paces. The inner end is closed by a door formed of one, or sometimes two, heavy slabs of wood, fastened by a thick wooden bolt. A Wa village is therefore by no means easy to enter without the approval or permission of its inhabitants, and as some of them lie right across the main tracks in the country, travelling is by no means easy and the visitor who feels himself strong enough to protect his head is fain to admit that there are other discouragements nearly as weighty. Consequently there is exceedingly little moving about in the head-hunting country. A few Shans, tolerated as middlemen and resident in the Tame Wa country, and some sturdy Hui Hui, Chinese Mahomedans from the borders of Yünnan, come up yearly with salt and a little rice and perhaps a few cloths and go back again with loads of opium, but everything has to be carried on the backs of men, for no loaded animal can pass through the narrow village adits. There is very little trade naturally under such circumstances and the number of those free of the hills is very limited. Salt, however, must be had, and the opium from the Wa hills turns over a heavy profit in China and the Shan country.

Inside the fence the houses stand about without any semblance of order. The broken character of the ground would prevent this

even if the Wa had any desire to lay out streets, which there is nothing to show that they have. The houses stand on piles and the floor is frequently so high that it is possible to stand erect underneath. They are substantially built of timber and wattled bamboo, much more substantially built than the average Shan house, or indeed the houses of any other hillmen but the Yao-Jên and the Miaotsu, and they are fairly roomy. The walling and floors are of planks or rather slabs of wood chipped flat with *dhas*. Some of these must have taken weeks and even months to prepare; round or oval-shaped doors are often seen in the Wild country. In shape the houses are rather more oblong than square, but they have no verandah such as is always found in a Shan house, and the heavy thatch roof comes down on all four sides to about three feet from the ground. No doubt this is a safeguard against hurricanes and wind squalls in the hills, but it very effectually excludes all light. A few houses have a sort of small skylight, little lids in the thatch which can be lifted up, but these serve rather as a means of letting out the smoke from the wood fire than as a convenience for illumination. To enter the house one has to stoop low to get under the eaves and then scramble up a somewhat inadequate bamboo ladder, or a still more inadequate sloping post with notches cut in it to serve for foothold. Chiefs' houses very often have a trough-like a dug-out; inside it is almost impossible to see anything either of the furniture or of the inhabitants. In the centre of the main room is a platform of bamboo covered with earth for the fireplace. There are a few stools, about a hand's breadth high, to sit on, a luxury which the Shan denies himself. He either sits on his heels or lies down. Besides this there is nothing unless it be the householder's gun, if he has one, or more probably his sheaf of spears, made of simple lengths of split bamboo, sharpened at both ends and hardened in the fire. In the sleeping rooms, narrow strips under the slope of the roof, there is nothing but a mat or two and a squalid pillow made of raw cotton, or perhaps of a block of bamboo. Stuck in the thatch of the roof are scores of bones, mostly of chickens, which have been used for spying out the future or ascertaining a lucky day. These are usually so grimed over with smoke that it is almost impossible to distinguish them from the thatch. The elders seem often to keep a presumably specially lucky pair in a sort of phial made of bamboo and sometimes rudely carved.

Each house stands apart on its own plot of uneven ground and is usually enclosed within a slight fence. Inside this is the record of the number of buffaloes the owner has sacrificed to the spirits. For each beast he puts up a forked stick, in shape like the letter Y,

exactly like an overgrown catapult. These are planted in rows and stand ordinarily from seven to ten feet high, though some are smaller. Some houses have rows of these which represent whole herds of buffaloes. No one is so poor but that he has three or four of them. Here and there the more important men of the village have them of huge size, as high as gallows trees and not unlike them in appearance. Sometimes they are painted black and red with rude attempts at ghouls' heads, but ordinarily they are the simple wood, seamed and roughened and split by the rain and scorched and corrugated by the heat of the sun. The heads of the buffaloes with the horns are usually piled up in a heap at one end of the house as a further guarantee of good faith. These forked sticks are called *Ērawng Mōt K'rak* or *Wang Ŭn Kēng*.

Below the house live the pigs and dogs and fowls. These are often allowed to fend for themselves, but frequently the pigs have slab houses built for them or live in holes dug for their accommodation in the ground, into or out of which they dive with startling abruptness. Baskets woven of bamboo and filled with straw are hung round the houses for the hens to lay in. The dogs do as they please and live where they like. The Wa eats them regularly, but does not appear to fatten them for the table as the Tongkinese do. The Wa dog is apparently a distinct species. He does not in the least resemble the Chow dog of Kwang-tung, nor the black stock of Tongking, and appears to be in fact simply a dwarf species of the common pariah dog of India, yellow, or light-brown, short-haired, about the size of a black and tan, but not so long in the leg and with a head not so foxy as that of the pariah. Dogs are not offered as sacrifices; they simply supply the Wa table.

The house of the *Ramang* or *Kraw* or headman of the village is distinguished by the prolongation of the rafters of the gable end of the house into a fork, or species of St. Andrew's Cross. This is sometimes gaily painted or even rudely carved in fantastic fashion, but Wa art is not conspicuous, or rather is thoroughly inconspicuous. Except that it is usually, but not necessarily, larger than its neighbours, the headman's house does not differ in any respect. Naturally, however, he has a very large forest of forked sticks indicating the sacrifice of buffaloes. Nevertheless he has not by any means necessarily the largest collection in the village. In the debateable country the big village wooden drum is always at his house.

The Wa are very heavy drinkers and always have a large supply of rice-spirit. But this appears never to be stored actually in the owner's house. It is characteristic of the hill tribes to believe in the general honesty of mankind. Most of them are not civilized

enough to be thieves. The Akha habitually store their paddy, the whole produce of their rice-fields and the main staple of their food for the year, in granaries by the side of public roads and often a mile or more away from their villages. They have no means of fastening the doors of these flimsy sheds better than a bit of twisted rattan, so that any one can go in, and the paddy is piled loose in large split bamboo bins. The reason they give is that the rice so stored is less exposed to destruction by fire. That any one should think of carrying it off never appears to occur to them. The Wa are not quite so confiding, or perhaps they think that the temptation of liquor is greater. But though they do not keep their liquor cellar outside the limits of the village, they never appear to have it in the immediate neighbourhood of their dwelling houses. Round the skirts of the village and usually at the upper end, just inside the earthen circumvallation, each householder builds himself a small hut, about the size of an average hen-house. This stands on piles and is reached by a ladder, and so much confidence is shown that even this ladder does not appear to be removed, even at night. Here the Wa liquor is stowed in long bamboo stoups of considerable girth, piled up on the rafters, or on cross-beams put up for the purpose. These bamboos contain twice as much as the largest Rehoboam and there are few houses that have not their dozens of them. The Wa has no fancy to run short in his liquor supply.

The rice they grow is used entirely for making liquor. They eat none of it, and indeed frequently have to buy more rice so that they may not run out of drink. The spirit is very strong and by no means pleasant in flavour, apart altogether from the fact that it is usually flavoured with stramonium, a little of which is always grown for the purpose. Besides the rice-spirit, they also make a beverage out of fermented maize and are particularly fond of eating the barm from which the liquor has been strained off.

Water is always very scarce in Wa villages. Like many of the hill tribes they believe that the neighbourhood of water produces fever. Accordingly the village is never built on, or even near, a stream. What water is wanted the women go and fetch in bamboos slung on the back. But occasionally when the water is very distant they build bamboo aqueducts and bring it into the village from considerable distances. Bamboos are split in halves to serve as runnels and these are propped up on wooden struts. The bamboo channels lie loose, overlapping one another at the ends. The advantage of this is that the water can be obtained as long as it is wanted and can be turned off as far from the village as is desirable, by simply lifting off one of the lengths of bamboo. Considerable engineering skill is sometimes shown in winding, or zigzagging this

aqueduct about, when the water is brought from some height above the village, so that the supply of water may not come in with too much violence, as it would if the slope were considerable.

The Wa villages are always of a very remarkable size for mountain settlements, far beyond those of any other hill race in the Shan States. Doubtless this is intended for safety and self-protection. If a village consisted of only a few houses, it might offer irresistible temptation to attack. Moreover, the formidable works necessary for defence could not easily be executed by a small number. In the Wild Wa country therefore there are very few villages with less than one hundred households and many have double or treble this number. If a settlement is very large, it usually has a whole section of a hill range to itself, or at any rate one side of the slope for its crops. Frequently, however, three or four villages cluster together, but though they acknowledge a common Chief, each village has its separate headman, its separate fields, distinct from those of its neighbours, and usually on isolated spurs, or on opposite sides of the slope, and they have their separate feasts. On the outer fringe among the Tame Wa this is not so, the villages are much smaller, they are united in large numbers under one Chief and they are defended by fences no more formidable than are essential to keep out wild animals, or wandering cattle. In the wild country the two most powerful Chieftains are Sung Ramang and Ho Hka in the south and in the north respectively. They are said to rule over a large number of villages, but the tie seems to be rather that of a federation than of a Government. Haunches of buffalo and pig and bamboos of liquor are sent at feast times, and the quarrel of any one village would be taken up by the whole under the leadership of the Chief, but any closer form of sovereignty does not appear to exist. The Wa really form a series of village communities, for the greater part autonomous and independent of one another, but with certain indefinite alliances and agreements for the mutual respect of heads, and possible recognitions of superiority in material strength, with a vague understanding that all shall unite against a common enemy. The chief of Pakkatè, the legendary seat of the race, though possessed of a big village, does not claim, and is not admitted to have any influence beyond his village fields, and is indeed described as a feudatory by the Chief of Ngeklek, who has technically given up head-hunting.

The Wa are certainly not an enterprising, or an ambitious race. Even the Tame Wa Hsap Tai, as the Shans call them, those who border on the Shan States, do not do anything beyond cultivating their fields. They do not trade; they do not keep shops; they have no markets of their own, though they sometimes go to those

of their Shan neighbours; they never travel beyond their own limits from motives of curiosity, or any other sentiment; the Wild Wa do so in order to get heads, but for no other object. Hundreds of them never leave the range on which they were born. They remain there for all their lives, and probably there are many women whose knowledge of the world is limited to at the most a ten-mile radius.

They are, however, very good agriculturists. The clearing and cultivation of their steep hill-sides implies a life of toil. No field can be reached without a climb up or down the steep mountain side. The buckwheat, beans, and maize are never certain crops and are all they have to live on beside their dogs and pigs and fowls. The rice they grow to make their liquor is very often planted three thousand feet or more below the village, and it needs constant attention all through its existence. But their chief crop is the poppy. The hill-tops for miles and miles are white with the blossoms in February and March. One can make several days' journey through nothing but opium fields. This is essentially a crop which demands constant attention. The fields have to be carefully cleared and constantly weeded and, when the harvest time comes round, the capsules have to be scored with the three-bladed knife at sunset and the sap collected on leaves at daybreak the next morning. The enormous amount of opium produced shows that the Wa are not a lazy people. Indeed they are an exceedingly well-behaved, industrious, and estimable race, were it not for the one foible of cutting strangers' heads off and neglecting ever to wash themselves.

In appearance they are not altogether attractive. They have short sturdy figures, perhaps a little too broad for perfect proportion, but many of the men are models of athletic build, and the women, like most of the women of the hill tribes, have very substantial charms and marvellously developed legs. In complexion they are much darker than any of the hill-people of this part of Indo-China, even if allowance be made for dirt, for they never wash. They are considerably darker even than the swarthy Akha, who otherwise are the darkest tribe in the hills. The Akha, however, are a totally distinct race and are remarkable for their size among races who as a rule are short, while the Wa are smaller even than the Shans. In features the Wa are bullet-headed with square faces and exceedingly heavy jaws. The nose is very broad at the nostrils, but otherwise is much more prominent than that of the Shan, who cannot be said to have a bridge to his nose at all. The eyes are round and well opened and, though the brows are by no means low, they are rounded rather than straight. The Tame Wa allow their hair to grow long enough to form a mop of shaggy unkemptness, for they never

seem to run even their fingers through it. This gives them a much wilder appearance than the real Wild Wa, who crop their hair short. Heavy eyebrows do not improve the type of face, but on the whole it is not a degraded type and gives no suggestion of the savagery of the head-hunter.

Their dress is soon described. In the hot weather neither men nor women wear anything at all, or only on ceremonial occasions. At other seasons the men wear a strip of coarse cotton cloth about three fingers' broad. This is passed between the legs, tied round the waist, and the ends, which are tasselled, hang down in front. Viewed as an ornament, which seems to be the latter day ultracivilized object of clothing, it is inconspicuous, or rather conspicuously ineffective. Regarded as a means of protecting or concealing the body, which may be supposed to have been the first duty of garments, it is absolutely inadequate. In the cold weather they throw a coarse home-woven coverlet—their bed in fact—over their shoulders and throw it off when the sun gets well up.

The women would do well perhaps to adhere constantly to their hot weather dress, a few bead necklaces. They do not, however. For the greater part of the year they think it necessary to wear a petticoat, if that can be called a petticoat which begins at the hips and ends considerably above the knees and being fastened by a half hitch in front, and formed of coarse stiff material, is really obtrusive in its failure to effect what is ordinarily considered the main purpose of clothing. The garment is as a matter of fact of the same length as that of the more civilized Wa women, but instead of being allowed to fall down to mid-calf as with them, is always worn doubled. Thus as mere drapery it is ungraceful and as a covering for the body it can only be called shameless. But it is the shamelessness of the Garden of Eden. Inside their villages in the warm weather they dispense altogether with this equivocal garment and limit their dress to their ornaments, which consist of silver ear-tubes which are like gigantic carpet-tacks, necklaces of cowries or seeds, and fillets of twisted straw or bamboo spathes, which bind up their hair in the case of the married women, while the unmarried girls wear a straw cap which suggests a strawberry pottle more than anything else. In this garb they have no hesitation in confronting a company of strangers, and the modesty or false shame, whichever culture or Philistinism may choose to call it, is certainly not on the side of the women, whether they are fifteen years of age or fifty. The state of dirt of both men and women is absolutely beyond belief and is only limited by the point beyond which extraneous matter refuses to adhere to human flesh.

Polyandry is not known. Polygamy is permissible, but is not much practised; wives are bought for a few buffaloes, if the girl is handsome, or of a good family; or for a dog or fowl or two, if her attractions or her family are not conspicuous. The first child belongs to the parents of the wife, but can be bought by the father and mother if they want it.

The above is in great part taken from a paper which appeared in the *Asiatic Quarterly* in January 1896, and deals with the Wild Wa only.

The Tame Wa are found along the Salween in Maw Hpa, Mang Lön, Mōt Hai, Kang Hsü, Sôn Mu, Ngek Hting, Lön Lōng, and in the greater part of Ngeklek. Some at any rate of the States of the latter confederacy, however, seem to indulge in head-hunting, or at any rate have fits of it. On the skirts of the Chinese Shan States, of Mêng Mêng and Mêng Tūng the Wa are also tame, and the same is the case in the Pēt-ken and other parts along the Mêng Lem border. This tameness, however, only extends to the one detail of the hunting of heads.

Material prosperity seems rather to exist in inverse ratio to the degree of civilization. The Gaungpyat Lawa, as the Burmese call the head-harriers, have the most substantial villages and houses, the broadest fields, the greatest number of buffaloes, pigs, dogs, and fowls. They have also the best conceit of themselves, the most ornaments, and the least clothes. The intermediate Wa fall somewhat away in material possessions; the Tame Wa, with their civilization, find their houses dwindle to hovels, their fields shrink to plots, not extending to three acres and without the cow, and instead of ornaments they wear clothes. They are therefore much more filthy than the true savages. This is hardly the fault of civilization, for the word has no application in most parts of the hills and is as comparative as the respective morality of a company promoter and a handkerchief thief. Nevertheles Mr. Warry says:—

"The Chinese regard the Wa's views upon skull-collecting as a rough index to the degree of civilization he has attained to. The proper Wild Wa takes any heads, those of strangers and innocent people by preference. A little above him comes the Wa who restricts his collection to heads taken in fight and to those of thieves and dacoits. That Wa is considered well on the way to reclamation who only *buys* heads, though perhaps he may not make minute enquiry as to whether they were honestly come by; and at the top of the scale comes the Wa who has cured himself of the passion for human skulls and exhibits only those of bears, panthers, and other wild beasts."

But beyond this there are Wa, certainly only on the outskirts of the country, who put up no heads of any kind. Some of them

claim to be Buddhists; others make no claim to anything at all, not even to the pity of their neighbours.

Mang Lön is the chief Wa State, only because the *Sawbwa* has succeeded in getting all his villages to recognize his authority. In the wild country, and to a great extent in the semi-wild country, each village is practically autonomous, or at best there is a federation of villages on the same hill mass. In Sôn Mu and Kang Hsö a central authority is also recognized, but much more loosely than in Mang Lön, and what union there is is intended rather for resistance to outside violence or interference, than for administrative purposes.

In Mang Lön the Wa are all nominally Buddhists, but their fervour and doctrinal knowledge leave much to be desired. None of the villages in this State, however, mount skulls outside their gates and there are few, if any, of the *wang ün-keng*, the forked sticks set up to denote that a buffalo has been sacrificed to the spirits. This indeed is the rule all along the Salween and on the northern and eastern borders, whether the inhabitants are Buddhists or not. Here and there the skulls of wild animals are found and, to prove the rule, in an odd village, even in such a State as Maw Hpa, a human skull or two is to be seen. These are always declared to have belonged to incorrigible thieves.

Nawng Hkeo, the mountain lake, may be considered to be the centre of the head-hunting villages, and the farther one gets from there the fewer are the skulls and the older the specimens. The Wild Wa country, so far as it has any definite frontier at all, may be considered to be bounded on the west by the Nam Ma and Nam Pang and a line joining these two rivers; on the east by the Loi Maw range beyond the Nam Hka; on the south the head-hunters hardly extend beyond Pakkatè; and to the north, as far as is known, only to the range which forms the boundary with China. Even inside these limits there are many villages which have given up regular raids. Outside of them there is a marked change. The villages decrease in size. They have not the formidable ditches and tunnels which are found among the *Wa Hai*, except where they are necessary for self-protection, and gradually one comes to villages which are fenced in the ordinary way or have no need even for fences. Similarly the skull avenues decrease in length and in freshness. The heads are old and compare badly with the grinning honours of the head-hunter's village, or they are bought, or are the skulls of local malefactors. Thus through a zone of lichen-grown, weather-stained skulls one comes to *tak-kĕng* (head posts), which either have the skulls of wild animals or are empty altogether. Finally even the groves, or avenues of trees in which the *ön gru*

pang kaü, as the line of *k'rawng-ngai* or *tak-kēng* is called, once stood, disappear, and one is among what the Nawng Hkeo people call the *La*. With the prosperity of the skull avenue seems to be bound up the number of the *wang ün-kēng*, the forked posts which show the number of buffaloes sacrificed. Even in the debateable zone many villages seem to have only two or three large specimens of these for the use and credit of the whole village, and in the outer fringe even these disappear.

The Tame Wa are divided into five different clans—the Hsīn Lam, Hsīn Leng, Hsīn Lai, the Hta Mö, and Mōt No. The distinction appears in the waistcloth, which is striped or chequered in various patterns, or in different colours, for the so-called septs. This is, however, all the difference there really is, and, though the dialects of the Wild and the Tame Wa do not quite correspond, the language is undoubtedly the same. The division of the Wild Wa into Wa Pwi and Wa Lön or Lawn is also no doubt quite as needless, though the Wa Pwi declare the Wa Lön to be very degraded. This assertion appears, however, to imply no more than that they are better at getting heads than the Wa Pwi.

The distinction of Hsīn Leng, Hsīn Lam, and so on seems to have corresponded in a way to the clan tartans of the Scottish Highlanders, for Ngek Lek is said to be chief of the Hsīn Lai, Ngek Hting of the Hsīn Lam, and Lön Nö, or Loi Lön of the Hsīn Leng. Now-a-days, however, they are much intermixed. The Tame Wa let their hair grow long and cut it across the forehead in a Whitechapel fringe. They have no head-dress and use no combs. Their hair is as thick as a door-mat in consequence and as comely to look at as the same door-mat chewed by puppy dogs. This gives them a picturesquely wild appearance and they look much more like savages than the Wa Pwi, who crop the head close except for a tuft on the top, more of the size of the Gurkha's salvation lock, than of the boot-brush which decorates the head of the Cambodian or the old-fashioned Siamese. In some places, especially in the Pēt-ken, the men wear numbers of silver necklaces, or rather chains of silver, hanging well below the chest, and rudely fashioned bangles; chicken bones in couples are also often worn in the ears. The women and children have a profusion of bead necklaces and are fond of silver buckles, buttons, and spangles, besides a variety of bracelets and ear-tubes terminated in front by a large shield. These are all of silver, of which there is a great quantity everywhere except in the western States. In many villages all the men have silver-mounted pipes about a yard long.

The clothes worn are all woven by the village women. Cotton is grown to some extent, but probably only when clothes are required,

for the crop is only seen here and there. The waistcloths and coverlets are coarse, but very strong, and some of them are decorated with patterns by no means unpleasing. Unfortunately, however, a Wa seems to have only one suit and one blanket in all his life, and indeed some of the garments look as if they were family heir-looms, with the stains of generations on them.

The Wild Wa are certainly very much darker than the Tame Wa. They have also more sharply marked features and these have even an approach to regularity which can seldom be said of a Shan or a Burman. The Wild Wa look more like the La'hu than any of their neighbours, and they occasionally grow a moustache, which the Tame Wa either do not or cannot. In complexion they are very dark, almost as dark as negroes or negritoes. There is nevertheless no doubt that they are of the same race as the Tame Wa. Most of them smoke opium, but eating it seems to be the more common practice, and they thrive on it like the Sikhs.

It is said that the Wild Wa bury all their dead, or at any rate the adults, at the foot of the steps leading up to the house. This is certainly the case in the intermediate country with the families of *Ramangs*, the Chiefs, and with the more noteable people. The coffin is the hollowed out trunk of a tree and the graves are six to eight feet deep. The personal ornaments of the deceased are buried with the body and possibly this is the reason for having the graves at the front door. Commoner people are buried by the road-sides close to the village. The graves are mounded over and enclosed by a slight fence, but except for a few stars and quaint devices cut in bamboo suspended on sticks there is nothing to distinguish one grave from another, and these appear never to be renewed and do not last over more than one rainy reason. Near some of their villages there are huge barrows, which are pointed out as the sepulchres of the early Wa, who are said to have been giants. One of these, a mile or so north of Hpang Lön in the Loi Lön State, is nearly one hundred yards long, three feet or more high, and broad in proportion. Most of the tumuli are, however, considerably shorter. A reasonable account of them is still required. So far as is known none of the other hill races have similar barrows.

In some wild Wa villages there were also seen collections of boulders with pointed stones standing in the centre and in Sung Ramang there was a large flat stone propped up on several others in cromlech fashion. These may have been graves, but they were said to be the abodes of the house spirits. The one does not necessarily exclude the other.

It is said that in the north, about the sources of the Nam Ma, the women tattoo their faces and bosoms. This suggests the Chin

custom, but the fact has not yet been substantiated among the Wa. As a race they do not tattoo, but some of those on the Shan borders have devices tattooed on the arms and chests to serve as charms in the Shan fashion.

Spirit worship is the only religion, and there seem to be no general feasts except when heads are dedicated, and therefore there are no regularly recurring feast days. They are held by villages and families when there are particular dangers or necessities. The village spirit is called *Hkum Yeng* and is not held in any particular esteem, though the heads are offered to him. The spirit of the house, called *Ariya* or *Liyè-a*, is the one who concerns the Wa most directly, who is most feared and therefore considered most powerful. Buffaloes, pigs, and fowls are sacrificed fairly regularly to keep him quiet, but there are no fixed worship days even for him; any worry or ailment in the household suggests that it is time a sacrifice were made. The forked *Èrawng Mōt K'rak* keep tally of these offerings. The spirits of the flood and the fell are called *Ariyuom* and *Hkūmturu* respectively. They are only appeased by offerings when a party is out head-hunting. Human sacrifices, to say nothing of cannibalism, seem to be quite unknown. There appears to be no regular priestly class; any old man can conduct the invocations, but in most villages some one or more are considered especially suitable or expert. At the only service seen, five old men sat on the open verandah in front of the house, arranged in a circle. Gourds and fruit and vegetables were hung to the posts in front of the house; pigs and fowls with their legs tied, lay down below; each man had a little pile of coloured heads of grass and cotton in front of him. They sang a kind of a chant in monotone, ending in a shout at regular intervals, and all the while threw shreds of cotton and the downy grass seeds on a bamboo platter in the centre. The chant might be rendered—

Daughter	Matter
Taught her	Fatter
Wrought her	Patter
Sought her	Tatter
Bought her	Batter
Caught her	Chatter
Fought her	Blatter
Water	Drat her
Oh-h-h !	Oh-h-h !

continued at infinite length and with apparently no more sequence of ideas than is contained in the above collocation of words. After quite an hour of it the fowls without their feathers and legs of pork

were hung round the eaves of the house. Bamboos full of liquor were more discreetly bestowed inside.

A Wild Wa dance has not been seen. The Tame Wa imitation is not unlike the La'hu and Akha dances, but the performers do not face inwards, and have no complicated steps. Like the Khasias they carry green branches in their hands. They commence by going round at a dignified walk to the sound of a rhythmic chant like the above, broken at intervals by a choral shout, when all leap with both feet off the ground. The difference in the various dances is not apparent, but in the head-hunter's dance the pace gradually increases as in the Khatak dance, and it is possible to imagine the performers working themselves into a frenzy. The Wa of the Pēt-ken have a musical instrument which they call a *kawkang*, apparently made out of the tip of a buffalo horn. On this they play rather grotesque little airs. It is something like an ocarina in shape, but is very little more pleasing than the tin trumpet of childhood, and the airs do not seem to get beyond the same standard.

Recent enquiries have shown that the area in which the securing of heads is thought to be necessary for a good harvest is much more restricted than was at first thought. It is also certain that the Wa are not nearly so ferocious as they have for years had the credit of being. Heads are not lopped off for mere wantonness, but as a sort of *auto da fé*, or at any rate on mistaken agricultural theories. Apart from this foible, the Wa are admitted to be not bad neighbours. They are not thieves like the Kachins and the Kwi, and they do not make raids and burn villages. The cutting off of heads inevitably tempers esteem, and the amount they drink and the extent to which they neglect to wash, tend to create dislike, but otherwise their qualities command approval. They are brave, independent, energetic, ingenious, and industrious. They are not cannibals, but they eat the friend of man; they are not undressed, but they are nude; they are extraordinarily diligent cultivators, but they are very occasionally sober. They bring water with much skill from long distances by bamboo aqueducts into the interior of their villages, and they throw cleverly slung bamboo and rattan bridges over wide rivers, but the water inside the village seems only to be wanted to make liquor with and the bridges appear to be intended to avoid an involuntary washing of their persons.

West of the Salween there are no Wa who own to that name.

Wa outside the Wa country.

There are some villages of so-called La scattered about in the Kachin portion of North Hsen Wi, but they do not own to relationship with the people of the Wa country any more than they will admit any connection with the Pa-

laung or the Riang tribes. But, on paper at any rate, they can be contradicted out of their own mouths.

In Kēngtūng State there are many villages whose inhabitants own to the name of Wa and there are a great many other tribes with quite different names, who appear to be indisputably Wa. Concerning these Mr. G. C. B. Stirling is the chief and in many cases the only authority. He says:—

"The people calling themselves Wa and known to the Shans by this name are spirit-worshippers. The men generally wear a loin cloth and go bare-headed, though in many villages the youths have begun to adopt the Shan trousers and turban. They live in the hills at a moderate elevation and descend to work irrigated fields wherever these can be laid out. A *Wa* has but one wife. At a marriage a feast is given to the whole village, and presents made by the bridegroom to his wife's parents. There is no fixed rule requiring a man to live with, and work for, his wife's family. He may do so, or he may set up house for himself at once. Divorce is unusual, but a man can get it by paying a small sum of money to the woman. The dead are always buried. The great spirit sacrifice of the year is held just before the fields are sown. Fowls, pigs, or any other animals may be sacrificed. The unconverted Wa regard the Tai Loi and other Buddhist hillmen as of the same race, though tribal distinctions are insisted on. They know that at one time they held all the valley lands of Kēngtūng and were driven thence by the Hkön and Lü. They seem to think that they originally came from a country east of the Mèkhong, but it is uncertain whether they have any real tradition to this effect."

Of the Tai Loi Mr. Stirling says:—

Tai Loi.

"The name Tai Loi, though often used loosely by the Shans to denote any hill tribe that has been converted to Buddhism, signifies *par excellence* people of *Wa* origin who have adopted the religion. The people so designated call themselves *Wa*, or *Wa Küt* ("the *Wa* who were left, or remained"—left, that is, after the Hkön conquest of the country). In this connection it must be remembered that the original Kēngtūng State was a very small place. Probably it comprised little more than the central valley in which the capital town lies. Even at the time when the term "thirty-two cities of the Hkön" more or less truly indicated the area settled, the country was of but limited extent. According to tradition these *Wa Küt* remained within the conquered territory and settled in the hills, where they still remain, by virtue of an agreement, or treaty, between their leaders and the Hkön chief, Māng Rai. They had thus a good opportunity of profiting by Shan civilization, and it must be many years since they adopted Buddhism, and became known as *Tai Loi*, or hill Shans. Their marriage customs are the same as the *Hkön*. They bury their dead, except *pôngyis* and very old men, whose bodies are burned. They sacrifice, and make offerings, to spirits in the same way as the Hkön. Regarding these non-Buddhistic customs and beliefs, however, there seems reason to think that the Hkön borrowed from their Wa Küt neighbours as much as they gave them."

As to the history of the Wa in Kēngtūng State and its neighbourhood reference may be made to the head of Kēngtūng. At-

tention may be drawn to the legend of the gourd, which also appears in one of the Rumai traditions. The golden stag which Māng Rai of Chiengmai chased may also be noted in connection with the notable figure supposed to be visible at the Maw Hkam, the Gold Mine in the Wa Pĕt-ken. Mr. Stirling says :—

"The Tame Wa of Kĕngtūng certainly have a tradition of having been driven from the valley by the Hkön. The Tai Loi (Wa Küt) agree with the Kĕngtūng annals in saying they got the hills of the main valley by virtue of a treaty with the Hkön. The Möng Yawng account mentions that a village of hill people (presumably Wa) stayed behind 'to eat prawns,' and were captured. They have since been subject to the Möng Yawng Shans. The *Wa* that I have questioned gave the latter explanation. The Wa Küt, they said, had been captured while cooking food.

"I feel so little doubtful about the legend of the Hkön conquering Kĕngtūng—from Chieng Hai—as one can be about such things. The belief in the 'Lawa' being the aborigines of the country (or at least the inhabitants immediately preceding the Hkön) seems widespread. So many of the Wa tribes are now Buddhists that it seems to point to their having been here a long time. I do not know any case of Kaw or Muhsö, or any of the later immigrants, adopting Buddhism."

Besides these self-admitted Wa and Tai Loi Mr. Stirling has collected vocabularies of a number of tribes with undoubted Wa affinities, some of whom show strong connecting links with the Rumai on the one side and the Hka-mūk on the other. These are: the En, the Sawn, the Angku or Hka-la, the Pyin or Pyen, the Amŏk or Hsen Hsum or Hsem, and a race called the Loi of Möng Lwe, who believe themselves to be Hka-mūks, a concession which few of these patois-speaking clans can bring themselves to entertain. There are also Darang who call themselves Palaung. Of these tribes generally it may be said that the Tai Loi or Wa Küt are very fervent Buddhists like the Rumai and have fine *wats* and pagodas; they also grow tea, and several families live in one house. The Pyin and Hsem are usually Buddhists and so also are the En, who very often have monasteries, but without resident monks. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that these last three clans are becoming Buddhists as also are the Angku or Hka-la. Of the En Mr. Stirling says :—

"The people known as En by the Shans call themselves by this name. They repudiate any connection with the Wa, and deny that their languages are mutually intelligible. They profess Buddhism and have monasteries in their villages, but very rarely a priest. Their conversion in fact seems to be in an early stage. The great spirit feast of the year is held in the 6th month just before the rains. There is a wise man in every village who directs what is to be done to propitiate the spirits. Pigs and fowls are usually sacrificed at the general ceremonies, in which the whole village takes part, and always in the case of private offerings to get rid of sickness. The spirits worshipped are those of the hills and forests, and a belief in their powers is deep-rooted.

"Over extensive areas the people will not work hill fields for fear of offending the spirits. If a tree is felled they say a man dies. Though distinctly a hill people in their habits, their villages are fixed, they are contented to live at a moderate elevation, and they descend to work lowland fields. If the supply is at all distant, water is led into the village in pipes. When a woman is sought in marriage the usual presents of betel and tea, with a leg of pork, are given to her parents, but no money. A man may have more than one wife if he can afford it. A newly wed pair sometimes live with the wife's parents and sometimes set up house for themselves at once. In cases of divorce it is customary to give five rupees and a pig to the village headman, who pronounces it, but nothing is given to the woman. The En bury their dead and usually place the deceased's clothes with the body. No money or valuables are buried. The clothing of men and women is generally the same as the Shan, but dark blue turbans are usually worn.

"*En* from Enlong and other villages west of the Nam Lwe come into Kēngtūng town to cut grass for the *Sawbwa's* ponies. Every twenty-second day the men are relieved by a fresh party. This is an old custom, but its origin has been forgotten."

The Riang tribes: Yang Hsek and Yang Lam.

The Burmese call them Yin. Yang is the ordinary Shan name for the various tribes of Karens.

The Yang Lam are found throughout the whole strath, or stretch of undulating plain between Möng Nai and South Hsenwi. The Yang Hsek and the Yang Wan Kun are not so widely distributed nor so numerous. The former are in greatest strength in the State of Möng Sit, but they are also found in Möng Nai and Mawk Mai and stray villages occur in other States. The Yang Wan Kun are so called by the Shans from the Wan Kun circle of Laihka, which is the stronghold of the tribe. They are not, however, confined to that circle, but have spread into parts of Möng Nai State.

Mr. G. C. B. Stirling says of them:

"The three tribes are inclined to look upon each other as different races, but their language shows them to be one. The nearer approach of the Yanglam of the north to the Shans has led to the introduction of many Shan words, but the language is radically the same as that of their brethren farther south.

"The degrees of relationship are apparently designated by separate words and there is some diversity in the names used. The Yang Hsek call themselves Riang (or Riang Rioi); the Yangwankun use the form Riang Röng; the Yanglam occasionally give the name Riang, but usually accept the name given them by the Shans. The convertibility of *r* and *y* accounts for the Shan form.

"The language is quite distinct from Shan, Taungthu, and Karenni."

The resemblances with Wa and Palaung are remote, but seem regular enough to be conclusive to a student, though the people themselves will not admit any connection.

Mr. Stirling adds :

"They look upon themselves and are regarded by the Shans as dwellers in these States from time immemorial, and they certainly must have been here for a very long time. No tradition of any immigration or first settlement appears to have been handed down, but it is to be noted that the Yanghsek and Yangwankun (who have preserved a more distinct nationality) are very timid and not at all disposed to answer questions.

"The Yanglam have amalgamated with the Shans to a much greater extent than the other two tribes. Mixed villages of Shans and Yanglam are frequent, and in such cases the 'Black Karens' are often cultivators of low-land rice-fields. In South Hsenwi and Kehsi Mānsām they cultivate a good deal of cotton besides upland rice. The Yanghsek and Yangwankun on the contrary seem always to live in villages distinct from the Shans and do not appear even to have wet cultivation. As with the great majority of the hill tribes the outward distinction between Yangs and Shans and between the different tribes of the Yang is the dress of the women. The men's dress is the same as the Shans.

"The Yanglam women wear a closed skirt, belted round the waist and reaching nearly to the ankles. It is made of dark blue home-spun, and a jacket of the same colour and material completes the dress. The effect is sombre, but the dress is modest and becoming, which cannot be said of many of the feminine hill fashions. The Yangwankun use the same material for petticoat and bodice, but the garments are more scanty and fit closer to the figure, and the bodice is elaborately embroidered and ornamented with beads. Round the waist they have coils of thin bamboo or cane, varnished with wood-oil like those of the Palaung and Kachin women. Similar rings garter the leg below the knee.

"The Yanghsek wear a blouse or smock-frock which is striped red and white and is the only garment visible. Their garter rings are made of brass wire.

"Reed-pipes (*lwi*) are played by each tribe and the music produced, though very monotonous, is not unpleasant. The Yanghsek national dance is a most vigorous performance and apparently represents courtship. Twenty or 30 men singing a sort of chant prance around some half dozen women, who every now and then turn sharp round and evade the advances made to them by threading their way through the dancers to the other side of the group. The Wan Kun Yang take their amusements stolidly. A line of men, one or two of whom play the pipes, place themselves opposite an equal number of women.

"Both sing softly, but the dancing consists of the least possible motion of the feet and bodies.

"The three tribes are Buddhists but also worship *nats*, or at all events propitiate them with offerings."

Notwithstanding the pronounced denial of these Riang tribes there can be little doubt that they are of the Rumai or Wa stock, whichever of these is the older. But long separation has no doubt affected their language so greatly that neither a Rumai of Tawng Peng nor a Wa of Ngek Lek would understand them. They may

form a connecting link if further information is gathered of a Palaung migration from Thatôn or of the expulsion of the "Lawa" from the Siamese Tai States and from Kēngtūng.

Hka Mūks, Hka Mēts, and Hka Kwens.

These tribes are undoubtedly cognate and are known by a variety of names: Kamu, Kamet by the Burmese, lumped together as Hka Chè by the Siamese; Lamēt among the Shans and, at least occasionally, among other neighbours and themselves; while the Chinese call them P'u-mang.

So far as is known there are no permanent settlements of them in British territory unless that of the "Loi" in Möng Lwe, but they are excellent foresters and great numbers of them come for work in the teak forests. They are also of great interest philologically and their language has been thought to have similarities with the Palaung, the Wa, and the Khasia. For this reason they are noted here, and vocabularies will be found elsewhere which may substantiate or overthrow these surmises.

M. Pavie and other French enquirers are persuaded that these tribes are the aboriginal tribes of many parts of Annam and Tongking and did not come from the north. It is certain that they do not understand Chinese and are singular among the hill tribes in this respect.

The tribes have different dialects just as the women have different fashions of dress, but the variations do not seem to be very great and the same general type of face runs through all three.

They are short in stature, much more swarthy than most of their neighbours, with heavy irregular features which do not greatly differ, except in dullness of expression, from the Tai races. The men dress like the Shans in blue or white coats, buttoning on the right side, and blue trousers. Frequently there is a stripe of red, white, or yellow on the legs of the trousers, or the coat sleeves.

The Hka Mūk tie the hair right on top of their heads; the Hka Mēt more towards the forehead. Occasionally they wear turbans, white, red, or yellow, worn level with the forehead; often they have Shan hats with no turban. Many of the men part their hair in the middle and sleek it well down, which is apt to give them the meek and epicene appearance of the stock curate of the comedy stage. The women wear petticoats with horizontal stripes of colours differing with the tribes, and near the Mèkhong all have sleeveless coats of blue cloth which fail to reach the top of the petticoat. In the remoter villages the Hka Mēt ladies limit their costume to a dagger-like skewer thrust through their chignons. The women

of all the tribes, but especially the Hka Mēts, have an amplitude of figure, a breadth of shoulder, and a phenomenal development of calf and thigh which possibly account for the subdued appearance of their husbands. The Hka Mūks eat snakes and are reputed to prefer them to anything else in the way of a meat diet. The fact that the snake is poisonous makes no difference. They carefully cut out the poison glands before skinning.

All three tribes are essentially forest dwellers, but the Hka Mūks are the best known from the distances they travel to obtain employment from timber traders. The villages are seemingly always circular in shape and the houses all stand close together, without the yards and gardens always found round Tai houses. They are built of bamboo and thatched with grass, and the village site is usually a sheltered ridge, or the slope of a valley. Little besides hill rice seems to be grown, and the villages are full of pigs and poultry, but cattle or buffaloes are rarely seen. Many of the Hka Mūks have accepted Buddhism so far as to build monasteries and support monks, but the national religion is spirit-worship.

It is asserted by French enquirers that a young man has to serve for his wife, in the house of her parents, for a longer or shorter time. The price of a wife varies from fifteen to sixty rupees, and possibly the difference indicates as much length of apprenticeship as greater fascinations or rank. Morality is lax; divorces are frequent and are arranged on strictly pecuniary lines. So are illegitimate births. They cost thirty rupees to the presumed father and he has to do the house work until the woman is about again. "*Cet accident est, paraît-il, assez fréquent.*" The dead are buried in the jungle some distance from the village; in coffins if that expense can be afforded; ordinarily in their clothes only or wrapped in a mat. A wake is held and offerings made to the spirits. The grave is surrounded by a slight bamboo fence. While this lasts offerings are made to the spirit of the deceased. When it disappears the grave is forgotten.

It is noticed that among the Hka Kwen, the children shave their heads on the death of a parent. Girls do not do so after they are sixteen years old. The Hka Mūks and Hka Mēts have not this custom, and it is apparently unknown among other hill tribes, as indeed are any visible tokens of mourning on the part of relatives of the deceased.

Village headmen are the judges. Murder is purged by a *wergild* of one hundred and twenty rupees; theft by the payment of double the value of the thing stolen, and so on on primitive principles. Other cases are more singular and original. If two buffaloes

belonging to different owners fight and one is killed, the carcase is divided between the two and eaten; the victorious buffalo is sold and the money divided. But, if the unfortunate beast was tied up so that he was handicapped in the fight, seven rupees are due to the proprietor and the procedure is otherwise the same.

If a buffalo kills a man, the character of the beast is enquired into. If the buffalo is notoriously dangerous, the relatives of the deceased receive the full life money, one hundred and twenty rupees; otherwise only half that sum.

If a dog bites a man so as to draw blood, the owner of the dog has to pay the victim a rupee and a fowl. The fowl is offered to the spirits to secure speedy healing of the wound. If the wound is slight, the fine is reduced to a hen's egg and enough cotton to make a wristlet for the sufferer. This wristlet is of the kind worn by the Burmese and all Indo-Chinese races to ward off evil spirits and act as a safeguard against cholera.

Mr. Warington Smyth (Notes on the Geography of the Upper Mèkhong) relates the following tradition:—

"The Lao and the Khache were once brothers. Their father died and left to be divided between them a box containing two bundles and an elephant and her young one. It was agreed that the Khache should have first choice, and he took the smallest bundle, which lay at the top, and found therein the tiny waist-cloth which he wears to this day, the Lao getting a fine *panung* (the waist-cloth of the Siamese), which he has ever since adopted. The Khache, not to be beaten thus, chose the biggest elephant and took her away home with him. But she grew sad in her heart, and her thoughts went towards her child, so she bolted away and returned to the baby, the Lao thus getting both. The Khache thereupon returned up into the hills in the sulks, and has ever since remained there without clothes or elephants."

The Karen Tribes.

The Karens are treated of at some length in the *British Burma Gazetteer* of 1879. A good deal of the information given is of the nature of a history of tartans. More extensive details are to be found in Mr. D. M. Smeaton's *Loyal Karens of Burma.* Nothing is given here therefore as regards the race as a whole, whether with respect to dress, traditions, language, or customs. The vocabularies and local usages of the groups to be found in the Shan States may lead to the determination of the original stock and its place of origin. It may be hazarded that all the facts point to the correctness of the conclusions of Mon. Terrien de Lacouperie and of Dr. Cushing that the languages are connected with, but not descended from, Chinese, and that the people are pre-Chinese like the Tai, and not Thibetan, or aboriginal, or the descendants of the lost Ten Tribes.

The suggestion that the Karens are kinsmen of the Hmêng, the so-called Miao-tsz, remains no more than a random guess. As elsewhere suggested, we may find that the Hmêng are far-off cousins of the Môn or Talaings. Whether their religious traditions, which have attracted so much attention, were derived from the Jewish settlements in China, or are the relics of a distant past like the far carried boulders left us by the glacial age, may never be definitely proved, but it can hardly be amiss to point out that savage fancy in many places recalls Biblical statements. The Burmese story of the *Thalesan* reminds one of the "fruit of that forbidden tree." The Wa have a similar story (*v. sub. voc.* Mang Lôn). Traditions of a deluge are common. Mr. Stirling in his Kēngtūng notes gives the Hkün belief at some length, and the list might be extended.

It is sufficient to state briefly here that there are three great divisions of the Karen race—the Sgau, Pwo, and Bghai or Bwè Karens. Dr. Cushing thinks that the Sgau dialect will gain the mastery. It differs from Pwo in having no final consonants, which is characteristic also of Bghai. This latter dialect includes the language of the Red Karens and differs most noticeably in its system of numeration. It somewhat resembles Sgau, but possesses a large number of separate roots. Taungthu there is now no doubt is a dialect of Pwo.

The Karen-ni.

It seems probable that the Red Karens are nearer in language and in customs to the original stock than the Pwo and Sgau Karens. The resemblances now existing are, however, greater in forms of speech than in appearance and manners. The Karen-ni live together in a compact territory much as the Wa do and, except for a few Shan villages and some of Taungthu and Yimbaw, also called Laku Pö, or Lesser Padaungs, there are few besides the Red Karens in Eastern Karen-ni. In Bawlakè the greater proportion of the inhabitants are known as Yintalè, or Yangtalai, in the Shan form, and the ruling houses of this State and of Eastern Karen-ni are of this branch.

The Red Karen is conspicuous even among hill races for his dirtiness. The men wear short breeches reaching to just below the knee. These are red when new, but speedily turn to a dirty black. They are fastened by a leather belt. Some wear a small, open, sleeveless dark-coloured coat, but the greater number perhaps wear instead a cotton blanket striped red and white, thrown round the shoulders. In the hot weather both coat and blanket are discarded. Some sort of handherchief is generally twisted round the hair, which

is tied in a knot on the top of the head. Small metal pear-shaped earrings are also worn, the material depending upon the wealth of the person.

The women wear a short skirt, reaching to the knee. Usually it is dark-coloured, but sometimes it is red. A broad piece of black cloth passes over the back across the right shoulder and is then draped over the bosom and confined at the waist by a white girdle tied in front, the ends hanging down with more or less grace according to the newness of the article. Round the waist and neck are ropes of barbaric beads, and a profusion of these also decorate the leg, just above the calf, which also is encircled by innumerable garters of black cord or rattan. These with the beads stand out some two inches or so from each sturdy limb and cause the women to walk with their legs wide apart. The same tyrannical fashion prevents them from bending their legs to sit and, accordingly, when they do place themselves on the ground, or floor, to spin or for other work, they do so with their limbs stretched straight in front of them, as do many Kachin maidens, who decorate themselves in similar fashion. The position is highly shocking to the Burmese and Shan mind. Round the neck, in addition to the beads, the more well-to-do women hang pieces of silver. Silver earrings are also worn, many of huge size. A piece of black cloth is thrown jauntily over the head, sometimes with red tassels like those of the Taungthus. The general effect is striking and, when the things are new, not by any means unattractive.

The Red Karen nearly always goes abroad armed with *dha* and gun and is practically never seen without his spear. This weapon is very distinctive; the head is sharp on one side only and the shaft is of bamboo with a spike in the butt so that it may be stuck upright in the ground when the owner is at work in his fields, or sitting down.

The Karen-ni are with very few exceptions spirit-worshippers. Latterly a fair number have become nominal Buddhists and some have even founded monasteries, but none give up their belief in the *nats* and they continue to propitiate these with the customary rites and sacrifices as before their conversion. Like all spirit-worshippers, however, they trouble themselves little about their deities so long as all goes well. The most obvious occasion for worship is when any one falls sick. A sacrifice is then made to appease the wrath of the angry spirit. The first thing killed is a fowl, and the bones are examined to ascertain whether the *nat* would like fowls, pigs, dogs, bullocks, or buffaloes as a sacrifice. When this is settled the required animal is slaughtered and the head, ears, legs, and

entrails are deposited in the *nat-sin*, the shrine of the spirits. The family eat what remains of the carcase. Similar sacrifices on a larger scale always prelude a warlike expedition.

Fowls' bones are the Red Karen's dictionary, vade-mecum, and Where-Is-It book. He consults them to know where he should pitch his village or his house; whether he should start on a journey, in what direction, on what day, and at what hour; whether he should marry a certain girl and, if so, on what day; where he should make his clearing; when he should clear, sow, and reap it: in fact he does nothing without authority from fowls bones. When a Chief dies fowls' bones are consulted to decide upon his successor. This was done, since the British occupation, on the death of Hkun Bya, the Chief of Kyèbogyi. It was generally believed that Hkun Po, the nephew of the deceased, would succeed, but the bones declared against him and in favour of his younger brother, Hkun U, who was formally elected. In these elections the succession is always in the male line. Sons have the first right to try the fates; if they fail, then the brothers of the deceased Chief, and after them the nephews.

Every event of importance is celebrated by a great consumption of fowls, pigs, and much drinking of liquor. An elaborate feast of the kind celebrates the appearance of the Red Karen in the world. All relations and friends of the family are invited and usually contribute presents of clothes and money. The ceremony does not seem to go beyond mere gross consumption of meat and drink. As soon, however, as the mother is able to get up and move about, generally three or four days after her confinement, she takes the child in her arms, descends from the house, and taking a hoe in her hand hoes up a little ground, the idea being to show the child that it will have to work for its living. This ceremony is carried out whether the baby is a boy or a girl. If it is omitted, the child is likely to grow up lazy. A less estimable custom is that of giving the infant liquor from its very earliest years. If the mother is unable to suckle her child immediately she takes a mouthful of liquor and feeds it with this from her own lips. Both the fact and the survival of the infant seem incredible, but they are vouched for by various officers.

The boring of the child's ears takes place very early, sometimes no more than a month after birth, but it is not made an occasion of feasting. There are certain professional ear-borers in every village and the ordinary fee is a brass coat-button. After the boring a small piece of string is passed through to keep the flesh from closing up.

When they have reached the age of five or six, children are commonly betrothed. When the betrothal is arranged a feast is given by the parents of the boy, followed the next day by a similar ceremony at the house of the parents of the girl. Presents are usually given by the parents of the future bridegroom and as a general thing consist of a silver bracelet, a lump of silver, two ordinary Karen-ni blankets and two Ngwedaung blankets. These are the only presents given at the betrothal, but later, when the marriage is consummated, and always if there are children, presents are exchanged between the parents of the happy pair. The betrothed may refuse to carry out the contract when they reach years of discretion, and the ordinary penalty is twenty-five rupees. Should the girl, however, accentuate the slight of refusal by taking another man for her husband, the fine (paid, of course, by the accepted suitor) amounts to from one hundred to two hundred rupees.

Divorces are by no means infrequent and may take place by mutual consent, or for good cause shown by either party. Three years of cohabitation without issue is a frequent and successful plea. Either husband or wife may force a separation on this ground, but the plaintiff loses all right to a share in property mutually acquired after marriage. Either party may be freed from marriage bonds, without cause shown, on payment of twenty-five rupees, but in this case abandons all claim to property, or right to custody of the children, if there be any. If the husband dies before there are any children by the marriage, the widow loses all right to the deceased's property and it passes to the family of the husband.

Adultery is a good cause for dissolution of marriage and the co-respondent is fined one hundred and twenty rupees, which goes to the injured party. A guilty woman renders herself liable to have her ears cut off by the wife whom she has wronged, and it is said that Karen-ni wives usually take advantage of their right and exact their revenge. Earless women are not, however, commonly seen, which may be a testimony either to Karen-ni female chastity, or tenderness of heart.

There is no rule as to which house the young couple shall go to live at. If the husband goes to his wife's house, he is escorted thither by his friends with great beating of drums and gongs and the wife's parents give a great feast, at which it is a point of honour that a song from the one family is to be responded to by one from the other.

The sojourner near a Karen-ni village is sure to hear frequently the firing of guns at all hours of the day or night. This denotes the occurrence of a death. When it is certain that a person is dying,

two or three shots are fired, followed by many more when death actually takes place. At the burial there is a final salute fired by all the relatives and most of the neighbouring villagers. A funeral wake is always held, and friends gather from far and near. Those from other villages come with much beating of drums and gongs and are expected to bring rice and liquor with them. Gongs are beaten at the house of the deceased without intermission. The object is no doubt to scare away malignant spirits from the passing soul. If the deceased was a man of note in his village, there is always dancing in front of the house, carried on for several days occasionally. The coffins used are very large. They are usually made of the hollowed out trunk of a tree and are ordinarily from twelve to fifteen feet long. In addition to the body there are placed in the coffin, clothes, arms, and farm tools. Gold and silver may either be placed in the coffin or buried in the grave alongside it. On the filled-in grave are placed articles used in life by the deceased—baskets and jars in the case of women; a plough over a cultivator; bullock baskets over a caravan trader. A small structure on four posts is built over the grave, something like a miniature shed, and in this are placed paddy, millet, Indian-corn, or other cereals. If the death occurs during the sowing season, this is not done until the time of harvest comes round. If the deceased was an owner of land, a curious custom exists of planting in the soil a post, on the top of which is placed a basket full of food, over which is an imitation bow and arrow, the object of which is to keep away birds and wild animals generally from the food.

When a Red Karen dies far away from his home the body cannot be buried until the guardian spirit of the deceased arrives and agrees to the interment. The usual feast is held and in the centre of the room hangs a bullock-bell suspended from the roof. Dancing and beating of gongs goes on until the spirit announces his arrival and approval by tinkling the bullock-bell. If the spirit delays his coming, a number of guns are fired to hasten and guide him on his way. He never fails to arrive sooner or later. At the man's house the whole ceremony of funeral is gone through. A form made of straw and cloth is placed in the coffin to represent the body of the deceased and the usual formalities are gone through as if this were the actual corpse. In all cases where it is possible, however, the dead Red Karen is brought to be buried from his own house.

A wealthy Red Karen prepares his coffin long beforehand. In some cases they are handsomely decorated inside with mirrors and pieces of coloured glass. Pyèpanö, a rich timber trader of Loikaw, has his coffin ready, and it has been so handsomely decorated by

PLATE XIV.



Photo.-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

KARENNI WOMEN.

letthama Ni (who afterwards became an *amat* of the State) of Sawlôn as to be a subject of pride to the entire neighbourhood.

The Karen-ni as a rule do not tattoo anything on their bodies with the exception of a representation of the rising sun in red on the small of their backs. Formerly every Red Karen man was thus tattooed, but the custom is falling into disuse and many are now seen without the distinctive mark.

The Red Karens have no system of chronology; a year with them does not mean $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, but merely a round of the seasons. Months are roughly regulated by the moon (*le* being the Karen-ni word for a month and the moon), but there is no system of counting the days of the quarters. The names of the months are—

Name of the month.	Meaning.	About.
1. Le Sha	Month of the budding of the mango tree.	January.
2. Le Shi	Doubtful	February.
3. Le Lya	do	March.
4. Le Ru	Warm month	April.
5. Le Topre	Month of hoeing *taungya* ...	May.
6. Le Vi Ben Klui ...	Month of first sowing of paddy	June.
7 Le Saw Ben ...	Month of transplantation ...	July.
8. Le E Du	Month of public holidays ...	August.
9. Le Pri Pwai Sada-gyut	Month of the Burmese *Thadingyut* feast.	September.
10. Le Ben Bya ...	Month of paddy ripening ...	October.
11. Le She Pu	Month of fowls clucking ...	November.
12. Le Tya Len Ku ...	Month of funeral rites ...	December.

The two principal national feasts of the Red Karens are the *Kuto-bo*, corresponding (in meaning) to the Burmese *Tagondaing* feast, and the *E Dü*. The former is held in April and the chief ceremony is the erection of a post in a place, set apart for the purpose, in or near each village. A new post is set up every year; the old ones are left standing, but are not renewed if they fall or decay. The chicken bones are first consulted as to which tree will be the most suitable to fell for the post, which day will be most propitious, and the like details. A post 20 or 30 feet long is rough hewn from the tree and is ornamented with a rudely carved capital. On the propitious day all the villagers assemble and drag the pillar to the chosen spot. After it is placed in position, a rude sort of May-pole dance is executed to the accompaniment of drums and gongs. There is much eating of pig and very much more drinking of liquor, both of which are supplied by the general body of the villagers for the common enjoyment.

The E Dü festival is celebrated in the month of August. E means to call, hence to assemble friends and relations; *Dü*, to practice, *i.e.*, perform a duty, or ceremony. It seems to be a sort of Cerealia. When the paddy sowing is finished by the village, on a day fixed by the chicken bones, the people assemble and march with the usual accompaniment of gongs and drums a short distance outside the village, where they set up a post about four feet in height and fix on it a rude figure of some animal, usually a horse or an elephant, fashioned out of a block of wood. Offerings of rice arrack, fruits, and flowers are placed on the ground near it and the day ends in the usual way with feasting and drinking. The animal is supposed to carry off whatever evil spirits there may be to a safe distance in the Shan country, or the Siamese provinces.

These festivals are public and general. The conclusion of harvest is the occasion for paying tribute to the memory of friends and relations who have died during the year—a sort of feast of All Souls. Guns are fired off at night to frighten away evil spirits and next day quantities of arrack are brewed, a bullock or a pig is killed, and small pieces of the flesh are stuck on skewers made of bamboo and are roasted. A procession is formed by the relatives of each departed one and to the clashing of the well-tuned cymbals and the booming of deep-mouthed gongs and drums they make a round of visits to the houses of all friends or relations in neighbouring villages, where the inmates each receive a piece of roasted meat and a draught of arrack. In the evening there is unlimited firing of guns.

About the harvest time also it is customary to take a piece of smouldering fuel from the house fire, place it in a bamboo, and carry it ceremonially outside the village fence. There it is formally thrown away. The Karen-ni seem unable or unwilling to explain the significance of this. It is said to have been customary from the earliest times of the race, and its effect is to keep off fever and sickness from the house whose inmates have performed it. Probably it dates from the time of their migration and like the *signa ex extis* and *signa ex tripudiis* has been perverted from its original significance. It may be a memory of ancestor worship or simply a symbol of the necessity of burning the jungle for the hill crops.

Temples or shrines are erected to the spirits in all villages of any size, usually under the shade of a large single tree, or of a dense clump of trees. They are placed under the charge of a selected old man of the village, who is allowed certain privileges and, as a rule, conducts the ceremony of consulting the chicken bones. Except at Sawlôn, these spirit-shrines are merely small bamboo and thatch sheds of insignificant appearance. In them are deposited

the offerings to the spirits in the shape of rice, tobacco, fruit, and the like.

The spirit-house at the Yangtalai village of Sawlôn, known as the *Auk Haw*, is a massive timber building, profusely gilt and decorated in Shan fashion. Sawlapaw used it chiefly as a treasure house, and none but he himself and his relations of the blood were allowed to enter. The spirits no doubt were expected to guard the treasure, as were the alligators of the fabled tank which was the treasury of the kings of Annam.

The Brè or Lakü.

This tribe of Karens is called Brè (pronounced like Bre (k), with the *k* silent) or Manumanaw by the Burmese, Pra-manö by the Red Karens, and Lakü by themselves. The following account of them and their country is given by Mr. W. H. L. Cabell :—

" The country of the Brès covers an area of approximately 600 square miles. It is difficult to define exactly the area inhabited by the Brès, merging as they do into Karen races on the one side and Shans and Shan-Burmese on the other. Their villages are included in the tracts under the administration of—

(i) the Karen Chieftain of Kyèbogyi ;

(ii) the Karen Chieftain of Bawlakè ;

(iii) The Shan Chieftain of Möng Pai.

" No definite boundaries can be laid down, and it will be sufficient to say that their home is the extremely rugged and mountainous region lying to the west of the Karen States of Bawlakè, Kyèbogyi, and Möng Pai, bounded on the north by the State of Lwèlôn and the Myelat of the Shan States ; on the west by the Lower Burma district of Toungoo ; and on the south by the Karen State of Naungpalè, which belongs to Karenni Proper.

" The Brè region, beginning from the tail end of the Myelat of the Shan plateau, is a mere jumble of hills very high and steep, with extremely narrow valleys in between. The hills, however, are not rocky and lend themselves to *ya* cultivation, which is very largely practised. The mountains do not run to any great height ; probably the highest peaks do not exceed 6,000 feet, while the altitude of the valleys may vary from 2,500 to 3,000 feet. The country is extremely well watered ; mountain streams are found at short intervals, and these all drain into the Namtu or Tu *chaung*, a large river which flows through and joins the Pun stream in the south.

" There is no mineral product of value at present known. A considerable amount of teak is worked in the Tu *chaung* by Karennis, who sell the timber to merchants from Moulmein and Rangoon, but it is impossible to estimate the actual outturn, and it is nearly certain that any teak in these forests will soon be exhausted owing to the reckless way in which trees of every size are girdled and felled.

" The history of the Brès is absolutely unknown. They are locally divided into the Manö, the Southern, and Northern Brè—

"(i) *Manö.*—The Manö inhabit the eastern portion of the Brè country to the south of the Tu *chaung*. Those in the south are very peaceable, but those who inhabit the strip between the main Brè country and Kyèbogyi Proper are much like purer Lakü. They attack one another, murder, and seize captives, but have always been more easily controlled than the main body of the tribes.

"These people are undoubtedly the result of inter-marriage between Brès and Karennis. Their language has resemblances to both Karenni and Brè. The wilder men have exactly the same type of feature as the Brè and wear a pair of short red and white striped trousers tied at the waist with a bit of string, a blanket for a coat, and their long black hair in part tied into a knot just over the right temple and the rest left unkempt and hanging down the back and over the face. Their legs are ornamented with cotton stained black and coiled below the knee with brass rings to keep the many coils separate. Many of them also wear brass necklaces.

"The dress of the women is usually the same as that of the Karenni women, only instead of black cotton coils round the legs they wear white; but the dress of those in the southern villages is different. There they wear a short red Burmese *lungyi* and a coat of the same pattern as is worn by Burmans. This is probably due to inter-marriage with the Yangtalai of the Bawlakè State, who affect this costume.

"(ii) *Southern Brès.*—The Southern Brè is physically a very poor creature. He is extremely ugly, undersized, and badly developed, no doubt because he is always in a state of semi-starvation. The Southerners have not the energy of their northern brothers and do not cultivate more than enough to support them for seven months of the year. Consequently during the rains, when they really require nourishing food to keep them in health, and when fevers are prevalent in the valleys of the lower portion of the Tu and its tributaries, they have to live on a small quantity of millet or maize largely supplemented with roots.

"The Southern Brès are so apathetic and enervated by years of want that they are timid and unwarlike, and are the constant prey of the northern villages.

"The language is slightly different from that spoken by the Northern Brès and, although the dress of the men is the same, the dress of the women is different. These mostly wear a long blue *thindaing* or gaberdine with a blue petticoat, striped horizontally with pale red. No brass ornaments are worn and no head-dress, but enormous ear-plugs are fixed in the lobes of the ear, which is much distorted.

"(iii) *Northern Brè.*—The Northern Brès inhabit the villages north of Sawpaleko and are well-made muscular men. They are not quite so ugly as those in the south, though the type is not high. They are very active and make capital coolies.

"They cultivate a very large area of land and reap sufficient paddy to feed them all the year round on rice eked out with maize. Although they are addicted to raiding, murder, and kidnapping, and have constant village feuds, the Brès are very cowardly and timid. They fly before strangers into the jungle, and sometimes a whole village remains there for days before they muster up courage enough to return. A raid is never made openly, no

matter how strong the attacking party is and how weak the defenders. They sneak up to the village watering place and seize whatever single unfortunate comes there to draw water. Another method is to lie in hiding near the *ya*, the village fields, and pounce upon their victims, whom they overpower by numbers. If anyone is killed it is not in a stand-up fight, but by a shot from ambush. The captives taken are always well fed, to judge from the plump condition of persons found chained up in the stocks.

" Both men and women are placed in these stocks and the men are loaded with chains as an additional precaution. Children are allowed to run free in the village and are frequently sold as slaves to other villages at prices ranging from forty to a hundred rupees. The medium of payment is generally the large Karenni gong known as *pasi*.

" No indignities of any kind are ever offered to women when in custody.

" The dress of the men is similar to that worn by the Manö and Southern Brè, but that of the women is more like that of the Padaungs. They wear a white and pink striped *thindaing* with a narrow pink border and under this a short deep blue and red petticoat. Brass tubing is coiled round the leg from the ankle to the knee and from above the knee to half-way up the thigh. Large brass hoops are worn round the neck and ear-plugs in the ears. There is no head dress, the hair, which is very unkempt, being tied in a knot at the back of the head.

" The weapons of the Lakü are Tower, Enfield, and cheek guns (the last falling rapidly into disuse), spears, *dhas*, cross-bows, and arrows, always poisoned, while blow-pipes with poisoned arrows are used by the children to shoot small birds.

" Gunpowder is made by the villagers themselves, all the necessary ingredients being made in Karenni, where they also procure their caps, which seem to be made or imported by a Chinese firm.

" A generation or two back these people carried shields, made of plank covered with buffalo hide and studded with brass nails. There are none to be obtained now.

" All these three Karen septs contract marriage at a very early age ; men at fifteen, women at about thirteen years of age ; and this, Mr. Cabell thinks, accounts for a peculiarity specially noticeable. There are no young men or young women of the tom-boy or hobble-de-hoy stage of youth to be seen in the villages ; nothing but children and fully grown men and women. Another point worthy of note is that the children of both sexes up to the age of eleven or so are in many cases rather pretty, with clear and live complexions and large eyes, but no sooner do they marry than they become wrinkled and positively repulsive. This sad result of youthful marriages is certainly singular, but it probably means that what is enough for one is not enough for two.

" It is an easy matter to single out the married from the unmarried man. The bachelor wears stone necklaces which have been handed down from father to son for generations, some of them being worth as much as fifty rupees, and he ornaments his neck, ears, and the cotton round the calf of his leg with large rings of brass. The Northern Brè in addition to all this wears a band round his head studded with mother-of-pearl shirt buttons, or small red and green beads as a setting to the wings of green beetles. But when the

man takes unto himself a wife, all this finery becomes her property, and he is reduced to a blanket, a pair of trousers, and a little unornamented black cotton round his leg. He also retains the little comb, which is stuck coquettishly in his very meagre top-knot.

"The Brè of both sexes stain their teeth black, using for the purpose the leaf of a tree, called by them the *thüpu*, mixed with lime-juice. This staining of the teeth is made a ceremonial performance. When it has been decided that it is time for a certain number of girls and boys of the age of ten or thereabouts to stain their teeth, the headman and elders of the village collect them together and the children are sent into the most quiet and secluded spot in the jungle near the village. They are not allowed to talk while they are going there and, when they have arrived at the place most suited to their purpose, the children each go their own way, sit down, close their eyes, cover them with their hands, and set to work to chew the leaves of the *thüpu*, mixed with limes. They remain like this the whole night and return to their village at daybreak, where they are received by the elders with the beating of gongs and the strains of the *nabo*, a peculiar kind of trumpet made of a buffalo horn. The elders then examine them one by one to see if the result is satisfactory.

"The Brès say that the reason the children have to go to the jungle is that, if they chewed the leaves in the village, their attention would be distracted by what was going on and they would open their eyes and their teeth would become the colour of whatever their eyes rested upon.

"The marriage customs of these people do not call for much remark. Presents are made over to the parents of the would-be bride, and on the marriage day large numbers of fowls, pigs, and bowls of *kaung* are consumed.

"When the man has decided on the woman he considers most suited to him he always consults the chicken bones to find out whether he will be happy with her and whether she will be prolific and faithful; should the bones answer in the negative, he has to choose some one else.

"When a child is born the father has to attend to the mother and acts as midwife. No one is allowed to enter the house and he is not allowed to talk to any of the villagers for a period of seven days.

"Children are bathed regularly every morning and evening in warm water for about one year after birth, and that they consider sufficient in the way of cleanliness to last them for a lifetime. Children take to liquor before they are weaned.

"The manner of disposal of the navel string is similar to that customary among the White Karens and closely allied to that among the Red Karens.

"The navel is placed in a small bamboo *kyèdauk* tightly sealed up and fixed by means of four pegs on to any tree in the vicinity of the village.

"Red Karens always select one tree, which is used by the whole village.

"The right of naming a child rests primarily with the mother. She consults the chicken bones as to whether in the case of a son it would be lucky to name him after her grandfather, or after her grandmother if the child is a girl. If the bones are unfavourable, then the father has the chance of perpetuating the names of his ancestor. This seems to show that among them the family was matriarchal and that kinship was reckoned through women.

"The only peculiarity in the manner of disposing of the dead is that, if a woman dies in child-birth, no married man is allowed to assist in the making of the coffin; this work has to be done by the unmarried and widowers.

"No dead body must be carried through another village, or underneath a house. The coffin is taken out of the house on the side nearest to the cemetery, even if this entails making a passage through the walls of the house.

"The coffin is in the shape of a boat, hollowed out of a single piece of wood with a narrow slit in what would be the keel. In the centre of this slit it is just possible to force the head; this having passed through the body is worked in. The aperture is then closed up and the coffin, which has four legs forming a part of the whole, is placed in the grave, the four legs keeping it in position.

"Each village keeps a supply of coffins, and this is necessary as they take some time in the making.

"Every family in the Brè villages owns a piece or pieces of land with well-defined boundaries exactly in the same way as each village has its own boundaries. No one is allowed to work this land without the permission of the owner, and this is never accorded as there is only sufficient land for the owner to work himself each year. Such land is hereditary and handed down from father to son. This is peculiar, for it is not the custom in other parts of the Shan States in respect of *ya* land.

"Another peculiarity is that the Manö and Southern Brè do not reap their paddy with a sickle. They take several stalks of paddy in their hands, pull off the heads of corn, and throw them into a basket. By this process a great deal of grain is saved.

"The ordinary crop is paddy grown in the *taungya* style of cultivation. The southern villages, as has been noted, never have enough rice to last them the whole year round and grow a little maize and millet as well. Each family grows sufficient for its own requirements and there is no staple price for these different food-grains.

"Buffalo, pig, goat flesh, and fowls are eaten on any occasion on which it may be necessary to propitiate a spirit and at marriages and funerals. The Northern Brès of Kabè and Thabawa always drink the blood of any animal they kill, imagining it gives them courage and strength.

"Chillies are also grown by the Northern Brès in sufficient quantities to be exported; those used in Western Karenni are almost all from the Brè country.

The Padaungs or Kèkawngdu.

"The country of the Padaungs covers a lesser area than that of the Brès and may be put down at something like one hundred and fifty square miles. It lies near that of the Brès and is subject to the same administration, while the boundaries are similar. It is impossible at present to define the latter with any degree of precision. The country is far more open and regular than the Brè country, the ranges do not rise so high, and the valleys are more open and wider. The country as a whole is not well watered. The main watershed is that of the Kaukleun or Paunglaungngè, a tributary of the Paunglaunggyi, or Sittang, as it is called in its lower course in Burma. Many

of the smaller streams disappear altogether into the rocky sides of the hills. The altitude of the country generally is about the same as that of the Brè country, but the summits of the higher hills are slightly lower. The highest run to about five thousand feet. The only considerable stream is the Paunglaungngè.

"The roads traversing the Padaung country are much better than those of the Brès. They are well aligned, fairly broad, and much used. The roads running along the hills are easier and more pleasant to travel over than those in the plains, which are much encroached on by the paddy cultivation.

"The dense forest growth met with in the Brè country entirely disappears here. What jungle growth there is is scrub. For the hills a maximum shade temperature of perhaps 85° Fahrenheit during the months of March and April may be given; for the rains an average of 62° to 75° or a little higher, while in the cold weather slight hoar-frosts are frequently experienced. The range for the valleys may safely be estimated at some 10° Fahrenheit higher.

"The people met with in the Padaung country fall into two classes:—

"(1) Padaungs proper.

"(2) Kèku Padaungs, the result of marriage between Kèku Karens and Padaungs proper. The Kèku Karens are a sect of Karens living in the Alèchaung-Bawgata and Padaung-Koywa States, speaking a dialect of Karen. They are generally a peaceable and industrious race.

"The Padaungs proper, who call themselves Kèkawngdu, or members of the larger family of the tribe, are met with in the Kepo or Yinyaw group of villages; they have no knowledge of their previous home or history. They state in a vague sort of way that they migrated from the south, and their old men say that they came last from Toungoo. This is very natural as their horizon does not extend beyond that place, whlch they imagine to be the centre of the world. Their language is so similar to Taungthu that it appears probable that they belong to that family and were refugees from the Taungthu kingdom of Thatôn when that country was overthrown and their king, Manuha, taken prisoner by the King of Pagan.

"The Padaung is a most zealous agriculturist. Every available nook of the valleys is terraced for irrigation; often with great labour, streams are diverted and their volume increased by catching the water from adjacent valleys and running it across saddles in a most ingenious way. In addition to the irrigated land many dry crops are grown, such as maize, millet, cotton, &c., and the number of cattle and pigs attests to the general prosperity. The Padaung is a trader too; many bullocks are kept solely for pack purposes and salt and betel are largely imported from Toungoo in exchange for rice and cotton. Kauni, Pèyakôn, and Möng Pai, the chief towns of the Möng Pai State, have large five-day markets, which attract numbers of Padaung traders as well as purchasers. The dress of the men is the same as that of the Western Shans—loose trousers and short coats, which may be of any colour, but are generally blue or white. The villagers situated at a distance from trade routes and trade centres like Möng Pai and Kauni have retained the more primitive short breeches of the Brè with the cane garters. As an ornament they wear anklets made of *kaleit* seeds and shirt buttons, and every man carries a powder and shot case neatly made of wicker, prettily ornamented with brass bosses and raised scroll work done with *thitsi*, strapped on to his belt.

"Distinctive peculiarities of dress are reserved for the women. They wear a neck band of brass rod, which varies from five to twenty-five coils according to the age of the woman. The rod is about one-third of an inch in diameter and the object is to lengthen the neck as much as possible, this being considered a mark of beauty. The appearance of a Padaung woman, with her small head, long brass bound neck sloping shoulders, and the sack-like folds of her smock-frock, inevitably suggests a champagne bottle. Mr. Cabell says that some of the women who have been converted to Christianity have been induced to lay aside the brass-coil necklace and in this state suggest nothing so much as a cockerel learning to crow. The brass used for these coil necklaces is obtained from the Shan States. The girl begins to wear them as early as possible, and fresh coils are added as she grows.

"The head-dress of the Padaung women is much the same as that of the Karen-ni, simply a coloured scarf twisted into the hair, and the coat is a long woven blouse with a V neck and short arms slipped over the head and ornamented by a coloured border. The skirt is a short striped blue and red garment reaching to the knees.

"Before a Padaung commences courtship he goes to the parents of the girl and asks permission to visit their house and pay attentions to their daughter with a view to marriage. Armed with their permission he continues his visits for a period of from three months to two years until he has made up his mind. He then chooses a friend with plausible and affable manners to get the consent first of the parents, then of the girl, and then to arrange the presents to be given to the bride's parents. The presents are buffaloes, bullocks, or gongs, and return presents are usually given to the parents of the bridegroom.

"The marriage ceremony is nothing more than an orgie, at which every one eats pork and fowls and drinks on a Homeric scale.

"When this marriage rite is over the girl remains in the house of her parents till her husband comes to take her away. Even then she only remains a day or two, returning again to her parents' house, and this visiting and returning continues for six months before the couple finally settle down to live together. The men marry at the age of fifteen or sixteen years and the women even earlier.

"The Padaung woman is very prolific, families of eight or ten being very common.

"Polygamy is permissible, but is seldom indulged in. Where there is more than one wife the women sometimes live in the same, sometimes in different, houses.

"Exogamy is the rule among these tribes ; they are allowed to marry any woman they please and are not tied down to blood relations as is customary among other Karen tribes.

"Mr. Cabell adds that man and wife sleep regularly with the fireplace between them, presumably because the lady's brass collar requires a special pillow. The fireplace is always in the centre of a Padaung house.

"Divorce is not permissible after marriage has been consummated. Cases of wife-beating or abuse are severely dealt with by a deputation of the village elders, who reproach the culprit formally before the whole village.

"If there have been no children, and the couple are not definitely living together, a Padaung can obtain a divorce by paying the girl's parents the value of the presents already given them as a marriage dowry. In the same way a girl can obtain a divorce by paying twice the value of the presents already given. In these cases the help of the elders of the villages is not asked for, the divorce being arranged by the relations of the parties.

"When a child is born, the woman is not attended by any midwife but by her husband. After the birth of the child, it is bathed with cold water and then with warm, and this is continued for one month and fifteen days regularly. The husband and wife are not allowed to eat boiled rice, the former for one month and the latter for a month and a half.

"They have to live on rice put in a bamboo and roasted. The husband is allowed to leave the house, but is not allowed to enter any other house in the village during this period. The woman is not even allowed to leave the house. She lies before the fire for ten days after confinement as is customary in Burma. A special pot of liquor is brewed for the husband and wife during the period when they are not allowed to mix with the other villagers. Children drink liquor before they are weaned.

"The manner of divination by chicken bones is as follows,—The thigh or wing bones of a cock or hen are taken and scraped till holes in the bone appear. When the number of holes is even on one bone this bone is used. Pieces of bamboo are taken and placed in the holes. If these slant inwards, the omen is unlucky; if they slant outwards, the omen is a lucky one.

"All these Karen tribes are spirit-worshippers and the names of the spirits seem to be the same for all. The chief are Ka, Lu, Kang, Mawki, Tarana, Takadè, Tadünheinkawng, Tanènawku, and Tawi. The first three are considered the most powerful; but it is desirable before propitiating them to consult the chicken bones in order to find out which *nat* ought to be addressed.

"Lu is an extremely wicked spirit and possesses great powers for evil. It is he who brings sickness into a family and causes death, and he has a direct object in this, for his favourite food is dead bodies.

"Consequently the idea is, when a man falls ill, that it is because there is nothing for Lu to eat in the cemetery, and he is therefore stalking food for himself among living people.

"They therefore go to the cemetery and make offerings of pigs, fowls, rice, and liquor, hoping that Lu will thus appease his hunger and spare the sick man. Offerings are made in the house as well as at the cemetery.

"Ka is the second spirit in importance and reigns over forests, streams, and the house, but he is also supposed to be able to cause sickness. It is only after a reference to the chicken bones that it is determined whether the offering is to be made to Lu, Ka, or Mawki. Ka is supposed to have the village generally, and Mawki particular houses to live in, so any disaster to the village or to houses is set down to the action of these two spirits. The offerings to them are the same as those made to Lu.

"Ka is feasted by the whole village once a year at the beginning of the rains and prayers are offered up by the spirit medium or guardian of the

nat, asking Ka to give them a good harvest, to protect them from disease and sickness, and generally to favour his worshippers in all their pursuits and especially in hunting. No one is allowed to touch the offerings, and they rot where they are laid or are carried away by animals.

"The aid of Mawki is only invoked when the house is to be re-built or repaired, and then the offerings are the same as in the case of Ka.

"There is another *nat* called the smaller Ka, for whose entertainment three bamboo *kyedauks* full of liquor are placed in the house. These are re-filled once a year. This lesser Ka and Mawki have authority over all household matters.

"Dewi or Tawi is a minor *nat* and causes sicknesses, but only of a comparatively slight character, such as headaches, sores on the legs and arms, and such like lesser ills.

"Tadünheinkawng and Tanènawku are much of the same importance as Dewi, but Ka and these two spirits must be fed only on the flesh of male animals.

"In all offerings made to *nats*, only the worthless parts are placed on the spirit shrine; the best pieces are eaten by the villagers themselves.

"There are two Lu; the elder is the less formidable and is only sacrificed to once in five or six years, or whenever sickness is very rife.

"When the time for burning the hill clearings arrives the three *nats*, Lu the younger, Ka the younger, and Tanènawku, are propitiated and the sacrifice is one small cock. The *nats* are then entreated to grant a good harvest and to enable it all to be garnered in. The *ya* is then set fire to.

"When the crop is ready for reaping, a small bamboo is filled with liquor; it is then closed up and placed in a receptacle made expressly for it and fixed in the ground near the *ya*; nothing is offered but this liquor, and, when the bamboo stoup is set up, the reaping of the field is commenced.

"The villagers believe that, if this is not done, they will suffer from diarrhœa and headaches even if no harm should come to the crops.

"The same thing is done at the reaping of irrigated fields."

The Zayeins or Sawng-tüng Karens.

Mr. F. H. Giles furnishes the following information about the Sawng-tüng Karens, also known as the Gaung-to or Zayein, or Zaleins. The name Gaung-to is given because the men shave the whole of the head except a small patch over the ear. They claim to have originally come from Lôn-tung in the Amherst district of Lower Burma and now seem to be found only in twenty-six villages in the Loi-lông and Möng Pai states, chiefly in the former.

When they reach the age of puberty all boys are made to live in a building called a *haw*, which stands just outside the village, and from the time of their entering this *haw* till their marriage they may not enter the houses of their parents, nor talk to any of the young women of the village.

The marriage customs of the race are very singular and are so strictly adhered to that it seems certain that the race must in process of time become extinct. There are many grey-haired bachelors in the *haws* and many aged spinsters in the villages, whom Sawng-tüng custom has prevented from marrying. Marriages are only permitted between near relations, such as cousins, and then only when the union is approved by the elders. The parents of the young man make their selection from among the eligible girls, consult the village elders, and then send the young woman three brass leg rings in the name of their son. The girl signifies consent or rejection by wearing or sending back the rings. If she consents, the parents of both families prepare a great feast; the *Hmaw-saya* offers up some rice to propitiate the *nats*, and eating and drinking are carried on for three successive nights. Unmarried men and women meet only on these occasions, but none but relations of the bride and bridegroom are admitted. The marriage feasts seem to be particularly disgraceful orgies and constitute the whole marriage ceremony. They seem as scandalous as the *Agapae* which the Council of Carthage denounced as being no better than the Parentalia of the heathen.

This limitation of marriage to near relations only, results frequently in unions where husband and wife are very unequal in age—the husband fifteen and the wife seventy, or the reverse. Widows and widowers may re-marry if the village elders approve. If a Sawng-tüng woman eloped with a Shan, Taungthu, or Burman, the former custom was to kill the offending pair. A large hole was dug in the ground. Across this a log was placed to which two ropes were fastened. The ends of these were noosed round the necks of the man and woman and they were made to jump into the pit and so hanged themselves. Now the custom is to excommunicate the woman; cases of the kind are said to be very rare.

When young man and maid run off together without obtaining the permission of any one, they are forbidden ever to enter their native village, or any Sawng-tüng village, again. The two villages of Kara in the Nan-kwo circle are said to be entirely inhabited by such eloping couples.

A childless widow, on the death of her husband, is permitted to return to the house of her parents. If she has children, she remains in her husband's house, or goes to live with his parents.

Polygamy is not permitted. Restrictions on marriage are multiplied by the rule that only certain villages may intermarry with certain villages. Villagers of Ban-pa, Nan-kwo, Sawng-kè, Lôn-kyè may intermarry. Loi-lông, Kathè (Möng Pai), and Loi-pwi only can intermarry.

Salôn, Baw-han, Ka-la, Hkun-hawt, Mè-sün (Möng Pai), and Loi-sang (Möng Pai) are similarly grouped.

The villagers of Pa-hlaing cannot go farther for wives than the village of Kawn-sawng.

Karathi, Me-ye, Wa-tan, and Din-klawng, the last three in Möng Pai, have to seek alliances in no other villages.

La-mung, Ta-plaw, Daung-lang, and Lang-ye form the last group.

If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, she is forced by the elders to disclose the name of her seducer. If he admits the truth of the accusation, the pair are condemned to commit suicide in the manner described above, by jumping into a pit with ropes round their necks. No case of the kind has occurred within the memory of the present generation.

Divorce is not permissible, and it is claimed that no Sawng-tüng Karens have ever been known to want to be divorced.

There are some suggestions of the *couvade*. When the wife approaches her confinement the husband may not leave the village and has to perform all the duties of the household for thirty days from the birth of the child. The woman is not allowed to eat any food except what has been prepared by her husband. There are no midwives. Roasting to "dry up the humours" is practised after childbirth much as it is amongst the Burmese.

The naming of the child takes place as soon as the mother is well enough to be present. The ceremony is simple. The infant is made to drink a cup of rice-beer and, if a boy, receives the name of the grandfather; if a girl, that of the grandmother. Then it is carried in procession to the houses of its parents' relatives and receives from them presents—necklaces and the like—according to their means. Throughout the day after the birth of a child, no villager is allowed to go outside the village. The reason for this custom seems to have been forgotten.

Formerly twins, triplets, or a greater number of children at one birth were put to death. The idea was that only animals gave birth to more than one at a time. Mr. Giles quaintly remarks that these Karens are now more enlightened. The custom besides being repellent in fact and idea was very singular, for among most of these hill races children are a valuable property.

When a Sawng-tüng, male or female, dies, all the relatives assemble for a feast in the presence of the corpse. When this is over the dead body is put in a coffin and a live cock is tied to the big toe. If the deceased was a man, his bow, arrows, spear, and *dha* and other articles used by him in life are laid beside him; if a woman, what-

ever she may have habitually used is similarly placed in the coffin, and besides these a small quantity of rice, ground-nuts, sweetmeats, *kaungye*, anything that is not sour to eat, are added, and then the coffin is closed and buried. The near relatives, standing round the grave, join in a kind of chant, saying: "Go, go, and when you meet your grand-father, grand-mother, father, mother, give them these presents and tell them we are well."

Before the grave is filled in, the assembled relatives join hands (with the Lanüng villagers a man and a woman alternately) and dance round it.

All funerals take place in the early morning. In the evening there is a drinking orgie, in which both sexes join. The unmarried men from the *haw* and the unmarried girls from the village meet on these occasions. The Sawng-tüng are spirit worshippers. There is a *nat-sin* in every house and each should have in front of it sixty cups of *kaungye* regularly replenished.

In the month of *Kasôn* (May) when the paddy is planted, an offering of pig's flesh, fowls, eggs, and liquor is made to the spirit, who is believed to live on Loimaw hill away to the east. His help is invoked to provide a good harvest and to protect the household from evil.

Whenever a house is built, one pig, one fowl, and a large quantity of liquor are placed on the spirit shrine and the *nat* is called upon to secure the prosperity of the builder while he lives in the house.

When the paddy is reaped a similar offering of pork, fowl, liquor, and cooked rice is made by each household.

The same is done when the *hai*, the hill-clearings, are cut and a prayer is offered up for a bounteous harvest, and again when the *payit-pôn* are burnt before the rains come. Before these heaps are lighted *kaungye* is sprinkled over them. This is done to attract the *saba-leip-bya*, "the paddy-butterfly," the spirit of the tilth, without whose presence no crops would grow.

When the grain is stored in the granaries, leaves of the following plants are put in the *sabagyi* with the paddy: *sinhnamaung*, the *kaotoōm* tree, *ya sap hpeao* (the Burmese *kyaung mi ku*), and *yanat*.

Why these particular leaves should be added is not now known. The custom has been handed down from father to son for generations.

Finally when a child is born in the house a brass ring and a skein of white cotton is placed on the household altar.

The Sawng-tüng race have no idea of a Supreme Being. Their national spirit is theirs exclusively and is called by them Lei. He

lives on Loi Maw hill in the Shan States and Sawng-tüngs go there when they die. Families are reunited and everything goes on exactly as it did in life upon this earth.

The Nan-kwo and Loi-lông Karens never weave their own clothes. There is a tradition that generations ago some persons in these villages went mad through weaving. Ever since then looms have been forbidden in the village and clothes have to be bought elsewhere.

The Loi-lông Karen men tattoo two black squares beneath their chins. Of these they are inordinately proud and, according to Mr. Giles, "even when they have no looking-glasses, they may be seen peering into a smooth sheet of water and looking with admiration at the reflection."

A very singular superstition is that which forbids the presence of eggs in a village during the reaping of the fields. As soon as harvest operations begin all the eggs are sought out and thrown away outside the village. No reason is given for the practice.

The heads of all animals killed in the chase are piled up together in the young men's *haw*. It is considered unluckly to take them into the village. Once a year, when the reaping season comes, they are all thrown away.

In Ban-pa and some other Sawng-tüng villages several families live in one house, according to the Palaung custom, but in Loi-lông and other villages there is only one family to the house.

All visitors must sleep in the young men's *haw*.

Dress.

The dress of the men consists of a short pair of trousers about fifteen inches long, tied round the waist by a string, and a long coat reaching as far as the knees. This is tied at the neck, but otherwise open in front. Both trousers and coat are white.

The ornaments worn are brass rings round the arms up to the elbow, and solid brass rings round the neck. These are large enough to be slipped over the head. In addition are worn innumerable bead necklaces of red stones and glass usually with a boar's tusk attached.

The men shave the head.

The women wear a short white *thindaing* or smock. This is turned up with black round the neck, arms, sides, and down the back and front; round the bottom there is a pink border about three inches wide. This blouse or smock reaches half-way between the hips and the knees. Some of them are ornamented with shells. Below this is worn a skirt, reaching not quite to the knee. It is white with a

black, red and black border, the first line an inch wide, the second one and a half inches, and the third three inches.

This is all. As Mr. Giles says the women are extremely fair-skinned and decidedly pretty the scantiness of their attire is the less to be regretted.

The ornaments are, however, more elaborate. Necklaces of many strings of beads are worn, also brass torques, like those of the men, and many brass armlets. Cotton dyed black is worn round the leg below the knee; below this a strip of blue or red cloth is wrapped round the calf, and brass rings are coiled round from the ankle up to within four inches of the knee on both legs.

The hair is combed and as much as possible is forced into a silver receptacle, like a dome, about five inches high by two inches in diameter. The head-dress is worn round this, the dome appearing above it. The head-dress itself is very elaborate and striking. It consists of eight pieces of red and white cloth, about twenty inches long and six inches broad, pleated together so as to show a narrow red and white stripe. On this a piece of black cloth is sewn and upon this is worked with *kaleik* seeds a red and yellow lace or net pattern. This appears only in front. The whole is kept in place by a narrow band of silver worn like a tiara. The effect is very becoming.

Ear-plugs of all kinds are used, from common wood up to chased silver, according to the rank in life.

The customs of the Sinsin, Pa-hlaing, Kawn-sawng, Loi-lông, Salôn, Karathi, and Lamung Karens are the same as those of the Banpa Sawngtüng Karens, but there are differences in dress.

The Sinsin Karens.—These people are of the same race as the Sawng-tüng, but have left their villages and live intermingled with Shans and Taungthu. They still retain their own language, but have adopted in the main Taungthu customs. A woman may marry whomever she pleases and is not restricted as among the Sawngtüng.

The men's dress is the same as that of the Taungthu or Danu. The women wear a long *thindaing* which reaches down to the knee. This is white with a blue line round the neck, the sides, and down the front and back. The sleeves are bordered with narrow blue and red stripes. Cotton dyed black is coiled round the waist over this.

No petticoat is worn.

For ornaments a silver bracelet takes the place of the brass armlets of the Yawngtüng. The hair is worn like the Taungthu women and the head-dress is the same.

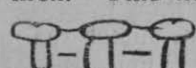
The Pa-hlaing Karens.—These people used to dress like the Banpa Sawng-tüng, but have now, as far as the men are concerned, taken to the Taungthu dress. Not very many years ago a man was not assessed until he wore clothes, and then it was the custom for the young men to go about mother-naked until at least the age of twenty, in order to excape taxation.

The women wear a short white *thindaing* with blue lines round the neck, arms, and down back and breast. The bottom is turned up with a border of pink two inches wide. This garment reaches to mid-thigh and beneath it a short petticoat is worn stopping short of the knee. It has a black, white and black border, and the whole is often stained with red earth, that is to say, designedly so dyed, before being worn.

The women wear no head-dress, but otherwise their ornaments are the same as those of the Banpa women.

The Kawn-sawng Karens.—The men have for some time given up the Loi-lōng Karen dress and adopted the Taungthu fashion.

The women dress like those of Banpa with the following differences,—They have no head-dress. The hair is combed out, tied up, and passed through a bamboo. Instead of the coils of brass on the arm, they wear plates of silver on the fore-arms, when they can afford silver. Their necklaces are of white beads only and they do not load themselves with brass torques.

The Loi-lông Karens.—The men have the same dress as those of Banpa, but add a head-dress, being otherwise close-shaven like the Banpa men. This head-dress is composed of shells strung on wire thus  in a circle and fixed on a cane. A rabbit's tail is then fastened to a projecting slip of cane and this is surmounted by a porcupine's tail.



This coronet is placed square on the head, but the tail is worn behind.

No brass rings are worn.

The women wear the same dress as those of Banpa, but the brass rings on arms and legs are not in one continuous coil; each ring

stands apart and the top ring on the legs has a small projecting ring attached to it. The effect is distinctly strange and suggests that the women are chained up at night, but this does not seem to be the case.

The hair is done up in a coil and passed through a bamboo *kyèdauk*, about six inches long, from the top of which it appears. In front the hair is parted and a fringe falls loosely over the forehead and ears.

No head-dress is worn.

The Sa-lôn Karens.—The men wear the same dress as those of Banpa.

The women dress like those of Loi-lông, with the exception that they wear no petticoats. To make up for the shortness of the smock, which only reaches mid-thigh, they wrap a blanket round the body.

The Baw-han Karens.—The men dress like those of Banpa; so do the women, except that they have no head-dress, part the hair in the middle, and tie it in a knot at the back of the head. Instead of brass coils on the arms they often wear silver plates.

The Karathi Karens.—The men wear a short jacket or *thindaing* reaching to the waist, white ground with blue facings and at the bottom a two-inch pink border, and short trousers like the Banpa men. Below the knee they wear a twist of black cotton cloth. In other respects they do not differ from those of Loi-lông, but they never have boars' tusks on their bead necklaces.

The women dress exactly like those of Sa-lôn.

The Lamung Karens.—The men wear a jacket reaching to the waist, white with a blue and pink border. Their trousers reach to the knee and have a white and red vertical stripe. They wear ear-plugs of black wood and small white seed (*kaleik*) necklaces, without boars' tusks. Cotton dyed black and four inches wide is worn twisted below the knee.

The women wear a smock, half red, half white, the red half being undermost, like the *thindaing* of the Mèpu Karens. Beneath this they wear a short skirt, with red and blue stripes. The hair is done up in a knot at the back of the head, pierced with two bone pins and further secured by a triangular comb. Silver ear-plugs are worn and brass coils round the neck like those of the Padaungs. They wear brass bracelets on the arm and also, not only below the knee, but well up the thigh. They stain their teeth black.

The Banyang or Banyôk race is extremely reduced in numbers. According to Mr. Giles, it is found only in the Banyin village of

Loi-lông, which contains no more than six houses, situated at the foot of Byingyè hill, and in Karathi, a village in the Pyinmana subdivision of Yamèthin district.

This paucity of numbers is, it would seem, due to their extraordinary marriage customs. Mr. Giles says there is no giving and taking in marriage as with all other races in the world. It is only when a high official, such as a *Taung-sa*, visits Banyin that there are any marriages at all. This personage orders a couple to be married and married they are, just as a man might be sworn of the peace. The *Taungsa* Gônwara makes a point of going there once a year so as to ensure at least one marriage in the twelvemonth. It appears that matters are further complicated by the fact that the contracting parties must be relations, as is the custom with the Sawng-tüng race. In a village of only six houses, however, where custom has decreed cross-marriages for many years, this requirement should be very easily fulfilled. The men are said to be very averse to marriage and "have frequently to be taken by force to the bride's house." This sounds very Gilbertian and one can only hope that the lady is not equally unamiable.

The official who makes these marriages seems to be let off very easily with a marriage present consisting of nothing more costly than two pots of liquor. The village, however, prepares a feast at which every one is present. From the banquet the newly married couple are taken to a house and are not allowed to leave it for three days, during which time the village provides them with food. The banquet and the order of the *Taung-sa* constitute the entire wedding ceremony. The parents on either side seem to have nothing to say in the matter. Presumably, however, in a six-house village, where there is one marriage at any rate every year, couples are very clearly marked out for one another. This may account for the alleged coyness of the men. There are some races in Australia who also practice the same sort of in-marriages, the most extreme contrast to the custom of exogamy which is so much more prevalent among uncivilized and totemistic races.

It is said that many years ago Banyin used to intermarry with Pahlaing village; some generations back, however, the two villages quarrelled and since then Banyin has been a very close marriage market. Intermarriage, even by the men, with those of another race was never permissible. There is no hint of marriages of inclination. They are all as it were officially gazetted alliances. There is nothing against widows remarrying; in fact they must, if the *Taung-sa* happens to order it. Since there is so much worry in marrying the people, it is not surprising to hear that divorces are not permitted.

Neither at the birth, nor the naming of a child, is there any ceremony, not even a feast. Neither is there a death-feast. When one of the villagers dies the villagers draw lots who is to carry the dead body to the grave. The corpse is wrapped up in split bamboo and carried outside by the man on whom the lot falls and there buried.

If the deceased owned fields with standing crops, only half the fields are reaped and the rest is left uncut for the use of the spirit. The dead Banyang are all supposed to take up their residence on Byingyè hill, and there to repeat the existence spent on earth.

The chief *nat* of Byingyè hill is presumably the first of the Banyang, the prototype of the race, for they do not believe in a supreme being and imagine the whole hill to be the residence of their forbears. It is characteristic of their narrowness that they should have selected a heaven so close at hand, so limited in area, and so comparatively unattractive. Each house has a *natsin*, an altar to the Byingyè spirit, and there is a general feast once a year when pork, fowls, eggs, rice, and liquor are offered up and the spirit is invoked to shower prosperity on the village and to bless the inhabitants with good health. With a listlessness which might be expected of them this feast takes place in no particular month. It is held when the fancy seizes them, or when there is apparent pressing necessity, but there must be a feast some time in the twelvemonth.

In the month of *Tawthalin* (September-October) offerings are made at the separate house-shrines. Each cultivator kills pigs and fowls and offers up the flesh with quantities of liquor. The blood of the sacrifices is caught up and poured upon the paddy plants in the *taungya* with prayers for a good harvest. Again in the next month, *Thadingyut*, or in *Tasaungmôn*, an offering is made by each householder at his private shrine, with prayers for a bumper harvest.

While harvest operations are going on, it is a tradition that nothing but plain rice must be eaten. No condiments of any kind are permissible.

The one human and attractive trait the Banyôk have is that they are much given to hunting and are very fond of their trained dogs. In the month of *Tawthalin* every year they make special offerings to three guardian spirits on behalf of these dogs. This ceremony, which lasts over two days, is a very solemn one, and women and strangers are excluded.

The ceremony is conducted in the depths of the jungle at some distance from the village. A large number of plates of rice, mixed with pork and cut-up fowls, is prepared and a small quantity of *kaungye* is poured at the side of each pile of rice. All the heads of animals killed during the preceding year are brought and placed

round these plates. The dogs are then brought forward and a prayer is offered up to the guardian spirits, beseeching them to protect the dogs from injury, to give them speed and endurance, and that they may succeed in killing a larger quantity of game than in past years. After this the dogs are allowed to eat the offerings.

The Banyôk in other ways are, however, rather priggish. They do not use gold, silver, or precious stones, either for ornaments, or in the form of money, because, they say, they are the *su-taung-pyi* (prayer-granted) people. All their wants are supplied with the minimum of labour, and they will have nothing to do with precious metals or stones, because the presence of them only brings worry, trouble, and bad feeling. This philosophic attitude seems a little strained for a village of six houses.

Mr. Giles thinks that possibly these Banyang or Banyôk are the remnants of the aborigines of the Myelat. The fact that money in any shape has only comparatively recently been known in that tract seems a rather slender basis to start from.

The young men of the Banyang race wear a short jacket reaching to the waist with vertical stripes of dark blue and white about six inches wide. Round the bottom of the coat runs a bordering of pink. Two rows of shells run right round the body, back and front. They are sewn on. The trousers are long like those of the Danu. On both arms they wear bracelets, a spiral coil of brass, with twenty-one rings, reaching to near the elbow. Round the neck they wear four solid brass rings, so loose that they can be easily slipped over the head, and a necklace of coloured beads with a pendant of four boar's tusks, arranged in pairs as with the Karen-ni. They do not tattoo. Bands of cotton dyed black are wound round the leg below the knee. When they reach the age of puberty black cotton is tied very tightly round the forehead in a band which covers the whole brow so completely that the wearer can hardly raise his eyes. The hair is worn long.

The old men's *thindaing* is of the same length as the youth's and to the six-inch vertical stripes of white and blue are added three narrow black stripes on the white ground.

The women wear a *thindaing* reaching half-way between the hips and the knee. This is white with a black border at the neck and arm-holes. A black band runs down breast and back and a three-inch pink band goes round the lower edge. A petticoat which does not quite reach the knee is worn. This is white with a black, red, and black striped border, the first stripe one inch wide, the red one and a half, and the second black stripe two inches wide. These skirts are often ornamented with shells.

Round the neck they wear necklaces of many strings of beads, but no boars' tusks; also brass torques, like those of the men. Brass armlets of the same pattern as the men's are also worn.

Below the knee they have bands of black cotton and beneath this swathes of blue or red cloth. From the ankle to within four inches of the knee rise coils of brass rings. Like all the hill women they have substantial legs and the superimposed brass rings are singularly unbecoming to the unaccustomed eye.

Black cotton bands are also tightly tied round the forehead as with the young men. The hair is worn long and tied in a knot at the back of the head.

Both sexes drink *kaungye* freely from the age of 12 months. The arms of the men are cross-bows, spears, *dhas*, and daggers. They smoke long pipes, but do not chew betel.

The Mèpu or White Karens.

Mr. F. H. Giles gives the following details of the White Karens found in the Paunglaung valley of the Loi-lông State. They themselves claim to belong to the Mèpu Karen tribe found in the Pyinmana district of Upper Burma and in the villages of Ban-lôn, Ban-lôn-ngè, Padaung Koywa, Alèchaung, Bawgata. At the same time there can be very little doubt that they are closely allied to the Taungthu race, for the language is full of Taungthu words and all these White Karens can talk Taungthu.

The following legend is told of the origin of the race:—Very many hundreds or thousands of years ago a brother and sister, Lan-yein and Among, lived at Èla in the Pyinmana district. They apparently belonged to the aboriginal race of Upper Burma. The Set-kya, or Celestial Prince, gave them a drum with magical powers. When it was beaten it drove away all enemies and it also supplied all the wants of its owner. The brother and sister lived happily together until one day Lan-yein got a porcupine by beating his wish-drum. He cut it in half and gave one portion to his sister. Unhappily Among's half had large quills in it which wounded her hand. She thought Lan-yein had given her this piece on purpose and became very angry, and made up her mind to have her revenge. So she went to her brother and said she had had a dream that, if a new skin was spread on the wish-drum, they would obtain things far more readily than they had hitherto. Lan-yein, suspecting no evil, tore off the skin and put on a new drum-head. He then found too late that the magic spell was broken, and he got nothing for all his beating.

Then he was very angry and resolved to leave Among and go to live in some other country. To get away the more easily he told his

sister to go and catch some prawns while he went to catch fish in a different direction. Both came back successful and the fish and prawns were cooked. Lan-yein told his sister it was not safe to eat the prawns till they turned white. His fish were white and he ate them and then went out, as he said, to cut a clearing for an opium field. Among, he said, was not to come after him till the prawns had turned white and she had eaten them. She waited hours and hours, but the prawns turned no whiter and at last she became so anxious that she went out to seek her brother. She followed his foot-tracks till she arrived at Maung-la just west of the present village of Loi-mawng. She was then so wearied that she could go no further and stayed so long that the foot-tracks were lost. So she settled down in Maung-la and later married one of the men of the village and from her descended the Mèpu race of White Karens.

Lan-yein went on till he got to China and there he was at a loss to decide where he should stay. So he got four green beetles and set them free, one in each direction, north, south, east, and west. But the green beetles did not come back in one body, so he decided that the place was unfavourable and journeyed on. Three times he tried this omen and the third time the signs were propitious. The four green beetles all came back together to their home. So he determined that he would settle there, but to make sure tried another test. He dug seven holes in the ground and when he found that the earth from the seven only refilled one, he was satisfied. His magical powers and his abilities soon gathered people round him. He became very famous and in the course of time was chosen Udi Bwa, or Emperor of China.

In those ancient days the women of China wore brass anklet rings. When he became Emperor, Lan-yein sent twelve pairs of these to his sister by some messengers going to Burma. Among put them on, as the messengers showed her how, and they were so much admired, that all the women of her race have worn them ever since.

The tale does not suggest any great narrative power, or imagination on the part of the White Karen fabulist, but it hints at the original home of the race.

The women of the race wear a *thindaing*, a sort of blouse, or tight-fitting smock with short sleeves, often made of silk in the Paung-laung valley. It is half white, half red, the white half being the upper. Beneath this is worn a skirt, or petticoat, reaching to within six inches or so of the knees. It is made of cotton and the pattern is usually red and deep blue stripes. The head-dress is called *tabet* and is of a chequered material, much like that worn

by the Taungyo. Until some years ago brass rings were worn round the arms, but silver bracelets are now usually substituted, like those worn by the Taungthu women. Broad ribbons of cotton, dyed black with *thit-si*, are also twisted round the arm to make up for the want of sleeves to the *thindaing*. The brass rings formerly worn round the legs are now not often seen. Instead of them there is an untrammelled display of sturdy naked calves.

Formerly, it is said, all the White Karen women wore valuable necklaces of coloured stones. These seem now to have been all lost, and so indeed is all their jewellery, for the ear-cylinders or *na-daung* are, except in rare cases, always of wood. On festival occasions the women add to the beauties of the *tabet* by adorning that head-dress with feathers and pieces of coloured glass.

The men also wear a short *thindaing* reaching to the hips and a pair of trousers about the length of running, or boating shorts. They have cane rings twisted round the waist like the Palaung women, but not so many of them. The turban is of cotton and is tied up in a ball in front. Brass bracelets are worn up to the elbow, and they frequently have necklaces and silver ornaments of all kinds, which one would think must have been stolen from their wives.

The marriage customs of the Mèpu race are very liberal. Young men and maids are allowed to court without parental interference and a maiden is allowed to marry even a man of another race and still may continue to live in her native village. In all love matches the man employs first of all a go-between to ascertain whether the girl will allow him to visit her. If permission is granted, courting goes on in the somewhat formal and spoil-sport fashion of the Burmese. When philandering has ended in proposal and acceptance, the consent of the parents is obtained. After this omens have to be taken. A formal feast is given by the contracting parties and the expectant pair each produce a fowl or a pig. These are killed and the liver is closely inspected. If the liver is malformed in any way, or of an abnormally dark colour, the party who has produced the creature is not to be trusted. If the liver is smooth, straight, and pale-coloured, the omens are happy. The livers of the pigs are much more trusted than the feelings of the parties, and marriage contracts are ruthlessly broken off, if the pig or fowl should have been an evil liver. When the marriage is consummated, the following are the fees :—Go-between, five rupees; brother of the bride, fifteen rupees; mother of the bride, *no-bo*, or "milk-bote," nine rupees four annas. The bridegroom goes to live in the house of his wife's parents. A somewhat eccentric custom is said to prevail, whereby the parents of both lose all power over the married couple and the

go-between takes the place of family adviser till the death of the woman. Polygamy is not allowed. Adultery is denied to exist. Divorces are forbidden.

The chief peculiarity on the birth of a Mèpu child is that no one is allowed to leave the village till the umbilical cord is cut. The cutting is announced to the rest of the village by the bursting of a bamboo. It is somewhat hard to believe, what is asserted, that the same constraint is put on the villagers when a domestic animal brings forth young. No one from another village is allowed to enter the house of the woman who has been confined.

The following is the system on which names are given to children:—

	Sons.	Daughters.
First born ...	... La È ...	... A-mông.
Second born	... La Nyein	... I-è-ma.
Third born ...	... La Than	... A-la-ma.
Fourth born ...	... La Thè	... A-la.
Fifth born ...	... La Thawk	... A-paing.
Sixth born ...	... La Lawk	... A-u.
Seventh born	... La So	... A-o.
Eight born	... La Pe	... A-e.
Ninth born	... ...	... A-leing.

When a Mèpu Karen dies, the body is placed in a wooden coffin and a feast is held at which all comers are welcome. The young men and women of the village dance and sing round the coffin on its way to the grave. In former times, when the White Karens were slave-owners, the slaves were buried alive with their masters. A small hole was left through which they could breathe and food was supplied to them for seven days. If then they could unaided rise from their graves they became free men. The statement that they very rarely did may be believed. There have been no Mèpu slave-holders for many years, which is a matter for congratulation.

If the jungle growth in the cemetery catches fire by accident, or from the spreading of a hill clearing fire, the person who originated the fire has to pay compensation according to his means to the relatives of the occupant of any grave which has been harmed. If the fire spreads over the whole cemetery before it is put out, the offender is ordinarily unable to pay the whole village and he then has to compromise by making sacrifices to the village spirits.

Small spirit shrines are built inside each village. Offerings are made at these by the villagers according to the piety that is in them, usually when they are in trouble, or have sickness in the family.

Outside every village there is a larger *natsin* always built in dense jungle at some little distance. The spirit of this shrine is worship-

ped formally every three years and men only are present at the rites. The offerings then are three pigs of two, three, and four *sot* in girth, three fowls, and one *kyedauk* (measure) of *kaungye* (rice-spirit) from each house in the village. All the offerings are taken in procession to the shrine, where the pigs and fowls are cut up, and a small piece of each is deposited on the *natsin* with a few drops of liquor. Each householder then offers up a prayer to the spirit, asking for protection, freedom from sickness, and prosperity during the next three years. The remainder of the offerings is taken back to the village, where the whole population gorges and swills. If they have not consumed it all within two days, what remains must be thrown out.

The Taungthu and Taung-yo.

These tribes are called Tawnghsu and Tawnglö by the Shans. The former are well known all over Siam and Cambodia and as far as the Lower Mèkhong—about Bassac and the rapids of the Thousand Islands. In the Shan States they are cultivators. When they go abroad they are most commonly elephant and horse-dealers. The Tawnghsus call themselves Pa-o, which immediately suggests Pwo. The Taungyo one would expect to be of the same race, but their speech is much more Burmese in character, and they themselves deny all relationship with the Taungthu amongst whom they live and prefer to connect themselves with the Danu, even to the extent of frequently living in the same villages with them. The Taungthus form nearly half the population of the Myelat, and the State of Hsa-htung (Thatôn) is so completely Taungthu that the *Myoza* is of that race. Elsewhere they are found over the whole of the western part of the Southern Shan States, but they do not spread northwards, nor are they found east of the Salween except in Siamese territory. The Taungyo are much less numerous and scarcely extend beyond the southern portion of the Myelat, where they are found in Hsa Möng Hkam, Maw Nang, and Kyawk Tat. The men of both clans wear Shan dress. The women wear a garment which the Burmese call a *thindaing*, a sort of loose camisole, or gaberdine, or perhaps more like a poncho. This is black with the Taungthu and red in the case of the Taungyo and constitutes the chief difference between the two. The wealthier of both clans add embroidery. Under this smock-frock is worn a short kirtle, which does not extend below the knee. Below the knee are garters of black thread, and leggings, black or white, are sometimes worn. The forearm is also covered with strips of various coloured velvet or flannel; green and purple are favourite colours. The head-dress is elaborate. The basis is a black cloth or *tabet* wound round the head turban fashion and ornamented with a variety of coloured tassels. The hair is

done up in a chignon and a large spike hair-pin and a silver band serve to keep this firmly fixed. Finally a long silver cord or chain is wound round and round and makes everything fast. Pendant earrings of silver are worn and large hollow bracelets are universal —some of silver, some very much alloyed.

It was formerly assumed that the Taungthu of Lower Burma came from Hsa-htung (Thatôn), but the Shan States tradition is precisely the reverse, and the original home of the Hsa-htung people is asserted to have been Thatôn in the Amherst district. The following is the local legend :—

"In the year 419B.E. (957A.D.) Manuha, the Taungthu King of Thatôn, invited a Buddhist monk to visit his country for the purpose of spreading the Buddhist religion. The monk came and brought with him thirty sets of the Buddhist scriptures, the *Pitakat.* The neighbouring King of Pagan heard of this and wrote to the Taungthu King Manuha asking for one set of the scriptures. He sent the letter by an *Amat*, but the King of Thatôn returned an insolent reply to the effect that the subjects of the King of Pagan were so exceedingly ignorant and wild that a copy would be wasted on them, for they would not be able to understand it. Nawra-hta replied by raising a great army which proceeded by land and by water against Thatôn, and the King of Pagan himself commanded the boat party. Thatôn was attacked and taken ; King Manuha with his wife and family were made prisoners, and the copies of the scriptures were carried on eight white elephants to Pagan. All this is familiar from Burmese history, which places Nawra-hta, however, in the eleventh century. King Manuha and all the Taungthu nobility were made pagoda-slaves to the Shwezigôn and other pagodas in Pagan and all the more prosperous people were also carried thither as slaves. Those who were left migrated from the ruins of the Taungthu capital to the Shan States and there founded a new State, to which they gave the same name. This is the modern Hsa-htung ; others settled in the Myelat. Tun Chi, it is recorded, came up with one hundred families and settled in the country now known as Hsa Möng Hkam (*q.v.*). The present *Ngwekunhmu* of that State calls himself a Danu, but his father Shwe Min is said to have declared himself a pure Taungthu and a lineal descendant of Tun Chi. Roughly it may be said that the Taungthus predominate in the south and the Danus in the north of the Myelat. Both of them may be looked on as *Mestizos*, the Taungthus and possibly the Taung-yos with more Karen blood and the Danus with more Burman, while Shan blood controls the mixture. The Taungthu language is, however, mainly Karen, the Danu mainly Burmese, and the Taung-yo betwixt and between, with a predominance of Burmese words."

The Taungthu certainly have a written character, but those who are able to read it are even fewer than specimens of the literature. So far none of these have been obtained in the Shan States.

Taungthu customs.

Taungthu courting customs seem to have borrowed a certain amount from the Burmese. Love-making must not be carried on by stealth, though the proper time is after dark. The young man comes up to the house where

the object of his affections lives, playing on a flute. This is more to let the parents know that a suitor has come for their daughter than for the more romantic purpose of serenading the damsel. The melody is a matter of indifference so long as there is obvious tootling.

Having thus announced his arrival, the young man has a right to find the lady waiting for him at the fireplace, but if she is not there he opens the door and wakes her up and she comes out to talk with him over the embers of the fire. There is nothing binding or compromising in this. When the young people have settled the question for themselves, the youth gives the girl a present of money and then she formally asks the consent of her parents to the alliance. If this is given, a day is fixed for the marriage ceremony which takes place in the house of the bride's parents. All relatives and friends of both are invited. The bride and bridegroom sit side by side. A person whose father and mother are both alive, hands them *lapet* (salad tea) which they eat in the presence of the company. This is the binding part of the ceremony. After this the young couple *kadaw,* make obeisance to their parents, with presents of fruit and flowers and the like, and then the oldest person in the village ties a piece of cotton round the right wrist of the husband and the left wrist of the wife and at the same time prays that they may be prosperous, happy, and have many children. For this service the husband pays a fee of four annas. After this the marriage feast begins. All comers are welcomed and the wedding guests make presents to the newly married pair, usually in money. The parents also give wedding gifts. Finally one of the villagers partitions off a chamber in the house of whichever of the parents the couple are to live in and receives four annas for this trouble. This ends the marriage service.

If a divorce is wanted by both parties, they make a declaration to that effect before the elders of the village and that settles the question. If only one wishes for a divorce, it may still be effected if the refusing party will accept thirty rupees as compensation, but, if this is declined, there is no divorce.

Husband and wife may separate without a formal divorce. The husband in such a case must give the woman subsistence money. If this is insufficient, or if it is not paid for three years, the woman may re-marry, without further ceremony. If reasonable subsistence money is regularly paid, she may not.

In cases of adultery on the part of the wife, the paramour has to pay compensation to the husband as ordered by the elders of the village. This is decided according to the co-respondent's means.

There is not necessarily a divorce. Whether there is or not rests with the husband.

If an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, she is summoned before the village elders and put on oath to point out her seducer. If the man admits that it is true, the two are married. If he denies the accusation, he has to pay thirty rupees, unless he can prove that it is manifestly false. Offenders in all such matters, married or unmarried, are ordinarily expelled from the village. After bearing a child the mother sits on a low settle or stool, made specially for the occasion, by the house-fire. The hot bricks used in Burma are not applied. The midwife receives her food and an honorarium of eight annas. Her hands are also formally washed by the parents a short time after the accouchement.

When the mother is able to go about, a feast is held, to which all relations and friends are invited. In front of each person a bowl of water is placed and into this they drop pieces of money, according to their means. Then each guest dips a wisp of grass or *thekkè* (thatch) into this water and with it brushes his legs, feet, and hands. The object and origin of this custom seems to have been forgotten, but the ordinary stranger is apt to think that this rudimentary washing is highly desirable and even necessary if there has not been a birth in the village for some length of time.

The money collected from the bowls is spent in buying silver ornaments for the infant. The child gets its name on the same principle and with the same formalities as prevail with the Burmese. When a Taungthu dies it is customary to tie the thumbs and great toes together. This is said by some to be intended to make walking after death less probable. Another peculiar custom is that after a death the nearest relative measures the corpse from head to foot with a piece of twisted cotton. This is thrown on the corpse and the soul of the deceased is then said to be formally released. At the funeral feast, a plate of food is set before the deceased, and this, with what remains over after those present have eaten, is taken to the cemetery. When the corpse is carried outside the house, the chief mourner, widow, or widower, son or daughter, pours water over the body and says: "As a stream divides countries, so "may the water now poured divide us." If there is a coffin, it is not closed, and when the cemetery is reached the face of the corpse is carefully washed by the nearest relative and the body is then buried. Burning is never resorted to. The food which has been brought from the house is then scattered wide as an offering to the spirits.

A piece of silver, large or small, in accordance with the means of the deceased, is placed in the mouth. This *hka-bo,* Charon's toll,

is a custom borrowed, imitated, or inherited, no doubt, from the Burmese. The Taungthu do not help us in any way to explain the origin of the custom.

If the person has died on a "duty day," the eighth of the waxing or waning, full moon or new moon, it is customary for some one to walk with a torch in front of the bier for a short distance after the funeral procession has left the house. This is said to be to show the way to the corpse, but the idea probably is that on holy days ghosts do not walk and the disembodied spirit might conceivably stay behind in the house, instead of following its earthly habitation to its last home.

If a death occurs on the last day of the month, it is not right to keep the body in the house. It must be buried at once. The same must be done if a woman dies within three days after child-birth. Moreover *saya* must be called in to lay the ghost. Otherwise her spirit would haunt the house. Mr. Hildebrand says that when a woman dies in child-birth her body is invariably beaten with sticks and ropes in the hope that, if the woman has only swooned away, she will return to consciousness. If she dies shortly before accouchement is expected, when the dead body reaches the cemetery, it must be cut open and the infant's body buried in a separate grave. The wise men must be called in to lay the ghosts.

If these precautions are neglected, not only is the house likely to be haunted, but no woman who knows the manner of the previous wife's death will marry the widower, lest she should die in the same way.

The Taungthu are nominally Buddhists, but they are as little really so as the Chinese and the Annamese. They are practically spirit-worshippers and nothing else. The house *nat* is worshipped at a special feast every year in the month of *Kasôn* (April-May). The usual offerings are made—fish (the kind called *ngapein*), liquor, rice, and the ordinary household stew—and are placed on a shelf fixed round the centre post of the house, while a prayer is put up for health and prosperity to the household during the year. If the offering is placed elsewhere, it must be either on the eastern or western side of the house, never north or south. In this they in no way differ from their neighbours, but they have some special observances. If any one makes over property for safe custody, it is necessary for the house-owner to first of all ask the permission of the house-spirit. If this is not done, the whole household is liable to be stricken with disease.

If there is a marriage and a bride is brought into the house, or if a member of the family leaves and sets up a house of his own, it

is necessary to inform the *lar*. He would certainly take offence if he suddenly discovered for himself that the number of indwellers had increased or diminished without his knowledge.

There is a village *nat* as well as a house *nat*. He is propitiated in the month of *Nayôn* (May-June). This spirit lives outside the village limits and his shrine is to be found in a grove of trees, or under a clump of bamboos. At the annual feast each household offers three *ngapein*, a little rice, some ginger, salt, and chillies. The *ngapein* must not be cut up or bruised. The offerings are collected from each house and put into a common fund. From this the portion for the spirit is taken and placed on the *natsin*. What remains is then eaten by the villagers, and from this meal deductions are drawn as to the prospects for the year. If there is not enough rice to satisfy the appetite of all present, then the paddy crop will be bad; if there is a surplus, then it will be good, in proportion to what remains over, and so with the other component parts of the offering.

On the day on which the rice-fields are sown, or planted out, no Taungthu will give food, fire, water, or anything that may be asked of him to any one, no matter what the necessity of the asker may be, or his degree of relationship. If he were to do so, his crops would be eaten by insects. The first handful or two of seed is always sown at night, just before the farmer goes to bed, when there is little chance of any body coming to ask for anything.

On the day when the paddy threshing begins some rice and cooked food are placed near the threshing floor; when nearly the whole field has been threshed, the offering is placed on the threshing floor itself so that it becomes mixed with the paddy. A prayer for full granaries and general prosperity is offered at the same time.

When all the fields have been reaped some paddy and paddy husks are mixed together in the fields and a trail of this is laid from there to the farmer's house, while all the time the paddy *leipbya* (literally, butterfly) is called on loudly to come to the house. Without this next-year's harvest will be bad, and care must be taken that there is no break in the trail.

A special day must be ascertained for taking the grain out of the *sabagyi*, the granary. It does not do to take it out on random-chosen days, no matter what the apparent urgency may be.

When the first meal is made of the season's rice, offering must be made to the *nats* and also at the pagoda if there is one, and some of the elders of the village must be invited to eat with the household.

When paddy is sold it is customary to take back a handful out of the baskets to prevent the paddy *leipbya* from being carried away.

During the whole of the month of *Pyatho* (December-January) it is forbidden to take any paddy out of the grain-bins. Sufficient for the needs of the whole month must be taken out before the month begins. During all this month also the ashes from the fire-place must not be brushed up and removed. They will be very useful later in killing the insects which attack the paddy-fields.

Taungyo customs.

The Taungyo have more laxity in their courting customs than the Taungthu. The girl waits after nightfall for her lover in front of her parents' house and, when he comes, the two of them go to any convenient place in the neighbourhood, usually to a stack of straw. The Taungthu consider this very immoral and insinuate the most shocking familarities, which the Taungyo deny with becoming indignation.

The marriage ceremony is correspondingly simplified when the youth has sufficient possessions to warrant his converting his sweetheart into his wife. He goes with her to the girl's father and mother, taking a few presents with him, varying from a bunch of plantains and some flowers to a buffalo, or a plough-ox, and says he wishes to marry the girl. If the parents approve, they simply tell him to take her away. The pair go off to the house of the young man's parents and that completes the ceremonial. Presents are frequently given, either of money or cattle, by the parents on both sides, to the newly married couple. As the happy pair go to the husband's parents' house they are stopped on the way by his bachelor friends, who demand payment before they will remove the cord which they hold across the path. This is a reminiscence, or a plagiarism from the Burmese. *Pwè* are sometimes held, but only when the parents are well off. Elopements, as may be imagined from the laxity of the preliminaries, are not uncommon, but Mr. Giles is of opinion that marriages which have been approved of by the parents "are somewhat more numerous."

Divorces are not common and are discouraged by the village elders. The girl returns to her parents' house if the divorce is sanctioned. If children have been born of the marriage, divorce is almost never granted. Barrenness in the woman is no ground for divorce, for polygamy is permissible and the wife is really simply cook and farm servant.

If a child is born out of wedlock, the girl is called upon to point out the father. She is first put on oath. The village elders then suggest marriage. If the man refuses, he must pay thirty rupees.

If he denies the allegation, the girl must submit proofs. If she cannot, she is disgraced and forbidden the village.

On the birth of a child the woman roasts herself for six days; the friends and relatives gather for a feast and make presents, according to their means, for the benefit of the child. The midwife receives four annas, one measure (*pyi*) of rice, and two fish.

On the whole the system of naming is very similar to that of the Burmese, but the child receives any name that the parents think suitable. It is fixed by their fancy, not by the Burmese formula or by any family name.

There are no distinctive customs on death or burial; Burmese ceremonies are copied.

Like the Taungthu, the Taungyo are pure spirit-worshippers. Under ordinary circumstances they worship the *nats* three times a year—twice on account of the individual household in *Tabodwè* (January-February) and *Wagaung* (July-August) and once on account of the community in general, in the month of *Tawthalin* (September-October).

The household *nat* is worshipped in each separate house and the offerings are seven plates of rice with *ngapein* and liquor. These with other things are placed in seven separate heaps in the front room of the house and a short invocation is repeated, praying for freedom from sickness, help in time of need, and good harvests. There is no particular day of the month on which the offerings should be made.

The circle or *Wan-nein* or *Plè nat* is worshipped with much more ceremony. He lives in any conspicuous tree, or coppice in the neighbourhood of the village, if he is a mere village spirit, or in the circle, if he has a larger charge. The *Wan-nein nat* of Myin-ka in the Pangtara State, who is particularly revered, has his abode in a large *thitya* tree, which stands to the south of Myin-ka, north village. Many Taungyo, who live beyond the limits of the circle, nevertheless attend his feast. On this occasion each householder takes with him one fowl (killed before the shrine is reached), two *kyedauk* of liquor, one of *kaung-ye*, and one of *sam-shu*, a small pottle of tomatoes, two *ngapein* fish (one male, the other female), and a measure of rice. All these articles are cooked on the spot and deposited before the shrine with the usual prayer for blessings on the offerer and his family. Neglect to make the offerings results in speedy disaster.

The Taungyo are all cultivators and therefore worship the deity of agriculture. Their Demeter or Ceres is the *saba leip-bya*, who is called after the crops have been reaped but before threshing has

begun. An offering of rice, liquor, and water is placed near the threshing floor with appropriate prayers.

Like the Taungthu they take no paddy out of the grain bins during the month of *Pyatho*. All that is wanted for the month must be set aside on the last day of *Natdaw* (November-December). If this is not enough, rice must be borrowed elsewhere, or bought, for to open the *sabagyi* would mean to blight next season's crops. The ashes on the domestic hearth are also allowed to accumulate all through the month.

The Danus and Danaws.

The Danus are found in considerable numbers along the border country which separates the Shans from the Burmans and are the most important tribe in that part of the country. They form a considerable proportion of the population of the Maymyo subdivision of Mandalay district, are numerous in the Ruby Mines district and in the Shan States of Möng Lông, Hsum Hsai, and Western Lawksawk; while in the Myelat they are found in all States, but predominate in Pangtara, Poila, Yengan, and Maw. A few also are found in the *terai* villages of the Meiktila division, especially in the Lôn Pan circle.

Dr. Cushing is of opinion that they are a hybrid race and that the Danaws are only variants. Mr. F. H. Giles is inclined to be particular about dividing the Danus from the Danaws. The former he believes to be the descendants of a Burmese colony who emigrated from south of Hanthawadi about the time of the Norman conquest (*v. sub. voc.*, Hsa Möng Hkam). The Danaws on the contrary are not. Their language more resembles Taungthu (Taung-hsu in Shan and Siamese) and they affect the Taungthu dress. They are found in Pangtara, Kyawktat, Lai Hsak, and the surrounding larger States, but are much fewer in numbers.

Mr. C. E. Browne on the other hand derives the Danus from the Karen-Taungthus and says they did not exist before the Taungthu occupation of the Myelat. At the same time he admits that they predominate in the places where Shans and Burmans most met for purposes of trade. The general opinion is that they are "a wild sort of Burmans;" but in some places they are claimed to be one of "the 30 races of Shans." The chief objection to this is that the majority of Danus cannot speak Shan, whereas all of them talk Burmese of a kind. In later times it is undeniable that persons of half Shan, half Burman parentage are called Danus, with in some places the superfluous additions of Shan-Danu or Burman-Danu, which simply indicate whether the particular person under-

stands Shan or not. Everywhere the Danu wears the turban and jacket of the Burman, but in most cases he prefers the Shan trousers to the Burmese loin-cloth. The women sometimes wear the Karen smock or tunic, but usually dress in Burmese kirtle and jacket. Almost all, however, follow Shan fashion in wearing a scarf tied round the hair-knot. This, however, is taken off at religious functions.

The origin of the name is more puzzling. Shan lends no assistance; a *t* is substituted for a *d*. One theory is that the first of the race came from Tenasserim, the Siamese name for which is Tanengthari. From the first syllable of this Danu is thought to be derived. Another suggestion is the Burmese *Thu Nu*, meaning "the refined people." This is somewhat of a *lucus a non*.

Like the Kadus they are destined to disappear very soon. Like them also they are most probably a mere ethnological precipitate of an irreducible character, like the inhabitants of the South American republics.

An excursus by a Burman Sir John Mandeville of the Meiktila district gives a hint at the name—

"Now when King Nawra-hta Anurôdda Dewa Mingyi had finished building the town (of Hlaingdet) he marched up to the Kambawsa province with many squadrons of cavalry and much light infantry. And when he came back he met with a wild and jungly man of a strange race in the territory between Burma and the Shan States. The King questioned him and it was discovered that the wild man's forefathers were of a race called La-è, but his grandmother was a Burmese woman. Upon this the King ordained that the race should be called Danu, but that all descendants were to be called Danaw. And since the place the man dwelt in was near the Shan States it was included among the thirty-five countries of the Shan States.

"Now the Danu drank water from the valleys, so they spoke very slowly.

"The King furthermore ordained that the Danu and after them the Danaw should build their dwellings in the fashion of a *talapôn*, that is to say, their roofs were to be like in shape to the lid of a coffin. Their houses had no floors. They had no cattle to plough with, no level ground to plough, and they had to sow their seed on the tops and slopes and hollows of the hills, and they planted it in a hole made with a pointed stick. When one basket of grain was sown the number of baskets reaped was fifty or sixty.

"The Danu women who lived near Burma dressed like the Burma women, but those who lived farther away wore cutty sarks like the Karens. The Danu men dressed themselves with short trousers like the Wild Karens.

"When Danu bachelors courted a maid they took with them a betel-box to the girl's house and each young man placed his betel-box in front of the maid, and when the lassie took a betel-leaf, the lad from whose betel-box she took the leaf knew that she loved him and he took up his betel-box and went home. And that was the custom among the Danus.

"The Danus never bred any cattle, but only pigs. Their language differed from the Burmese and also from the Shan. The Danus who were wild used to bury in the grave half the property of the person who died. And if the dead man had slaves they buried half of them. And if the wife died before the husband half the property that they had was buried with her and half with the husband, if he died first. But the remaining half they kept. They set a watch over the graves so that no one should come and dig up the property. The religion of the Danus was like the Burmese, but they were very wild. They used to sleep round the fire and they had no other blanket but that, not even in their houses. And as they had no pillows they used to sleep with their heads on one another's bodies like kittens or puppy-dogs. Whenever they went out into the jungle, or into the fields, they took bows and arrows in their hands. And with their arrows they killed whatever they came across and killed even fish in this way. This was the reason why the King of Pagan, Anawra-hta Zaw Anurôdda Dewa Mingyi called these people Danu and Danaw, because they always went thus armed with bows, and arrows. For the word Danu is derived from a Pali word which means bow, and what more shall I tell you of this jungly people. In sooth there is nothing to tell!!"

It may be doubted whether there ever was a distinct Danu race or language. The present speech is simply a Doric form of Burmese with a sufficient admixture of foreign words of the *Bullum* v. *Boatum* character to justify the term Macaronic.

The Dayè.

The Dayè or Shan-Dayè are another half-breed tribe of the Myelat. They are said to be the descendants of Shan-Chinese who came from Kawliya, the situation of which place in China is not known. Unlike most of the inhabitants of the Myelat they talk Shan or a form of it. They may be the descendants of prisoners of war, of an immigrant colony, or of traders settled for a time. They are certainly not the last relics of a race. They trace their first home to Dayè, or Thuyè, a circle in the Hsa Möng Hkam State. Dayè is said to have been one of the original villages founded by Tunchi (*v.* Hsa Möng Hkam). The Dayè are likely to become a mere name in a very few years.

The Inthas.

These are the inhabitants of the villages around and on the Fort Stedman or Yawng Hwe lake. They call themselves and are called by the Shans Ang-hsa, which is simply the Shan fashion of pronouncing the Burmese word. It may be translated Sons of the Lake or Lake-dwellers. Tradition is unanimous in saying that they were originally natives of Tavoy, the only difference of opinion being as to how they came to the lake, whether voluntarily or as prisoners of war. They are occasionally called Dawè, which may

be a confirmation or an assertion (Dawè is the native name of Tavoy). Under this name they appear in the Hsa Möng Hkam *Ngwekunhmu's* enumeration-rolls. There seems to be no reason to doubt the story and their language is practically Burmese pronounced in Shan fashion. This is illustrated by their name. The Burmese word for lake is *in*, which is written *ang* and is so pronounced by the Shans. The word *tha* is identical in both languages, but the Shans have no *th* and pronounce the character instead as *hs*. The Tavoyans are believed to be the descendants of an Arakanese colony. In addition to this their dialect was affected by Siamese or Lao influences. Then when the Inthas came to Yawng Hwe their Burmese patois was modified by another form of the Tai speech. No doubt also they intermarried freely with the Shans and half-breed Shans. Thus, though the identity of the Intha tongue with Burmese is indisputable, no Burman who does not know Shan can comprehend much of what the lake men say. The Shans of course understand them still less. They have a few words which are neither Shan nor Burmese, nor Siamese—

Ant ...	...	...	Palang.
Melon ...	...	...	Pakensi.
Mattress ...	...	...	Pasangkwi.
Water-vessel	...	...	Yègya.
Basket ...	...	...	Kun.
Trousers ...	...	...	Tanbi.
Shallow ...	...	...	Ti.

The men wear the ordinary Shan dress. The women do the same, winding the kerchief round the head as a turban instead of throwing it over the shoulders like a scarf, as the Burmese women do. Like the Danu and other of the hybrid races, the women wear threads of black dyed cotton round the legs below the knee. This species of garter is three inches wide on the leg exposed when walking and "about one inch or so on the other leg. This," we are told, "is done to make the skin appear fair from the contrast."

The Fort Stedman lake is shallow and the Inthas have a habit of building their houses over the water, sometimes as much as half a mile from the shore. The houses are all built on piles, some of wood, some of bamboo. None of them are floating houses like those of Bangkok and many places on the Mènam. All communication is by water in small dug-outs. The common Intha method of paddling with the leg has attracted much notice. The man stands on the gunwale of the boat with one leg, twists the other round the long paddle and clips the blade with his toes. The butt of the paddle reaches to the height of his shoulder and this is grasped in the hands. The weight of the body is thrown on to this

and at the same time the leg forces the blade back. With a number of men paddling in this way much greater way is got on the boat than would be possible in the less acrobatic ordinary fashion.

Mr. F. H. Giles gives the following Intha traditionary tale:—

"In the year 699 B.E. (1337A.D.) Prince Padrikkhaya, the son of a certain king of India, hearing of the wondrous beauty of Shwe Einsi, the daughter of the King of Pagan, desired to marry her, and in order to reach her country obtained a piece of charmed quicksilver, which enabled the person who swallowed it to fly whither he would. He accordingly flew to Pagan and just outside that city met a *Rahanda*, who was also flying. He asked the holy man whence he had come and was told that he was returning from the wedding of Princess Shwe Einsi and the King's adopted son. The Prince Padrikkhaya gasped with chagrin. The charmed quicksilver fell out of his mouth on to a *thinganet* tree outside the city walls and the Prince himself fell in a clump of bamboos and was killed. His spirit entered the womb of the newly married bride and Princess Shwe Einsi gave birth to him next year 700B.E. (1338A.D.). The child was named Mani Thesu. When Mani Thesu was 15 years of age he heard of the charmed quicksilver and sent men to search for it. It could not be found, but when the *thinganet* tree was cut down it was found that its timber had the same miraculous power as the quicksilver. A barge (*hpaungdaw*) was therefore built and in this Mani Thesu voyaged to the Shan States. But first he went to Tavoy and took a number of artificers on board there. The first place he came to was Möng Pai (Mobyè), where he built a pagoda. Thence he proceeded to Gaya, and at Tagaung in that State built another pagoda, and so went on to Hmawpi, Nampan, Maingthauk (Fort Stedman), Shwe Linbaw, Nankaung, Yatsauk, Maingkaing, Lwè Maingôn, Taungbaing, Kaungdaing, Thandaung, Indein, and Taungdo, at each of which places he built a pagoda. From Taungdo he came up to Thalè-u on the east bank of the lake, and there built a palace, in which he stayed for some time.

"Before he returned to Pagan he left at Indein (called Ang Teng by the lake people) five images of Gaudama, which till then he had carried in the bows of his barge. Hence the name of the images, the Hpaung-daw-u. They are held in great reverence on the lake and are taken round it in great state to the music of drums, shawms, cymbals, and gongs in the month of *Thadingyut* (September-October) every year.

With the images, Mani Thesu left behind the Tavoyans, and these have remained ever since in the lake district. They were at first known by the name of Hpaung-gyan, from the barge they came in, but when they grew numerous and overspread the whole lake they became known as Intha and they have kept the name ever since. The headman of the Tavoyans was Hpo Ke, who first built his house at the mouth of the Indein river. Ever since when the images are brought out for the yearly procession, the people pour a chatty of water on the place where Hpo Ke's house stood."

The Hpôn or Hpwon.

This is the race which Mr. George describes under the name of Hpuns in the Appendix to Volume I of the Census Report. His conclusion is that "they had originally something very much in

common with the Shans." Captain H. R. Davies on the other hand thinks that they are much closer to the Burmese and adduces in parallel columns vocabularies of the Hpön, Burmese, Achang (or Ngachang), Szi, Lashi, and Maru. They are no doubt the Hpwon or Hpawn referred to in the Mogaung annals as being one of the eight subject races of that kingdom and are said to be divided into the Great and the Little Hpwon. This would seem to tell against their being of Tai race, if it were not notorious that native ideas of relationship are absolutely worthless. It is possible that they are a mere sort of dishclout, like the Yaws and Danus and Kadus, full of traces of all their neighbours. On the other hand, they may prove a valuable link in the chain when the many detached links begin to be joined together.

The Hpôns are found so far only in the upper defile of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Sinbo and just above it in the Mankin valley to the south-east of Sinbo. All who have seen them, including Colonel Hannay of Assam and Mr. Kincaid, the American Missionary, who wrote of them many years ago, describe the Hpwons (or whatever may be their proper name) as like the Shan-Burmans in dress and appearance and also in the architecture of their houses. Captain Davies adds that they are rapidly forgetting their own language and taking to talking Shan.

They state that they came from Mêng Ti and Mêng Wan in China about six generations ago. They settled first on the Nanti (a stream) near Mogaung, but for some reason their seven *Sawbwas*, who had led the exodus, took off the majority of the people to Möng Ti on the Upper Chindwin, while those who remained without a leader came and settled in the third defile, where they have remained unmolested ever since, dragging out a precarious existence by means of *taungya* and timber-cutting (George). This is much too vague to be of any value, especially when we find Great and Little Hpwons talked of as being in the district more than six hundred years ago. Mr. George says they are invaluable for keeping open communications through the defile in the rains, towing boats round corners and the like, and that if their timber-cutting is stopped and they have to leave no one will take their place.

They recognize two divisions among themselves :—

(1) *Hpôn Hpyè*, or Mong Ti Hpôns, who live in the villages of—

(1) Pulaung.
(2) Kanti.
(3) Htônbo.
(4) Thamaingyi.
(5) Nanhè.
(6) Hmangin.
(7) Pintaw.
(8) Hkaungkyè.
(9) Hkaungmyè.

Their tones are acute, as opposed to the—

(2) *Hpôn Samong* or Möng Wan Hpôns, who speak with a guttural intonation and live in—

(1) Nansauk. | (2) Hnôk-kyo (a few).
(3) Laungpu.

These latter are said to have emigrated a year or two later from the ancestral home.

Mr. George gives the following words:—

Man	...	Yŭsa.	Body	...	Ătu.
Woman	...	Nŭsa.	Bullock	...	Woalu.
Water	...	Kheuk.	Rice	...	Tsa.
Land	...	Tămli.	House	...	Aing.
		(M. Ti).	Fire	...	Tammi.
		Tăm Neuh.	Coat	...	Hpya.
		(M. Wan).	*Paso*	...	Chaukpè.
Foot	...	Ăkmuk.	Drink	...	Kishauk.
Hand	...	Ălaw.	Eat	...	Tsa.

It is somewhat disconcerting to find that these do not agree with those given in the much fuller vocabularies of Captain Davies (*q. v.*); probably this is because the language is dying out and only "the very old men of the villages can speak it properly or understand it." They have words for numerals up to 100,000.

1=Tawyôk.	30=Sangsik.
5=Hako.	100=Tôkya.
10=Tosik.	1,000=Henning.
20=Tôksik.	10,000=Möng Ngmu.

100,000=Sawng Wun.

Allowing for transliteration, these correspond with in great Davies's list, but they are a mere jumble of Shan and month of

The Hpôns look perilously like half-breeds, but they may be a back-wash.

Mr. George says their religion is primitive in the extreme. They worship only one *nat*, the *natgyi* of the hills, once a year, when the whole village presents offerings. Otherwise they worship only their immediate deceased ancestors, *i.e.*, father and mother, when dead, and not the grandfather. This is only done for special reasons, as when sickness occurs. Their food is placed at the *north* end of the house, and the head of the family prays his parents to help themselves and help him.

Divination is practised by the method called *Hpetton Hman Taungkyi*. The leaf of a particular plant called *shippa wut* is

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PLATE XV.



Photo-Block. Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, June 1899.

RUMAI OR PALAUNG WOMAN.

taken. This has parallel veins running at an inclined angle from the mid-rib to the margin. The veins do not interlace, so it is easy to tear the leaf into long thin shreds, of which a number are taken at random and knotted together into one bunch after another. The number of these tangles and the number of shreds left over enable the expert to decide whether the fates are propitious or not. "This, however, may have been borrowed from the Kachins." The Hpôns in fact seem to take their good and their language where they find it.

The suggested connection with the Kingdom of Pông is of course the mere attraction of a jingle. If the Hpôns had known anything of that, it would have connected them with the Manipuris and not with the Tai.

The Yaws.

Dr. Mason classes the Yaws as a Burmese tribe. In this he is followed by Dr. Cushing. Mr. Houghton is inclined to doubt the accuracy of this classification. The Shan Chronicles of Möng Kawng (Mogaung) seem to claim them as Shans, though perhaps they may be the Nora spoken of as earlier owners of the land. They themselves have a legend that they are descended from a clan of the Palaungs called Parawga or Payawga. This in time was shortened through Yawga to Yaw. There are still to be found Parawga *sayas* among them, oracles or mages, who make their divinations on the Tai cycle tables, which is significant. The common folk say that the reason why their dialect differs from Burmese is because they drink the water of the mountain streams. They are described by Colonel Yule as a tribe of hucksters and pedlars. These are the civilized Yaws who call themselves Burmese. The self-admitted Yaws live almost exclusively in the Yaw valley subdivision of the Pakôkku district. In the census of 1891 there were only 370 who returned themselves as pure-blooded Yaws. It seems probable that there never was such a thing as a Yaw of unmixed blood. The dialect is a hybrid, nearest to Burmese now; possibly it was at one time nearer to Shan, or to some of the Chin dialects. It is certain that both language and people are being absorbed. They seem always to have used the Burman alphabet, when they used an alphabet at all. Before another census they will probably have disappeared altogether, like the Yabeins.

The Kadus.

Who the Kadus were originally remains uncertain, but now they are little more than Burmese and Shan half-breeds with traces of Chin and possibly Kachin blood. If they ever had a distinct language it is now extinct or has been modified so much by all its

neighbours as to be little better than a kind of Yiddish. From an analysis of a list of vocables which he has collected, Mr. Houghton is inclined to believe that their language belongs "to the Kachin Naga sub-group," and that they are allied to the Saks or Thek of Arakan. They are chiefly found in the Katha district, where the power of the Western Shans endured for many years after the Mao Shan empire fell. Nothing certain is known of their origin or history, and they will probably have entirely merged in the Burmese before a position can be found for them. They are frequently called the Kachins of the plains and there are local divisions such as the Ganan-ma and Ganan-pwa (see under Katha), while the Indauktha name of Taw seems to hint still more at commixture. Such tales as that they migrated from the "Maha-myaing forest" in Ye-u are pelusive. The following tale of their settlement there is locally cherished: During the time of Gaudama Buddha there reigned in Thawatti a king named Wipadupa, who was the son of Pathanadi. This king made war against Kappilawut, though he was forbidden to do so by the Buddha, and laid siege to the city. In the end the King of Kappilawut came forth with all his family and surrendered. His name was Dazayaza. Three of his personal attendants, Lapi, Lasin, and Patu, effected their escape and made their way to Maha-myaing in Ye-u, where they settled and became the ancestors of the Kadus. Eight families of their descendants in process of time removed to Pazuntaung in Mogaung, where they made friends with the Kachins. They were Buddhists at this time, for they built a pagoda of solid rock which is still to be seen. Later they met with people from Wuntho and Manyu and learned how to make salt and took to this as a livelihood. They had to pay annually seven viss of salt to the Mogaung *Mintayagyi* as tribute. That ruler died in 999 B. E. (1537 A. D.) and the Burmans then seized Mogaung.* The Burmese did not take salt as tribute and imposed a due of two *ywe* (*Abrus precatorius*) seeds on each household. The people, however, continued to be known first as *Puteik*, which is a Kachin word for salt-pit and afterwards as *Mawteik*, which is Shan.

This fragment of history is not very valuable and it is something like dividing a sardine to be informed that there are six sects of Kadus with distinct habits and customs. These are :—

(1) Mawteik.	(3) Sigadaung.	(5) Gyodaung.
(2) Mawkwin.	(4) Sinan.	(6) Ganan.

Of these only the last, the Ganan, have resisted the temptation to Burmanize themselves and their dress. Properly the dress of a married Kadu woman is all black. The unmarried girls dress in

"all colours." When a marriage is arranged the bridegroom makes a present of a bamboo full of tea. The length of the bamboo must be equal to that of the king-post in the bride's house. Further the bride has to be asked from the *nat* of the house as well as from her parents, and this is done in the presence of the elders. At the marriage small packets of pickled fish are suspended by a string the whole length of the king-post. The hands of the young couple are then joined and they go hand in hand downstairs and *shikho* to the *nat* of the house at the foot of the stairs. It is perhaps worth noting that the Taungthu have exactly the same custom of demanding the daughter of the house from the *lar* or house-spirit. Eating food together completes the celebration of a Kadu marriage. Banmauk tradition represents the Kadus to be three parts Chin and one part Burman. The story is as follows. In the western part of Banmauk there lived a tribe of Chins, who were known as the Pathet Chins because they moved from the village of Pathet on the southern side of Setawkonyo to Hlwazingôn. Another batch of Chins came from the hill at the source of the Laiksaw stream; and a third came down from the Letu hill. They met and came to the conclusion that their language, mode of living, and customs were much the same, so they all settled in the same village. To them came a party of Burmans, under a man named Pohamôn, who had fled because of the civil war in Pagan, first to Mantaw and then to Pathet. He also was received and they lived together and intermarried and the result is the Kadus of Banmauk. The original name of the village, they say, was Manmauk, which the Burmese changed to Banmauk. Now Manmauk is obviously Shan. The villagers therefore would seem to be of an even more mixed origin than they admit. It is stated that the *Sawbwas* of Mogaung and Mohnyin appointed a young Kadu to be *pyiso* of Banmauk in place of the patriarch who had previously controlled the place. Shan influence is therefore apparent and no doubt Shan blood came in too. The conclusion is irresistible that the Kadus never were anything but a mixed race and came into existence where they are now found.

Kadu villages are usually built on the spurs of the hills above their cultivation and have the reputation of being neat and well kept. They cultivate a good deal of tea, much of which is pickled. A good deal of tea seed is also exported to Manipur at the rate of four rupees the basket. They are now all Buddhists and most villages have *hpôngyi kyaungs* and many have pagodas. The men are sturdy and well-built and the women are very hardworking.

Mr. Bernard Houghton's paper in the *Indian Antiquary* of May 1893 gives the Kadus a much more distinct position and origin.

He says they are "comparatively recent immigrants into Burma. "The evidence at present available points to the conclusion that "this section of the race only arrived in Burma after the Burmese "central authority had become somewhat established and that "these wild tribesmen, though superior in fighting qualities to the "Burman, have been checked, if not forced back, by the superior "power which comes from a centralized authority, even when im-"perfectly organized. The Kudôs would seem to have been an "advance guard of the Kachin race, and, what between the Shans "and the Burmans, to have been rapidly deprived of the autonomy "which they originally possessed. They have in fact been chiefly "subjugated by the former of these two races, which, unable owing "to the Burmese power to get an outlet to the south-west, forced "one to the north-west, a movement culminating in the irruption "of the Ahoms into Assam.

"A glance at the list of words given (*see* vocabularies) will show "that at the time the Kudôs left their Tibetan home they were in "a very low state of civilization, and could not in fact count up to "more than five, or at most six. The numerals above six, and "probably also that number, have been obviously borrowed from one "of the Shan family of languages. This is in curious contrast to "the Chin-Lushais, who have their own numerals up to one hundred. "The words for 'buffalo' and 'goat' have also been adopted by "the Kudôs after their arrival in Burma, but it is evident that pre-"viously they had pigs, fowls, and dogs, and that they knew of "horses.

"Apart from the above-noted general relationship of the Kudôs, "my examination of the words given has led to the very interesting "discovery that the Sâks, a tribe living in the valley of the Kulâ-"daing in Arakan, are of all known tribes the most closely related "to the Kudôs, and that in fact it can scarcely be much more than "one hundred years since they formed one people. The list of Sâk "words given in Hodgson's *Vocabulary* is unfortunately incomplete, "but the resemblances to the Kudô words now given are so striking "—in several cases the Sâk furnishes the only parallel to the Kudô "word—as to show that they must have at one time formed one "people, and that the period of separation cannot have been very "long ago. This is the more remarkable as the Sâks live now far "away from the Kudôs, and are in fact surrounded by tribes of the "Chin-Lushai race, from whom they probably received a rough "handling, before they reached their present habitat. The most "probable explanation is that a portion of the Kudôs, driven forth "by some risings (perhaps a Shan immigration), endeavoured to "cross the hills to Nâga-land, but were unable to get through, or

"else lost their way and, striking the head-waters of the Kulâdaing, "followed that river down to where they now live. They now form "on the west of these hills, as the Kudôs do on the east, the most "southern extension of the Kachin-Nâga races. The result of this "discovery is that the Sâks must be withdrawn from the Chin-"Lushai branch and affiliated to the Kachin-Nâga branch (sub-sec-"tion Kudô) of the Tibeto-Burman race.

"As to the original habitat of the Kudôs, together with that of "the Kachin-Nâga sub-family generally, it is probable on the evi-"dence before us that they came from North-eastern Tibet, their "route lying through the passes north of Bhamo. Their congeners "in those regions would appear to be Gyarungs, Gyamis, Sokpas, "and Thochus, of which races but little is as yet known.

"The first of these peoples is, it may be remarked, somewhat "closely allied to the Karens, whose passage into Burma though "by the same route as the Kachin-Nâga immigration, was probably "much anterior to it. The language of the Karens is very much "corrupted, and *primâ facie* does not seem to be specially related "to those of the Kachin-Nâgas. All, however, show a tendency "towards the Chinese section of the family. I use this last expres-"sion advisedly, being convinced that Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese, "and the various cognate languages and dialects are all members "of one great family which, originating in Tibet or to the north-"ward, has spread itself east and south-east. Of all these languages "the Chinese has become most corrupted in pronunciation, thus "causing it for so long to be grouped apart from the others; but "from the pronunciation of some of its better preserved dialects, "and from the restoration by modern scientists of its old sounds, it "is easily shown that its most important roots are identical with "the ordinary forms still existing in the Tibeto-Burman family "proper."

Whether this theory of Mr. Houghton's is correct or not remains uncertain, but it seems at least possible that the first Kadus were prisoners of war brought over from Arakan by Sam Lông Hpa, or some other of the earlier warrior kings of Mogaung. They seem more likely to form a link in history than a sub-section in ethnology.

The following legendary tales are current in Katha about the Kadus:—

The Kadus of Ganan.

There was an old city called Pagan, near Tagaung, in the Kyanhnyat township of the Katha district, which was once capital of Burma. It was abandoned, however, and a new capital of Paukkan, or Pagan, founded further south on the Irrawaddy below Myingyan.

Nawra-hta was at one time King of Pagan and had a son Saw Yun. Kyan Yit succeeded Nawra-hta on the throne. He had a daughter Shwe Einza, who married Saw Yun and had by him a son Sèthu, who succeeded Kyan Yit on the throne under the title of Narapadi Sèthu.

During his travels this king visited the Kadu of Ganan in the Katha district. Great feastings and ceremonies took place in his honour, many strangers came to witness and take part in them, and numbers of these afterwards settled in the locality. The original settlers, who were at Ganan when the king arrived there, were styled *A-ma*. Those who came in his train and settled in the place were called *A-pwa*. Hence the classes Ganan-ma and Ganan-pwa into which the people of the locality are divided. Subsequently when marriages between the two classes were arranged, the woman was received into the class of the man she married. Thus a female A-ma marrying an A-pwa man became an A-pwa.

The two classes lived together in the same villages. A headman from each class was selected and over the two headmen another official was appointed as *ywa-ôk*. The three shared equally between them the commission due on the revenue collections.

Originally there were insignia of office attached to these appointments, which consisted of—

A royal order.	A spear.
An umbrella.	Saddle trappings, and

A chest to hold these in.

One set was given to each *shwe-hmu*. These are now in the hands of the *kyaungtagas*. They were appanages of office, and a custom obtained that whenever the people were divided in their opinion as to who should be *shwe-hmu*, or headman, and there seemed a chance of disturbance, a *pôngyi* summoned the people of each sect together and drew a dividing line. Those in favour of one candidate went to one side of the line and those in favour of the other drew up on the opposite side. The numbers were then counted and the emblems of office were handed over to whichever had most supporters.

Sometimes, however, especially if the existing *shwe-hmu* thus fell from office, the symbols of headship had to be taken by force. This also was recognized by custom, but the combatants were only allowed to arm themselves with sticks. *Dhas*, sharp instruments, or metal of any kind were strictly forbidden. This resort to force only took place when the orders of the arbitrators, the *pôngyis*, and the *kyaungtagas* to surrender the symbols of office were not obeyed,

Occasionally serious injuries were sustained in these contested elections.

The office of *ywa-ôk* was a creation of the ex-*Sawbwa* of Wuntho in 1251 B.E. (1889 A.D.) to arbitrate in cases of dispute between the *shwe-hmu*.

The Kadu came from the Pagan country before it fell from its position as capital province. They gradually scattered. Those who ascended to the hills were called Kachins; those who settled in the plains Kadu. They were all, however, of the same race and spoke the same tongue.

The Kachins have now been broken up into clans or tribes, owing to internecine quarrels. They have spread over a wide extent of country, have elected a number of petty Chiefs, and have gradually widened the differences between the septs.

There were originally no rights acquired over the soil. Occasionally, however, a person would transfer the right of cultivating a certain portion of land. He did not apparently mortgage the soil, but simply gave up the right of cultivation, which he had acquired from the *thugyi*.

Some of the Kadu have acquired rights by long occupancy. Others have been scattered and remain nomadic. The sons do not remain on the lands tilled by their fathers.

The Kadu of Wuntho are supposed to have settled there in the time of the Mogaung *Sawbwa*. The Shans migrated from the territory of the Mohnyin *Sawbwa*. There were internecine wars and the Burmese attacked and drove out these Chiefs, who up to then had been independent. *Wuns* of Mogaung and Mohnyin were created under the direct control of the King.

Taw.

The people of the Indauktha circle of Katha were originally called Taw, and the name is still occasionally applied to them. Their first settlement was in Pagan and they were of pure Burmese origin. They got the name of Taw from a Burmese legend, which runs as follows :—There reigned in Pagan as king, a huge bird, Hngetgyi Min. This monstrous wild fowl held the country for six years and was then killed by an arrow from the bow of U-myo Mintha, the Prince who was born from an egg. The great bird required seven maidens for his food every day. After a time the supply of maidens became exhausted. There were left only a great number of men and a few women of mature age and no great attractions. These Hngetgyi Min could not or would not eat, and he accordingly banished them, in a fit of temper, to the jungles and forests of Indauktha.

He had now to get his daily ration of maidenhood from farther afield. This fired the courage of the U-myo Mintha, who shot the laidly fowl-king and ascended the throne himself.

Whether this prince sprung from an egg was a connection of the maiden-eating royal bird does not appear, but when he succeeded to the kingdom of Pagan he instituted enquiries as to the banished inedibles and invited them to return. They had, however, already settled down and had no wish to return. The King therefore confirmed them in the lands they had cleared and called the place Indauktha-nga-myo. The Pagan people, however, called these emigrants Indauktha-*taw*-lu-myo, because they lived in the jungles, and this was gradually cut down to *taw* for short. The Taw have a separate dialect of their own, but have no written language. Nowa-days they use Burmese more or less for all purposes.

The La'hu tribes.

This is the race commonly referred to as the Mu Hsö, written in a variety of ways phonetically. The Chinese call them Loheirh or Law'he, and they are also locally called Myen by the Shans, while the Wa sometimes call them Kwi, who seem really to be merely a sub-clan of the La'hu.

The La'hu Chief of Möng Hka furnished the following "history" of the race:—

"Originally the abode of the La'hu was near the Irrawaddy river. Their descendants are still there. In olden days when Kyanyittha was King of Burma, he marched into the Chinese territory to get possession of Gaudama Buddha's tooth. The La'hu went along with him. On their arrival at the boundary between the Burmese and the Chinese countries they found a village. The headman of that village had a daughter. Her name was Nālā. King Kyanyittha married her. After the marriage he made her parents the rulers of that village. Her parents had besides her one son and one daughter. The son was called Piti and the daughter Bi. The La'hu having come from the lower country settled themselves in a place called by the Chinese Tē Möng Myen. The Chinese therefore called them Law-myen. The numbers of the La'hu soon increased and the place being small for them, they extended their territory as far as the west bank of the Nam Kōng (Salween). When they reached there they met a certain race, who, on being asked to whom the country belonged, said it was within the jurisdiction of the Möng Lem *Sawbwa*. The La'hu accordingly went to Sanbula and gave presents to the *Sawbwa* and asked him to allot them lands to settle in. The lands which the *Sawbwa* allotted to them were Kawng San and San Mat Hpa, where they founded villages. The numbers of the La'hu continued to increase and they asked the *Sawbwa* to allot them some more lands. The lands which the *Sawbwa* further allotted them were Möng Ping, Möng Lam, Nantūng, and Sang Ke. During their stay in these villages they had to pay annually four annas per house as tribute.

"The Chinese subsequently came and attacked the towns of Sè Lan and Wing Ka in the Hsen Wi territory and the villages were ruined. A Shan from Sè Lan came over to Möng Lam and served under the *Sawbwa* there. The *Sawbwa* gave him the villages of Möng Nga, Möng Ma, and Möng Lin. There were silver mines there. The Chinese came and worked them and the *Sawbwa* of Möng Lin demanded royalty from them. But the Chinese not only refused to pay, but persuaded the Lems to give tribute to the Chinese officials and supply them with information. The Chinese did so in order to alienate the loyalty of the Lems to the Wa. On this the Lems replied that they did not wish to listen to them as the Wa would come and attack them. Thereupon the Chinese asked the La'hu what tribute they were paying to the Wa. They replied that they had to pay annually four annas per house, when the staircase of it touched the ground. The Chinese then advised them to refuse to pay the tribute when the Wa came to demand it and to tell them that the staircase did not touch the ground, and added that they should try and make the staircase not touch the ground. Soon after that, when the Wa came to demand the tribute, they refused to pay it. So yearly up to this time the Wa come and cut off the heads of all such Lems as they can lay hands on."

This does not take us very far. Individual La'hu always say they came from the country north-east of Kêng Ma, which they call Möng Myen. This is the Shan name for T'êng-yüeh, which we call Momien, but the La'hu profess to have nothing to do with T'êng-yüeh. On the other hand Mien Tien is the name given by the Chinese to Burma. No doubt, however, the only point where the La'hu may have touched the Irrawaddy was at its sources. The reference to Nawrahta (not Kyanyittha) seems to point to Momien. He would pass through T'êng-yüeh on his quest for the *Swèdaw* of the Buddha. Doubtless, however, the La'hu first home was much farther north. They seem certainly to belong to the same *souche* as the Thibetans. However that may be, some centuries ago they were driven from Möng Myen by the steady advance of the Chinese and the Shans and, according to the Möng Hka tradition, migrated in three swarms, one of which, apparently the largest, followed the line of the Mèkhong, a second crossed the Salween and settled in Hsen Wi and Hsi Paw, and the third colonized the country round Nan Chā, called Ho Sak by the Shans. Whether this version is correct or not cannot be proved. If it be, the Mèkhong party has not finally settled yet, at least there is no definite La'hu settlement. Villages are found scattered all over Kēngtūng and Kēng Cheng, but they are nomadic and are yearly pressing southwards into the Siamese Shan States, even beyond Chiengmai. The only group of any numerical strength is that which holds the hills on the borders of Möng Hsat and Muang Fang.

The party which settled in Hsen Wi and Hsi Paw is no doubt that referred to in the history above quoted as having been expelled

from Sè Lan and forced across the Salween. There it coalesced with the third swarm, the Nan Chā settlers. These were the only migrants who did well. For a time they were very prosperous and multiplied exceedingly, so that they very soon colonized the whole country north of Möng Lem, and extended as far east as the Mè-khong. Tông Chu seems to have been the earliest settlement and from this were established in succession Möng Hka, Ho Hka, Ho Ma, and Nam Tawn Taü Tang. The villages along the Nam Hka and Nam Ma were called the Upper Ward and the Nam Tawn Taü Tang, along the Nam Li and Nam Sang, the Lower Ward. The Yünnan Viceroy in the *Peking Gazette* described the La'hu country as "one-thousand *li* (two hundred miles) in length; bounded "on the one side by the Wa hills and other places in the north of "Burma, and on the other side by the Chinese sub-prefectures of "Mien-ning, Wei-yüan, and Ssu-mao, and formerly under the juris-"diction of Mêng Mêng and Mêng Lem."

Here they were at first entirely independent according to their own account and lived peacefully under their thirty-six *Fu* or Chiefs. A Burmese army, however, came up, overran their country, and declared the La'hu to be tributaries of Möng Lem. Previous to this they had had nothing to do with the Shans, and after the settlement the subordination to Möng Lem was merely nominal. Möng Lem was, however, partly under China and the subjection of the La'hu to the Lem State again attracted Chinese attention to them. Moreover, the Shan *Sawbwas* seem to have taken alarm at the expansion of La'hu territory, for a combined army of the "Nine *Sawbwas*," most prominent among whom were those of Kēngtūng and Kēng Hūng, attacked the La'hu country, but were so unsuccessful that a Burmese army again intervened and penetrated as far as the Tang-pa Haw, the Nam Hsüng. These appear to be the wars referred to in Shan history as the wars with Möng Kwi, and it is noticeable that this part of the country is referred to in the Kēngtūng neighbourhood as Möng Kwi, a further indication that the Kwi are not a separate race, but only a clan of the La'hu, who would thus apparently be the mysterious Gwe Shans of Mr. Parker.

The La'hu then seem to have remained at peace for many years until a further onward movement brought them in collision with the Chinese, and led the late Viceroy Tsen Yü-ying to denounce "the refractory attitude of the La'hu Chiefs and the danger "of their forming an alliance with their neighbours beyond the "frontier." The subjugation of their country was therefore begun as recently as 1887 and was only accomplished after much fighting, in which the Chinese were not always successful and indeed

effected little until they were reinforced with Krupp guns. The eventual result, however, was the addition of a new department called Chên-pien T'ing to the Yünnan administration. In much of the fighting the La'hu were aided by the Wa and both seem to have fought well. The *Peking Gazette* narrator, quoted by Mr. Warry, says he "met with scant respect from the Wild Wa, who, "being too little removed above the condition of the brute creation "to understand their own interests, repulsed the Imperial troops with "some loss. Hereupon a larger Chinese force was put in the field; "Nan-cha was taken and the Wild Wa retreated to their own hills, "where they have remained safe from 'the entire moral reformation' "with which the Chinese officially threaten them." This alliance probably accounts for the fact that so far as is known the only remaining *Ta Fu Yè*, or ancestral Chief of the La'hu, now lives on Nawng Hkeo hill, the headquarters of the Wild Wa. But as a race holding a country of their own the La'hu seem to have come to an end. They are as much wanderers as the Jews or the Hui-hui and at the most form the majority of the population on a block of hills here and there.

Mr. Warry says that the Chinese call them Loheirh out of pure mischief. "La'hu would have been an equally easy sound, but to the "Chinese mind it would not have been so appropriate a designation, "for it would not have conveyed the contemptuous meaning of "Loheirh. Loheirh may be translated Lo or La='niggers.' The "translation 'Black Lolos' is incorrect and also very misleading, "because it suggests that the La'hus are akin to or identical with the "'blackbone' Lolos, the 'tall, handsome, oval-faced, Aryan-like "race' of Western Ssu-ch'uan described by Mr. Baber. The "La'hus are a very different people. They are of small stature "with sharp prominent features and a keen and distrustful expres-"sion. Dressed in Chinese costume, which they usually affect, the "men are very like Chinamen in reduced circumstances. Their "women are somewhat better-looking, with bright intelligent faces "and figures well set off by their very picturesque national dress. "As a rule the Chinese have two names for aboriginal tribes on "their borders; one contemptuous, if not contumelious, for general "use, and the other euphemistic and employed only in the presence "of members of the tribe, or when the speaker is superstitiously "apprehensive of some hurt from them. This second designation "in the case of the La'hus is *Fu Chia* or 'the happy family.' The "unintentional irony of this term cannot fail to strike any one who "has seen the wretched discomfort in which the La'hus live and "recollects that for several years past they have been remorselessly "hunted and oppressed by the Chinese and robbed of whatever

"happiness might once have been their lot. If they are in any way "related to the Moso tribes of North-west Yünnan, whose ancient "capital was at Lichiang-fu, they have lost all tradition of the "connection, and indeed the Mosos of that region, as described by "Mr. T. T. Cooper and others, seem to have little or nothing in "common with them."

There are two main divisions of the La'hu race, the Great La'hus and the Yellow La'hus, according to Mr. Warry, but a commoner division is into the Red and Black, and there are very many subdivisions of them. The truth seems to be that the La'hu who have pressed farthest south and are farthest from their old home adopt the division into Red and Black, while those nearer China adhere to the probably older classes of Great and Yellow. A fugitive from Nan-cha told the compiler that the Great La'hus came from Mien-ning and the Yellow La'hus from Ch'ing-tung T'ing.

Mr. Warry says: "They (the Great and Yellow La'hus) are "distinguished by a slight difference in dress and a considerable "variation of dialect. The most obvious difference is in the mode "of wearing the hair. The Great La'hus shave the whole head, with "the exception of a square inch here and there, on which they grow "small top-knots. The Yellow La'hu shaves his head like a Chinese "but plaits no pig-tail, wearing a turban instead." Most of the La'hu seen in the Shan States shave like the Chinamen and wear a tail not plaited indeed, but tied with a bit of rattan or creeper at the end and of very rudimentary dimensions. This is only seen when they salute. They take the turban off, lay it on the ground before them, and then *kow-tow* in the regular Chinese fashion. The Black La'hu men wear coats and trousers of black or very dark blue cloth of the ordinary Shan cut, and their turbans are of the same material. They make a very sombre crowd. The women wear a long coat of similar material reaching nearly to the ankles and slit up at the sides to the hips. It is not unlike a dressing gown, or an Annamese woman's coat, except that the latter is not divided at the sides. This robe is fastened at the throat and over the bosom by a large silver boss or clasp; below this it falls away and exposes a triangular portion of the person there, and shows part of an under-garment which looks like a skirt, but may be trousers, as Captain H. R. Davies declares it is. Bead patterns and embroidery ornament the upper part, but there are no bright colours, and the turban, which is much the shape of a curling stone, is also black. The better-to-do women wear large silver rings or torques, not unlike those of the Palaungs, round the neck; poorer women seem to wear cane-necklets instead. Bracelets, which are mere plain ring bangles, with at the most a knob at the end, seem seldom to be worn, except on the left

arm. The earrings are quite as large as the bracelets and are often five inches or so across, so that they nearly reach the shoulders. These La'hu women give the impression of being much more fully dressed than any of their hill sisters, notwithstanding that the front of the waist is freely exposed.

The Red La'hus do not differ in cut of dress, and ordinarily the dress of the men does not differ at all. Now and then, however, they have strips of red and white round the sleeves of their coats and the legs of their trousers, like the Lü Shans, and sometimes they have white or yellow turbans. Like the Black La'hu men they have their ears bored and they perhaps oftener wear the large earrings, which are shaped like a mark of interrogation upside down.

The women's fashion of dress is the same, but instead of being all black the outer long coat is ornamented with red and white stripes, arranged like the frogs on a tunic. The under-garment is also frequently brown or some colour other than black. The ornaments do not appear to differ in any way, but the turban is narrower and higher, something like a chimney-pot. It is black.

Hpaya Kiri, or Cheli, the Chief of the La'hu settlement on the Möng Hsat-Müang Fang border, gave Captain H. R. Davies the following list of sixteen tribes. It will be noticed that the Kwi figure among them :—

(1) Pi Hti.	(6) Paw La.	(11) Si Pyeng.
(2) I Hso.	(7) La Law.	(12) Kyi Li.
(3) Hai.	(8) Na Pe.	(13) Sen Ling.
(4) Ku Lao.	(9) Hka Paw.	(14) Nam Baw Pe.
(5) Kwi.	(10) Si Pü.	(15) Pan Nai.
	(16) Veng Gya.	

Nothing similar to this has been obtained elsewhere, and it is to be noted that these La'hu of the border between the Shan and the Lao States have been where they are now settled for several generations, so that their traditions may have suffered in transmission. The name Pi Hti, however, appears in the Möng Hka "History." Hpaya Kiri and his La'hu do not shave the head. Most of them clip the hair, but some wear it knotted up. Whether this is a retention of old custom or not is not known. The Chinese may have forced the northerners to shave.

Everywhere the La'hu carries a cross-bow or *ka*. Occasionally a few have guns and, like everybody else in the hills, they carry *dhas*. But the *balestres* are the characteristic weapon, as they were with the people of King Cogachin of Carajan in Marco Polo's time, and poisoned quarels are still used for larger animals such as sambhur, bison, and tigers. These arblasts are very strong and well-made and,

except by those who have the knack, cannot be strung without the use of both hands and feet and even then only with considerable exertion and discomfort. The arrows are carried in a bamboo quiver and are usually of wood or bamboo throughout, without iron heads. Some are hardened with fire like the *hasta præusta.* They are feathered with leaves or bits of bamboo spathe. The La'hu are very expert with them, but do not shoot ordinarily at a greater distance than fifty yards, though they can kill at a hundred. At twenty paces the crack shots can hit a two-anna bit at least once in three attempts. The poison seems to be undoubtedly aconite, though its composition is made a mystery. In some places the La'hu say it comes from China; in others it is averred to be obtained by boiling chips of the wood of a huge forest tree which grows at Möng Ko in Hpayak.

In the south the La'hu cultivate rice and eat it. In many places also they grow cotton, but in the north their chief crop everywhere is opium and they live on buck-wheat and maize and have no rice whatever. They are very adaptable, for here and there, where they have suitable sites, they even try wet cultivation. Opportunities for this are, however, very rare.

Their houses in the south differ in no way from those of their Shan neighbours, but in the north they are sometimes like those of the Wa, sometimes like the Yao or 'Mêng. Ordinarily the villages are on the highest ranges and sheltered from the high winds which prevail during the spring months, but newly settled villages seem in addition to this to be built away from roads and in secluded places where they will attract as little notice as possible. The conditions of their existence for the last century or more have broken the spirit of many of the La'hu in the south and they have the name of being timid, cowardly, and puny in stature. But the La'hu in the north, though not tall, are muscular, and they maintained themselves with credit against the Chinese and were only overcome by superior numbers and weapons, after campaigns which have lasted over more than ten years.

Besides their cross-bows the characteristic of the La'hu is their *ken*, a musical instrument which consists of a dried gourd with a number of bamboo pipes plastered into it with bees-wax and much like the *kan* or reed-organ of the Lao Shans, though very much smaller and differing in having several holes in the sounding chamber. There are never more than four or five reeds, besides the mouth-piece, so that the compass is very much smaller than that of the Luang Prabang *kan*, which sometimes has as many as fourteen, besides ranging in size from three and a half feet to ten feet and

even more. The La'hu pipes vary from one foot to two and a half in length, and the sound is something between that of a flute and toy bagpipes. They are played by the men, who seem to march to the tune of them going to and coming from bazaar; but they are chiefly used for their dances. These are always carried on in a circle, the performers all close together and facing inwards. There is a good deal of posturing on one foot and stamping with the heel on the ground like a buck-rabbit. The musicians not only play but are the leaders in the dance and sway about in top-headed fashion. The airs are as elementary as the dances, but some of them are rather pleasing, and both are superior to the efforts of the Akha and Wa in the same direction. No one skilled in music has offered an opinion on the La'hu pipes, but Mr. Warington Smyth's remarks in his "Notes on a Journey to the Upper Mèkhong, Siam," on the Lao *kan* may be quoted as applicable: "With regard to the "music, it is impossible, without a long study of it, to say more "than that they are very fond of the minor, that they use the "octaves very much in playing, that the key-note may often be "heard down for a long time, and the time is generally a rapid "horse's trot, or quick march."

Besides this they have another musical instrument like a Jew's harp, consisting of a couple of slips of bamboo held close to the lips and blown through. This is called *pe* by the Shans and seems to be rather a toy than an instrument. Proficiency on it seems to be very rare, which is fortunate, for the very best results could hardly be attractive.

The farther south they are and the longer separated from the bulk of their race the more the La'hu seem to become like the ordinary spirit-worshippers of the hills. In Kēngtūng and to the south they worship Tiwara, who are spirits of the ordinary type, guardians of the houses, villages, mountains, rivers, trees, and so on, and the offerings seem to be of the usual kind. But in most places they say that they also worship one great spirit who dwells in the skies, and apparently this is the only religion of the parent stock. While they were yet a people with a country of their own they were ruled by *Fu*. This is the Chinese name for Buddha, and the fact that these *Fu* of the La'hus were spiritual as well as temporal rulers immediately suggests the *Lamas* of Thibet and hints at the original home of the race. In the Nan Cha Tōng Chu Kingdom of the La'hus there were thirty-six of these *Fu* and over them were set *Ta Fu Yè* or great Buddhas or *Lamas*, whose number is variously stated. These thirty-six *Fu* were, it is said, established at the instance of a great teacher, Kyan Sit Fu, who appeared mysteriously and ordered the construction of thirty-six *Fu-fang* or

sacred (Buddhistic) houses. When they were built he disappeared as suddenly as he came. There were originally 360 *huyè* (priests) in charge of these *Fu-fang*. They abstained from eating flesh and adopted asceticism of various forms. The only Ta Fu Yè known still to exist or, at any rate, who has been met with, is the Chief of Möng Hka and he, if not himself actually the object of worship, is at any rate chief ministrant in the new year's festivities. His house is in the last of a series of squares, arranged in a line, marked out by loose stone walls and absolutely bare, like the entrance courts leading up to a Confucian temple, except for the second, which has in the centre a rudely squared cubical altar, or block of stone.

Similar squared stones are on knolls all round about. At the new year each of these is visited in turn by processions firing guns and beating gongs, and lighted candles and burning joss sticks are deposited before them. There are also a series of small sheds with no adornments of any kind, nothing but a board with an inscription in Chinese, the purport of which has not been ascertained. These are called alternatively *Kaw-mu* and *Fu-fang*. *Kaw-mu* suggests the Burmese *Kaung Hmu*, often used for a pagoda, and *Fu-fang* is the ordinary name for a Buddhist temple in Chinese. The main Fu-fang at Möng Hka stands on the top of the ridge behind the village. This also is approached through a series of bare courts outlined by loose stone walls, but in several of them stand white umbrellas and long poles with pennants or streamers, such as are familiar on the Burmese *Tagôndaing*. The shrine itself in the farthest court consists of no more than a couple of rude sheds, long and barrack-like. The entrance to each is in the middle of the side and within there is nothing but a line of tables or altars, with erections on them like troughs reared on end and inscribed with Chinese characters. There is no suggestion of an image of any kind; the offerings of food, fruit, and flowers are placed on the tables, candles and joss sticks burn outside the shed and at the foot of the pillars, but there is no priest or monk in charge and there appear to be no regular services or days of worship. The whole in its simplicity and vagueness recalls the State religion of China, the worship of the *Tien* or *Hwang-tien*, the imperial concave expanse of heaven, rather than a form of Buddhism. The name *Ta Fu Yè* and the sacred character of its bearer, as has been said, suggest the *Lamas* of Tibet, or rather the *Dalai Lama*, for the ordinary *Lama* is nothing more than a Buddhist monk and the lamasseries are simply monasteries on a gigantic scale. In Tibet the power nominally passed from the *Lamas* to the Chinese Governors two centuries ago. If the La'hus came from Tibet or its neighbourhood, they certainly left it long before then.

Apparently temples such as above described can only exist where there is a *Ta Fu Yè*, which may account for the fact that the scattered La'hu not only do not build them, but seem gradually to be becoming mere *nat*-worshippers like the majority of their neighbours. At any rate no *Fu-fang* seems to have been seen except that at Möng Hka. The headquarters of the Chinese prefecture of Chên-pien is now established at an old La'hu *Fu-fang*, and indeed the Shan name of the place retains the name, for it is called *Hpu Hpang*, and the aspirated *p* among the Chinese-Shans is always pronounced *f*. It is not known whether the La'hu temple there was of the same construction as that at Möng Hka, nor whether the La'hu Chief's house was approached through a series of courts, nor whether there are the cubical stone altars which so far have only been seen at Möng Hka.

Everywhere, however, they seem to keep the *Waw-Lông* feast which corresponds in time with the Chinese New Year, as also a minor festival, which they call the *Waw-noi*, or lesser *Waw*, about a fortnight later. At Möng Hka at this season, *jingals* are fired at sunset for three days and during that time at frequent intervals parties firing guns and beating gongs make the round of the shrines and deposit wax candles and burning joss-sticks. Elsewhere, animistic worship prevails, offerings are made to the spirits with much playing of *kens* and dancing and singing. On such occasions the women dance as well as the men. The *Waw Noi* is celebrated with the same formalities, but only for a single day. During both these feasts no stranger is allowed to enter a La'hu village and, if by chance one is found, he is kept till the feast is over; "everything he has, including his clothes, is taken away from him "and he is finally sent away naked," according to Captain Davies. The reason given is that the spirits are displeased at the presence of a stranger. There are many other observances to be kept during this festival; no one must tread on a fireplace and no language but La'hu is permissible.

There is much about the La'hu customs which suggests that they must at one time have been Buddhists. Their religion on the one hand has been influenced by the Taouism of China and on the other has dwindled back to the spirit-worship characteristic of primitive races. Where they have not been broken down by oppression and misfortunes they are a greatly superior race to most of the mountain tribes.

Prince Henri d'Orleans found that in some places the Lochai, as he calls the La'hu (no doubt from the Chinese Law'hè), called themselves Lolo. He was told that the La'hu had a written character, which was like the writing used on Mandarins' seals. The

people of a village near Mien-ning told him that "the Lochais, like "the Lolos, came from near Nang-king ages ago." His account of the Mos-sus and their *Mokwa* may be compared with La'hu customs and Chiefs (*see* below).

Mr. G. C. B. Sterling gives the following account of the La'hu or Muhsö settlements in Kĕngtūng, and of the Kwi or La'hu Hsi :—

"The people called Muhsö by the Shans call themselves La'hu. There are two main tribes, or divisions—Lahuna and Lahuhsi. The dialects are said to differ considerably. The Muhsö settlers in Kĕngtūng have for the most part come from the north of Möng Lem. Some of their villages are on the highest hill ranges, and the people cultivate opium. Others are at a lower elevation, where the ordinary mixed agriculture of the hills is practised. The Muhsö have a great festival once a year, when sacrifices of fowls are made to the spirits; strangers are forbidden to enter their villages at this time. The chief spirit is called Ne-u. A Muhsö has one wife. He is supposed to live four years in her parents' house and three years in the house of his own parents before setting up for himself.

"This custom, however, seems to be often disregarded. Divorce is obtainable by a payment of Rs. 12 to the village headman who pronounces it. The dead are buried in wooden coffins. If the relatives are wealthy, money and valuables are buried with the body.

"The people called Kwi by the Shans often accept that designation, but their real tribal name is La'huhsi (or Lahuchi). They generally live at a considerable elevation. Their agriculture is mixed—rice, cotton, maize, &c., and sometimes opium. Their houses are built of bamboo, small, and are slightly raised from the ground. The same house is often occupied by more than one family. At the roads leading to a village there are small gates—two posts with a cross-bar. These gates are practically the same as those erected by the Hkön and Lü and in no way resemble the high structures of the Kaw. In each village there is a building with a small shrine in which is a Chinese letter, or paper with Chinese characters. One or two Chinese manuscript books are usually hung up in the building. The full moon and the last of the waning moon are worship days. One man in every village has some knowledge of Chinese, and he teaches the youths. A kwi has only one wife, but marriage after the death of a husband or wife is permitted and is usual. No money is given to a girl's parents when she is sought in marriage, but they live in her parents' house and work for the family. If the parents require their services, the husband and wife may have to pass several years in this way before they are free to set up house on their own account. On the occasison of a marriage fowls and pigs are killed, spirits procured, and a feast given to the whole village. Divorce is obtained by a payment to the village headman. If the husband die after the pair have removed from the house of the wife's parents, the wife does not return there. She either marries again or continues to live where she is. On the death of the head of a family the property is equally divided amongst the sons. Daughters get nothing. Except in the case of young infants, the dead are burned.

"Crime appears to be rare amongst the Kwi, and they have no code of justice. A man caught thieving can be killed. Three times in the year

sacrifices of pigs and fowls are made to the spirits. Private or family offerings may be made at any time, and are usual in case of sickness. A small pig is the ordinary offering on these occasions. The spirits worshipped are the spirits of the hills and forests. The Kwi (Lahuhsi) can understand the Muhsö (Lahu Lam) tolerably well, but the two dialects differ considerably."

The Li-hsaws or Lisaws.

Captain H. B. Walker in his *Kachin Gazetteer*, Mr. E. C. S. George, and others have classed as a cognate race with the Kachins, a tribe whom they call Lishaws or Yaoyens. Some remarks have been made on this subject in the chapter on Kachins. It seems certain that the clan spoken of has nothing to do with the real Yao tribes—the Ting-pan, Lanten, and others—and it seems equally probable that it is really identical with the Li-hsaws, who are found scattered, always in very small settlements and at great altitudes, all over the Shan States on both sides of the Salween. If so, the linguistic test (*see* the comparative vocabularies) points almost irresistibly to the conclusion that the Li-hsaws are practically identical with the La'hu, or at any rate form only an earlier or later swarm from the main stock from which the La'hu come. Monsieur Bons d'Anty, as will be seen later, is satisfied that the La'hu are a half-breed race. It is possible that the Li-hsaws are so also. But as to the connection of the two there can be no manner of doubt.

In North Hsen Wi there are about a thousand Li-hsaws living in perhaps a score of villages, and in Tawng Peng Loi Lōng and Möng Mīt (Momeik) there is perhaps an equal number. In person and features these Li-hsaws are not easily distinguishable from the so-called Chinese of Yünnan, or from the Hui-hui, and they dress in the same style. Most of the men talk Chinese fluently. Their villages are always isolated and on a very lofty ridge or on the sheltered side of a peak. Frequently the site is cut out of dense forest. The houses are substantially built of wood and are not raised above the ground. The walls usually consist of stakes, averaging six inches in diameter, driven into the ground side by side and often plastered outside with mud. The roof consists of very heavy thatch, rather of the "cottar" than of the Shan and Burmese character. Each house has two or more rooms, in which frequently several families are established. The villages are never fenced or fortified in any way, and the multitude of pigs kept usually makes them very filthy. The staple crop is Indian-corn, which forms the food of the village with quantities of pork. Much country spirit is also brewed.

The Li-hsaw religion seems to be in a transition state between ancestral and simple spirit worship.

Marriages are said to be arranged by the parents while the children, or at any rate the girls, are of very tender years. Half the marriage portion, or the price of the girl, has to be paid before she reaches the age of fifteen. When she is of that age the village elders go to her parents' house with the second instalment and take away the girl to the bridegroom, who conducts her to his father's house. No further ceremonial beyond drinking seems required. It is said that the price of the women in each family has been fixed by immemorial usage and that no special charm in an individual, or the want of it, is allowed to alter the price of the girl. Thus if ten rupees, which seems to be a common amount, is the family price, a beauty is not allowed to be bought for more, nor is a plain girl to be had for less.

The Li-hsaws have no fixed cemeteries. The dead are buried in any remote place. The body is put in a wooden coffin and the spirits are consulted as to the time for interment. Till this arrives the body is kept in an open place, closely fenced round by stakes. When the fixed time comes the male friends and relatives cut down this fence with their *dhas* and the coffin is then carried away to some lonely spot. The graves are not marked or tended in any way.

Mr. Stirling writes as follows of the Li-hsaws in Kĕngtūng:—

"But few villages of this tribe are found in Kĕngtūng State. They are opium cultivators, and live on the highest hill ranges. Their habits and civilization seem to be distinctly Chinese. They intermarry with Chinese, but never with Shans, and they celebrate the Chinese New Year. The same house is sometimes occupied by more than one family, but there is no set custom. A wife is stolen from her parents in the first instance. The pair hide in the jungle for a day or two, and then return to the village. A feast is given and a money payment made to the girl's parents proportionate to the means of the husband. Formerly the price of a wife was one hundred and fifty rupees, but it is now very much less. Parents always consent to a match after the man has succeeded in abducting his bride. After the marriage feast, and payment to the parents, the woman becomes her husband's property.

"There is no divorce, but he can sell her if they do not agree together. The Li-hsaw bury their dead. They worship the spirits of their ancestors, and they sacrifice pigs and fowls to the divinities of the hills and forests."

The Akha tribes.

These are more commonly known as the Kaw or Hka-kaw, the prefix *hka*, as in all similar cases, meaning a slave, or conquered race. In some parts they seem to call themselves Akhö. But see below.

The Akha are probably the most numerous and widely distributed of the hill tribes in Kĕngtūng, certainly in the eastern hills, and they

are also found in considerable numbers east of the Mèkhong, but how far east they extend is uncertain, though it is said there are many in the valley of the Black River. They are a bigger race of men than most of their neighbours and swarthier, but much of the darkness of their complexion is due to a dislike to the use of water. They have a much less Chinese cast of countenance than the Yao tribes, but like all the hill-men have a knowledge of Chinese. Mr. Warry therefore has been able to collect more trustworthy information about them than most of the other observers who have come across them, and much of what follows is taken from his reports. On one point all who have seen them are agreed, and that is, that they are very stolid, if not wanting in intelligence, and very little is to be learned from them of their origin or their customs. They have coarse heavy features, quite distinct from those of the Shan, and with higher bridges to their noses and rounder eyes than the Chinaman. The most characteristic feature is, however, perhaps their pointed, projecting jaw, which Monsieur Bons d'Anty points to as a distinctly Oceanic type. The general expression is honest but stupid, and there is a vague suggestion of the Tongkinese about them, though physically they are very superior to that effeminate race. They wear pig-tails, but these are more of the size of the Hindu's *shendi* or salvation lock than the Chinaman's queue, and are never eked out with false hair or silk endings. It is only in fact when the men take off the turban to *kowtow* that the existence of these tails is realized. Like the Annamese and the Wa they eat dogs, but they are not so eclectic as either of these races or the Chinese. The Annamese will only eat black dogs which have a black palate; the Chinaman will only eat the chow dog, which also has a black palate, no matter what his coat may be like; the Wa fatten for the table a special breed of dog which looks like a dwarf pariah; but the Akha will apparently eat any kind of dog he can lay hands on. The men's dress is practically that of the Shan or the Chinaman; coats and trousers dark blue or black, turbans black, dark blue, or occasionally red, the only relief to the general sombreness. Some of the wealthier men on market days appear in elaborately braided coats, with a considerable quantity of silver ornaments, coat-buckles, buttons, necklaces, and earrings.

The dress of the women is much more distinctive, as always with the hill tribes, and varies according to the different clans. As a general thing it consists of a short coat which stops a long way short of the next garment, a sort of kilt, rather than a petticoat, which reaches from the waist half way down to the knee and has a singular aptitude for getting unfastened. The head-dress varies with the clans and with most is rather striking. The simplest form

is that of two circlets of bamboo, one going round the top of the head horizontally and the other fastened to it at an acute angle so as to go round the back of the head. These are covered with dark blue cotton stuff and are ornamented with studs and bosses and spangles of silver arranged sometimes in lines, sometimes in a pattern. An elaboration of this with broader bands and more of them rises to the height of a mitre and is studded with spangles and seeds and hung with festoons of seeds and shells, tiny dried gourds, and occasionally coins. Still another form is a tall conical cap like that of a witch or of the time of the Plantagenets, also decked with beads and the white seeds of shrubs. The unmarried girls wear skull caps, or coifs of blue cloth similarly ornamented and coming low down over the brows like a Newgate fringe. Ropes of white seed necklaces are worn and the calves are covered with cloth leggings as a protection against leeches rather than as a covering or an adornment, which they certainly are not. All the women let the hair fall over the brows, some of them part it in the middle, and at least one clan wears it coiled in heavy loops over the ears in "owl in the ivy-bush" fashion.

The Akha believe that the country round, or to the north of Talang T'ing in the southern division of Yünnan, was their original home. This, Mr. Warry says, "is almost certainly not the case, "but Talang seems to have been the last centre from which they "migrated in any numbers," and there may be still some representatives of their race there. Mr. Warry continues: "There are "seven main divisions of the tribe, said to be named after seven "brothers from whom all Akha are descended. These are Suli, "Chi-cho, Sat-do, Chi-ma, Mota, Luwei, and Puchet (see also below). "In Kēng Chēng I met and conversed with members of the first four "divisions. The people are further subdivided into many different "clans, the names of which it is not worth while setting down here. "The dialect of each division of the tribe varies, but not so much as "to make communication difficult. There is also a considerable "difference in the costume affected by the women." The Akhas cultivate cotton largely, but in the west and north the main crop is the poppy, the sowing of which is often superintended by Chinamen, who come for the purpose in December and January and return again in March and April to look after the preparation of the opium. The chief peculiarity of the Akha in the opinion of the Chinese is that, though they thus in many places live by growing opium, they rarely or never smoke it. The Akhas are proud to have the Chinese with them and entertain them most hospitably, calling them in familiar speech *Muchus* or brothers. The Chinese seem to reciprocate this friendliness, for they pay them the high compliment of

calling them by their proper name, Akha, instead of by a nickname, as is the case with almost every other hill tribe. The cotton grown by the Southern Akha is sold to the Chinese as well as the opium. There are goats in most villages, and a certain amount of hill paddy is also grown, but there is no wet cultivation and all the villages are on the hills, but not usually at the highest elevations, which are left to the La'hu, Miaotzu, and Yao.

As far as stature and muscles are concerned the Akhas ought to be the best fighters of the hills, but instead of that they seem to be the drudges and are invariably summoned down by the Shans when there is any laborious or unpleasant work to be done. Nevertheless it is said that at times they have appeared as warriors, and in 1854-55 it was chiefly they who hung on the rear of the Siamese retreating from Kĕngtūng and cut up nearly the whole army. They have a curious habit of building their granaries at long distances from their villages and fields, often along the banks of a mountain stream. This is said to be done as a safeguard against fire, and singularly enough the granaries are mostly built on the roadside, showing a confidence in the honesty of mankind which is all the more striking from the secluded position of their villages. An increase of civilization will probably teach them that their property is in greater danger than their persons.

As a people they are not as resourceful as other neighbouring hill tribes, who, when one crop fails, can generally tide over a bad season by turning their hand to something else. The Akha, if his cotton or his poppy field is blighted, has no idea of saving the situation in any other way than by selling himself or his family into slavery. Simplicity and timidity are more characteristic of them than of any other hill men. When they descend to the markets in the plains, each village apparently makes up a party and they hang together like a flock of sheep. The men have string bags, but these hold little more than their pipes and tobacco and such like odds and ends. The women have baskets on their backs, carried by a strap round the forehead. Sometimes instead of a basket they have a wooden trough and from this the husband dispenses what he has to sell—vegetables or forest produce—and piles up in it the family purchases. Like the La'hu almost every party has at least one *ken*, the musical instrument well known as the Lao mouth-organ. The Akha *ken* are, however, of very modest dimensions, and the dried gourd with its inserted reed pipes rarely measures more than eighteen inches over all. It is also greatly inferior in tone to the five or six feet high instrument of Luang Prabang. Both the tunes and the sound suggest rather the bagpipes than a flute or an organ, and

the exertion of playing also reminds one of the chanter. The Akha seem to use it only for dancing and, so far as is at present known, only the men dance. The ladies' skirts are eminently unsuited for such exercise both from their exiguity and their elusiveness, except in home circles. Four or five Kaws gather together in a small circle with their heads inwards and dance round and round to their own music, a sort of figure which suggests the Highland fling performed by a man in the last state of physical exhaustion. The La'hu and the Wa have similar dances slightly more energetic and more like the camp-fire dances of the Khasias or the riotous vigour of the *khatak* of the Pathan.

The Akha builds his house of bamboo with the floor slightly raised above the level of the ground. It consists generally of one room, very small, dirty, and overcrowded. There is practically no furniture beyond mats, and the provisions for privacy are equally meagre. If there are any partitions at all, they do not exceed one, and that is for the parents, and only very particular house-holds have that, no matter how old the sons and daughters may be. "As "might be inferred from this, the Akha's notions of sexual morality "are laxer than those of other tribes, and his marriage ceremonies "are simpler and more primitive. When a couple agree to marry, "they go away together for a night, and in the morning return and "tell the girl's parents. Then follows a sort of entertainment at "which the news is made public, and after an interval of a few "days the man comes and demands his bride and escorts her to his "house. Singing and feasting conclude the proceedings. Unlike "many of the other hill tribes, the Akha will, if the chance offers, "intermarry with any stranger. Akha girls, however, though some-"times sufficiently comely, do not seem to be in much demand, "except with Chinamen of broken fortune, who cannot succeed in "obtaining a wife of their own nationality. One often finds half-a-"dozen Chinamen with Akha wives living in an Akha village. "Akha settlements, in which a good proportion of the male inha-"bitants are Chinese, or in which the inhabitants are of mixed "Chinese and Akha descent, style themselves *K'o-chia* or Commu-"nities of Guests. It is as well to record this fact, because the "word will certainly become corrupted and unintelligible before "long, and the people will have a distinctive type of feature which "may well puzzle the ethnographer of the future." It is no doubt in this fashion that many of the one hundred and forty-one classes of aborigines recorded in the (Chinese) Topography of Yünnan have come into existence, and there are beyond dispute many of our own clans and sub-tribes which will have to be amended with fuller knowledge.

"On the death of an Akha of position a large tree is felled and "a section of it is hollowed out into a coffin. In this the body is "placed and with it some of the favourite personal effects of the "deceased. The local seer, or medicine man, is then procured to "recite a burial service. He takes up a position in front of five "buffaloes placed in line and commences his incantations while the "assembled company sit round and wait. At the proper mystic "moment he springs on a pony, rides at the nearest buffalo, and kills "it with his *dha*. The other four are then more sedately slaughter-"ed, the flesh is cooked, wine is produced, and revelry is kept up "for many hours. Afterwards the body is buried on some lonely "hill-side, the top of the grave being left level with the surrounding "soil. No ceremonies are performed at the grave and no mark is "placed over it; in a very short time it is overgrown with jungle "and its position is forgotten. The religion of the Akha seems to "consist mainly of ancestor-worship, or rather the propitiation of "their ancestors, whom they regard as malignant influences, likely, "if neglected, to return and injure them. The west door of their "house is for the use of their ancestors, who are supposed to be "somewhere in the region of the setting sun and may possibly "sometimes desire to re-visit their descendants. No male of the "family and no strangers are ever allowed to enter by this door; "the women may do so, but reverently and not too often. There "are twelve feasts in the course of the year, when pigs are sacrificed "and rice cakes are prepared and the whole village gives itself up "to festivity for some days. At such times the old legends of the "tribe are recited in order that they may not fall into oblivion, and "respect is duly paid to ancestors by placing portions of the feast "in an earthenware vessel in the part of the house where the last "death has occurred, or, if there has been no death, then outside "the house on its western side. At the conclusion of the festival the "vessel is removed and hidden in the jungle. Most of the above "particulars were given to me by Akha of the Puli tribe, who said "that with unimportant differences they applied to all the divisions "of the Akha race"—(*Warry*).

In most villages there is an arch across the road on the outskirts. This is formed in all villages seen by the compiler of four high posts of bamboos bending together at the top to suspend a log of wood cut roughly in the shape of the yoke or collar worn by men and women across the chest when they carry heavy loads. Captain H.R. Davies, however, speaks of "three long bamboo poles stuck up, "joined together at the top; this had something to do with their "religion, which is some form of spirit worship."

Mr. Warry does not notice this erection. It is doubtless designed to prevent spirits (who are always assumed to be stupid and suspicious) from entering the village, but the *Kaw* do not like talking about the spirits, whom they call *miksa*, lest these should hear something derogatory and visit their resentment on the speaker. None of the villages appear to be fortified or even fenced in.

Mr. G. C. B. Stirling says:

"The Kēngtūng Shans recognize three divisions of this tribe—the Pu Li, the Na Li, and the Tao Sa Mi. The Kaw call their race Akha, and say there are a great number of clans.

"The following are the names of some:—

Se Mö.	Pü Bè.	Hset Gong.
Pü Mya.	Hwe Zü.	Ma Zü.
Pü Tsü.	Hwe Mè.	Lu Chè.
Taw Chè.	Byaung Lè.	

"They worship the spirits of their ancestors, as well as the spirits of the hills, rivers, &c. Pigs and fowls are offered as sacrifices. The chief spirit is known as Mi Hsa. At every Kaw village there are large gateways—generally two. They are called La Kawng and are said to be put up to show the boundaries of the village. Spirits seeing these structures recognize the village limits and, if properly propitiated, will stay outside.

"A Kaw can have as many wives as he can afford to keep. One rupee is paid to the parents of a girl when she is sought in marriage. The husband gives a feast to the whole village and spends as much money on it as he can afford. Divorce is easy, and is obtained by making a money payment to the woman. The amount varies. It is larger if the woman has borne sons, but apparently is never great. The husband always keeps the children. Dead are buried, and it is customory to bury clothes with the body, but not money."

Mr. Stirling gives the following account of the Akhö. They are probably a half-breed race. The Akha are tall; the Akhö seem to be short as a rule, but comparative vocabularies show a distinct connection:—

"This tribe is so called by the Shans, and the name is accepted by the people themselves, who do not know of any other name for their race. They are not very numerous in Kēngtūng State, and appear to have only settled here about two generations ago. Their fathers, they say, came from China, and were able to speak Chinese. They have no written language and no tradition of having ever had letters.

"An Akö village is usually small. The houses have no platforms, but they are reasonably weather-proof. There may be several families under one roof, and, if so, all work together. Each house has two hearths—one for ordinary use, and one for the spirit called *Mihsa*, which seems to be the spirit of ancestors. No one, but a member of the family, can approach this inner hearth. Sacrifices to the spirits take place at irregular intervals, but generally twice a year on a large scale. Pigs, fowls, and sometimes dogs are

offered up. Private and family sacrifices for the recovery of health, &c., are customary, and may be made at any time. There are gates to a village (like those of the *Kaw*) and these are closed when sacrifices are going on.

"An Akö has only one wife. A feast is provided for the whole village by the bridegroom at his marriage. The only special ceremony seems to be the tying together of the arms of the couple. When a child is born an offering is made to the spirits. The custom is for a man to bring his wife to the house of his eldest brother, if he has one. If the husband dies, the wife can return to her parents if she chooses, provided there are other men in the house. But she must leave the children with her husband's family. Should the pair have set up house for themselves, and there be no male relation left in it after the husband's death, the wife must remain there with the children—apparently to keep up the family altar. There is no objection to her taking a second husband in either case. Divorce is unusual. If the man wants it, he pays Rs. 12-8-0. If the woman, she pays Rs. 25. The dead are always buried. In former years gold and valuables used to be buried with the body, but this is not done now, for fear the Shans would dig them up.

"The Akö, both men and women, are very small people. The men wear a pig tail and dress in the ordinary dark blue cotton. The women wear a *lungyi*, of the coarser Shan type, but with this exception, their clothes are generally dark blue. The villages are at a moderate elevation, and the agriculture practised is mixed—rice, cotton, maize, &c."

The Panna and Lotè.

So far as is known neither of these tribes are found in British teritory, but only the Mèkhong divides them from hills to which they may very well migrate when their present fields are exhausted. Moreover, they seem very closely allied to the Kaws or Akhas, and Mr. Warry is the only observer who has separated them, and he does so very guardedly and on the authority of the people themselves. "The Akhas disclaim all connection with them, and the "Panna and Lotè repudiate relationship with the Akhas with still "more vehemence. There is certainly small likeness between the "two, the Panna having a longer and heavier face, smaller eyes, "and squarer chins; neither is there any similarity in the female "costume. The Panna woman wears a thick jacket folded in "Japanese fashion across the breast. She does her hair up in a "high square mass projecting over the forehead and confined with "a closely fitting turban. In the lobe of the ear she wears thick "thimble-shaped silver tubes with large silver bangles dangling "below them. Round her waist are a number of hoops of straw "braid; below she wears a short blue skirt and gaiters. Altogether "it is a very distinctive costume. In spite of these differences "there is, no doubt, a similarity between the languages of the "Panna and the Akha. The Panna told me that they could under-"stand nearly half the Akha said, but that the Akha, 'being natu-

"rally dull of apprehension,' could understand very little of what "they said.

"I saw a number of Panna in the hills above Tang Aw, but only "once came across Lotè, so that my remarks must apply mainly "to the former division of the tribe. Altogether there are said to be "some three hundred families of Panna and Lotè in Chieng Kong "and the Trans-Mèkhong Kēngtūng tract. Their own country "lies on the border of China proper, north of the tea districts, "(*i.e.*, near Ssu-mao). The *Sawbwa* is at present at Lotè. For-"merly the Panna had a *Sawbwa* of their own, but they took the "wrong side during the Panthay revolt and were punished by being "placed under the Lotè. This arrangement has been felt as a "grievance ever since by the Panna, for, though related to the Lotè, "they are different from them in many respets and seldom or never "intermarry with them. The present *Sawbwa*, they say, is un-"popular both with the Panna and with his own people, and it is on "account of his oppression and exactions that his subjects have "begun to emigrate.

"The Panna are agriculturists and the crop they prefer is poppy. "The community I visited in the Tang Aw neighbourhood had "about two hundred acres of this under cultivation. Their method "of preparing opium was the same as that practised everywhere in the "Shan country and, when the juice has been extracted from the "poppy-head, they grind up the seeds and make very palatable "cakes with the flour. In the only Panna hamlet I visited, La'hu "had been engaged to put up the houses. The Panna said that "the plan of their own houses was very much the same.

"The Lotè are more assimilated to the Chinese in social cus-"toms and observances than the Panna. As a Chinaman concisely "expressed it to me: 'The Panna are three-tenths civilized; the "Lotè seven-tenths.' The Lotè *Sawbwa* and many of his male "subjects wear Chinese clothes, but the women retain their national "dress."

With this may be compared the notes of a French observer. In his enumeration of the tribes round Ssu-mao he is almost certainly referring to Akha tribes.

"*Les Lolos.*—Ces aborigènes que l'on est tenté de considérer comme les autochthones du Yunnan sont assez nombreux dans la région de Ssemao. ils n'ont point de chefs reconnus officiellement par les Chinois, mais il est probable qu'ils s'administrent eux mêmes, les mandarins ne s'occupent d'eux que pour recueillir les impôts, ou dans le cas où il se produit de graves dissensions dans les familles. Le groupe Lolo comprend, semble-t-il, plusieurs branches distinctes :

PLATE XVI.



Photo.-Block.

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, 1899.

MÊNG OR MIAOTZU MEN AND WOMEN.

1° Les Lolos proprement dits qui se dessignent eux-mêmes sous le nom de *Massous*, *Nessous*, *Lessous* ou *Lissous*; ce serait là en même temps l'application générique du groupe tout entier.

2° Les Woni (Woni blancs et Woni noirs) repartis en tribus on clans: Saupi, Khato, Tchetou, Sansou, Poutou, Poula, Poukeng, Piyo, &c.

Les idiomes de tous ces Lolos ont un fond commun; à Ssemao on rencontre surtout outre les Lolos proprement dits, des Poutou, des Khato, des Koutsong, et des Mahê; ces derniers, venus il y a une vingtaine d'années des environs de Talang (which is the place the Akha told Mr. Warry they came from), habitent dans la plaine, aux portes de la ville; les autres Lolos vivent dans la montagne. Les Koutsong et surtout les Mahê sont très misérables; ils exercent les métiers les plus vils, et ils apparaissent au milieu du reste de la population comme des peuplades abâtardies et dégénérées.

Les femmes Lolos portent le costume de leurs tribus, les hommes sont habillés à la Chinoise.

Il convient d'ajouter que les Lolos ne se considèrent nullement comme les premiers occupants du sol; leurs traditions tendraient au contraire, à faire admettre qu'ils ne se sont établis dans la région qu'à une époque relativement récente. (*Jour. Off. de l'Indo-Chine, 25th Jan. 1897.*)

The Miaotzu.

Mr. Warry says "the real name of the so-called Miaotzu tribes is "'Meng'" (Hmêng). The Shans call them Meao or Hka Meao in the Kēngtūng and Lao States, and in Kokang they are called Hkè Hpök, White Chinamen, and call themselves Mūng; in some parts of Yünnan the name Hpö seems to be applied to them. Mr. Warry continues: "Miaotzu is the Chinese term for them, and, like "all Chinese terms for other races, it implies disparagement and "contempt. In parts of China where these tribes are numerous and "powerful the Chinese do not dare to use the word in their hearing. "They call them then Chung-chia, or apply some flattering descrip-"tive title, such as 'Lords of the mountains' [the same title it may "be remarked is in similar circumstances applied to the Kachins], to "them. The Hmêng have, however, always been mentioned by "travellers under the term Miaotzu, and as Miaotzu they will con-"tinue I suppose to be described until the end of the chapter." The name is rendered by some "children of the soil," with the implication of "simple dirt," but Mr. Bourne says it means "roots." Chinese chroniclers say there are eighty-two tribes of them, but probably many of these are mere clans while others are distinct races. Dr. Wells Williams thought their language in the southern branches was akin to Siamese and Annamese, which is much as if he had said the Icelandic has affinities with Russian and Portuguese; and the northern branches, the Lolo, whom later authorities consider distinct, he grouped with the Burmese. M. Bons d'Anty agrees

in finding linguistic resemblances between the Lolo and the Burmese, but separates the Miaotzu from the Lolo. He also said the Yau-jin (Yaos) were a Miaotzu tribe, that they came to trade in Canton, and that the Chinamen there were convinced that they had tails like monkeys. Very much more information is wanted before we can accept or deny these statements. It is said by Mr. C. H. Judd that a Burmese embassy passing through Kueichao found that they understood many Hmêng words; some observers also detect analogies to the language of the Kachins. All this only proves that more information is wanted. Mr. Warry is our most trustworthy authority. He says that the race comprises nearly one half of the population of the province of Kueichao and is also very numerous in Kiangsi and neighbouring provinces. "Ts'en Yü-ying, "the late famous Viceroy of Yünnan and Kueichao, I may mention "was of Miaotzu extraction, as is also the present (1895) acting "Viceroy Ts'en Yü-pao. There has of late been a considerable emi- "gration from that province into the northern parts of Tongking, "whence a few communities have found their way westwards into "Chieng Kong, Kēng Cheng, and the Hsip Hsawng Panna. Möng "Hsing is the only place in British teritory where I have ever seen "Miaotzu, except in Kokang in 1891." There are several villages in Kēngtūng and two in Kokang, and probably more exist or will settle. They are a nomadic race, wandering when their hill-fields become exhausted by cultivation.

"There are three principal tribes of Miaotzu, distinguished by the "Chinese as Red, White, and Black. (The Black Hmêng are said to be the most numerous and powerful in Kueichao, but early in the seventies the Chinese, aided by the coloured or particoloured Miao, as Mr. Bourne calls them, made an attack on them and killed great numbers, so that not more than 70,000 are supposed now to exist). "I have met members of the first two divisions only; they call them- "selves respectively 'Meng-len and 'Meng-tou. In appearance "they are much alike, but the dialects and the costume of the women "are different. The 'White' Miaotzu woman wears a white kilt and "a buttoned-up jacket with a high collar; the others wear coloured "kilts and collar-less jackets folded across the breast" (*Warry*). Most of the men are dressed in Chinese or Shan fashion, but the more well-to-do have long coats with sailor collars covered with very elaborate and finely worked embroidery. This embroidery work is always found on a little bag, something like an ornamental purse worn in front tied to the waist-belt. The same also appears in the women's turn-down collars, and in sashes or pinafores, which have a singular general resemblance to the aprons worn in masonic ceremonies. The kilts of the women begin at the waist and end above the

knee, but they are pleated or frilled in accordion skirt fashion into a bulk and amplitude not to be excelled by the petticoats of the Dutch woman. A large blue turban seems to be common to both clans. This is worn so as to show the back hair. The legs and feet are bare. The coloured kilts (no other term can be used, though the garment is not feminine) seen by the compiler have invariably had a zigzag pattern *printed* on them with indigo. The printing is done by the Hmêng themselves with wooden blocks prepared for the purpose. These people are the most interesting and intelligent in the hills and they are by far the best looking. Many of the women could pass for natives of Northern Europe as far as fairness of skin and apple cheeks go, and in personal attractions they could equally challenge comparison. They have hazel eyes, straight or slightly aquiline noses, oval faces, a pleasant smile, and very simple engaging manners. The women are distinctly short. The men are taller without being really tall. They still use arblasts as in Ser Marco's time and their quarels are poisoned, but they no longer wear *jambeux of courbouly*, boiled leather harness.

Such villages as exist in British territory are of recent settlement and therefore probably below the general standard of comfort. Even under these conditions, however, the Hmêng houses are more substantial than those of other hillmen, though they are all very small. The villages seem to be all on a heavy slope and the houses stand on a raised foundation of stone and sun-dried clay, or on piles. The older houses seem to have mud-walls; others have the walls formed of barked logs, or stout upright planks placed side by side, and the roof is of shingles. The interior consists of one long room with little closets partitioned off here and there in the corners and along the sides, according to the number of the family, in which they sleep on bamboo bedsteads. The houses are fairly high and almost all of them have a sort of loft, formed by rafters or planks, thus making a ceiling to the dwelling room. In these attics are kept tools, stores of provisions, and miscellaneous lumber, so that the rooms are not cumbered up. Skins and mats are spread on the floor and there are a few rude benches and stools, besides the usual wooden fireplaces common in the hills. Very neatly hooped and fitted wooden buckets, like milk-pails, seem to be universal and must be village made, for none of the other neighbouring races have them. Log sheds are built for both the cattle and the pigs, and these are not only very substantial but are also floored. Almost all the other hill tribes keep their beasts below the dwelling house instead of having separate byres and styes; neatness and cleanliness characterize everything, even the pig troughs. The 'Mêng live chiefly on Indian-corn and the heads are dried on high platforms built near the

houses for this purpose. The villages are fenced in and have sliding bar gates. They usually stand in sheltered and secluded glens and in times of disturbance the approach of friends is announced by a peculiar whistle, repeated till the countersign is given.

Mr. Warry says :—

"The Miaotzu seems to possess more mechanical ingenuity than his neighbours. He is generally a good carpenter and blacksmith. The villagers with whom we stayed (in Kēng Cheng) were engaged in forging axe-heads and *dhas*, and some of the tribe are able to turn out rough guns—lock, stock, and barrel. In this manufacture they told me that they used Chinese iron and foreign *kang* (apparently some mineral for soldering) imported *viâ* Canton. But the usual occupation of the Miaotzu is agriculture. They cultivate maize and poppy and they seem nearly always to select the highest and most inaccessible mountain slopes for their husbandry. Those whom I saw appeared to be shy and timid in the extreme, and they were the last people I should have credited with the possession of warlike qualities. Yet the Miaotzu in Kueichao have a reputation for valour, and at present two regiments of them, raised in that province by General Ting, are on their way to the scene of operations in the north" (1895, against the Japanese).

"A few Chinese are occasionally to be found in Miaotzu villages, but it is rarely that they succeed in obtaining Miaotzu wives. The Miaotzu are usually very particular to intermarry only with their own race. With them, as with all the other hill tribes of these parts, monogamy is the rule, simply because narrowness of means will only admit of a single establishment. The marriage ceremonies are not very elaborate. There is a betrothal, when, after songs and dances by the engaged couple, they go away together for a few hours or perhaps a day. On their return they do not necessarily commence house-keeping together; more usually they live apart as before, meeting from time to time. The man may now complete the marriage whenever he likes by taking his bride to his own home, and he must do so if she becomes *enceinte*; otherwise the irregular connection may last for years. She is, however, regarded as belonging to him all this time, and he is allowed to punish her if she is unfaithful. On the day when he takes his bride home, he proceeds to her parents' house and presents them with a sum of money, according to his means. He then helps the assembled company to wine and *kotows* to his parents-in-law. The bridal party then proceed to the bridegroom's house, where the feasting is renewed and the bridegroom again performs the *kotow*, this time to his own parents. The rest of the day is devoted to festivity. I asked whether the brides *kotowed* too. 'No' was the answer; 'they cannot be trusted; we regard the *kotow* as a 'solemn ceremony, and our women make fun of everything on their wedding 'day.'

"Deceased Miaotzu are buried in coffins somewhere in the deep jungle, and an oblong heap of stones is raised over their grave. Every year in the seventh month, for three years, the son or nearest relative comes and burns paper at the grave. Then this individual's attention ceases, the position of the grave is forgotten, and the dead man is remembered only at the general ceremony in honour of ancestors which every Miaotzu is careful to hold in his house once a year."

"Beyond this worship of his ancestors the Miaotzu has few religious ideas. He seems only to have a vague notion of some over-ruling power, generally malignant, or at any rate of uncertain beneficence, to whom he offers an annual sacrifice of pigs.

Other authorities, however, assert that the Hmêng do not worship their ancestors. The custom may have been adopted in some places just as some have adopted the custom of shaving the head.

"Like the Yao, the Miaotzu have adopted the Chinese calendar, use Chinese almanacs, and observe some of the principal Chinese feasts. A few of them can write Chinese characters, but it seems certain that they once had a written character of their own."

It is believed that some of the officers of M. Pavie's mission have obtained Mūng manuscripts. They are said to have four family names:—Tien, Lo, Ch'eng, and Ts'ai.

It seems not at all out of the range of probability that the Hmêng, Mūng, or Miaotzu are the ancestors of the Môns, Peguans, or Talaings. There was a great Môn kingdom in the interior. It was disrupted by the Chinese, just as they overthrew the Tai kingdom. The Môns would thus stand in the same relation to the Hmêng that the Siamese do to the Tai Lông of the Shweli neighbourhood. If this should be so, the relationship would probably be traced through the Hka Mūk, the Wa, and the Palaung or Rumai. At present, however, the data for such a pedigree are very fragmentary, and not very encouraging.

There are a fair number of 'Mêng villages in the North Hsen Wi State and several also in Kēngtūng. They are, however, quite recent arrivals. The cultivation of the race is carried on in the usual wasteful hill fashion and they move their settlements when the soil is exhausted. The chief crop appears to be always Indian-corn. It may be hoped that more will come, for they are a most attractive race.

The Yao tribes.

These are called variously Yawyin, Yaoyen, Yaojên, Laoyen, and Lanten. Mr. Warry says there are four main divisions of this people, named after four mythical ancestors of the race. The eldest branch call themselves Yu-mien or Yao-mien. This is no doubt the same Mien or Myen as is referred to in Lahu traditions, and recalls the Chinese name Mien Tien for Burma, which Mr. Parker says did not come into use till about the year 1000 A. D. The Chinese call this eldest branch the Tingpan Yao, which may be paraphrased "Mortar-board Yao" in allusion to the striking head gear worn by the women. The other branches are the Lantien Yao, the Santeng Yao, and the Chiaokuo Yao.

The Tingpan Yao have themselves apparently, at any rate when talking in Chinese, adopted this designation instead of Yu-mien. According to their own traditions the Chinese Province of Hunan was the cradle of the race. Thence they seem to have moved in a southerly direction into Kwangsi, Kwang-tung, and Eastern Yünnan. In recent years a large wave of emigration from those districts has overspread the northern parts of Tongking with these tribes, and thence they have marched westwards through Laichao on the Black River to Chieng Khong and Möng Hsing. Very few have as yet crossed the Mèkhong, for the "Yawyins or Lihsaws" of Mr. George do not seem to be the same people, but the westward movement is still going on and the two or three villages on the Kēngtūng borders seem likely to draw more after them.

The features of the Tingpan Yao are somewhat of the Chinese cast, but the contour of the face is rounder, the eyes are more open, the complexion is fairer, and the features generally are cleaner cut and more delicate. Generally they are short in stature. The men all wear the queue and dress like Chinamen, but the women retain the tribal costume—a short jacket with richly embroidered edges folded across the breast in what milliners call cross-over blouse fashion, and a short skirt, open in front like that of the Burmese. But the chief characteristic is the exaggerated mortar-board, a sort of "cartwheel" college cap. This is a square frame-work of bamboo covered with leather and supported by struts at a height of some inches above the head. The hair is carried up in a rope or column through this and fastened down with gum or stick lac on the leather, and then the whole is covered with red cloth with pendent tassels. Such a head-dress cannot be done up every day, and the misery of learning to sleep with this roof projecting over the head can only be equalled by that of the Padaung women of Möng Pai with their foot-wide brass tube collars, or of a fashionable Chinese lady with her hair gummed into the semblance of butterflies or flowers. The head covering is so striking that it monopolizes all attention and has prevented any one from passing an opinion on the personal appearance of the wearers. It may, however, be said that they are not so good-looking as the Miaotzu, but are very much cleaner than the Akha women.

The Tingpan Yao are an agricultural people, but they cultivate only in the hills and not generally at a lower altitude than from 4,000 feet above sea- level. They grow paddy, cotton, maize, and poppy, the last usually only in garden plots for their own use—"not enough to physic a fowl," Mr. Warry was told, but he afterwards learned that his informant was an exception to this rule and "owned several acres of poppy and manufactured enough opium to

"poison all the poultry in the country side." The only other industry seemed to be the manufacture of a coarse kind of brown paper used mainly for ceremonial purposes. The houses of the Tingpan Yao are built of split logs (Mr. Warry says sawn, but this is probably a *lapsus calami*) or bamboos. They are oblong comfortless structures built on the bare ground and not on piles, roofed sometimes with reed thatch, oftener perhaps with large bamboos split in halves and laid face and back alternately uppermost with the edges over-lapping. Inside is one large room, with recesses here and there, partitioned off for sleep and containing bamboo bedsteads. At either end there is a cauldron for boiling the chopped plantain trees and maize husks on which the pigs are fed; on the floor there is generally a fire burning on a clay hearth, and probably there are one or two low stools, all suggestive of China rather than of Indo-China. The walls and rafters are hung with maize, vetches, sprigs of a certain shrub used in default of tea, insides of gourds, and other vegetables, all drying for household use. Over the fire, drying also, is usually a flask of gunpowder. The authority for this description is Mr. Warry, and he continues:

"The object which occupies the place of honour in the houses of nearly all Yao is the smoky, grimy Chinese volume attached by a string to the wall near the fireplace, and somewhere, if possible, where the light of day can fall on it also. The Yao are exceedingly fond of their connection with China, of the Chinese civilization with which, as they believe, they were once thoroughly imbued, and of the tincture of it which still remains to them. Accordingly in every Yao village, as soon as the absolute wants of nature have been provided for, the first charge upon the surplus funds is for the salary of a teacher of Chinese. If the village can afford it, a Chinaman is sought for; if not, an educated Yao is engaged. His duties are to teach all the boys to read and write Chinese, and his salary is one rupee yearly from every pupil. A Chinese teacher costs a good deal more. All the Yao villages I visited were so wretchedly poor that they could not engage a teacher, but there were always some of the older inhabitants who could read a little, or at any rate recognize a few characters. These did what they could to prevent a knowledge of Chinese literature from utterly dying out among the people, and the tattered Chinese volume was taken down from the wall at regular intervals and its contents expounded after a fashion to the assembled youths. In no house did I discover more than one book, and in no two houses the same book. Here one would find a volume of the Analects of Confucius, there a Treatise on Astrology, and in one house I surprised the owner, a wizened old man, busily copying out passages from a Polite Letter-writer. This was in a remote mountain region in south Chieng Kong and, seeing the old man's occupation, I asked him if he had any intention of going to China. No, he said, I shall never go," but my children may, and I should like them to know how to behave.

The few villages of Yao there are in British territory are in Kēngtūng. They are of very recent establishment, and have no

teachers such as Mr. Warry saw and heard of beyond the Mèkhong. So far it is uncertain whether their number will increase or not. Of their customs Mr. Warry has the following notes :—

"Marriage among Tingpan Yao of good standing is preceded by a formal betrothal. The intending husband goes to his sweetheart's house and there, in the presence of her relatives, recites or sings to her some extemporized stanzas. She answers him in the same way and the two proceed thus, in rude strophe and antistrophe, for some little time. If the sentiments of the lovers as thus tested seem to harmonize, and a subsequent comparison of their horoscopes reveals nothing inauspicious, the parents give their consent to the engagement. The bridegroom presents a sum of money to the bride's parents and they provide an adequate trousseau for her. On the wedding day the groom, accompanied by a friend as best-man, goes and claims his bride from her parents at their house. After an interval of waiting she appears with a bridesmaid, a sister if she has one, and the party set out for the bridegroom's house, where feasting and merry-making conclude the ceremony.

"When a Yao of the higher class dies, the body is placed in a coffin and burnt. The ashes are collected in an earthen pot and buried in a lonely place in the hills, the spot being marked with three stones arranged in the shape of a triangle, with their edges just showing above ground. The bodies of poorer members of the tribe are not burnt, but wrapped in matting and buried in some lonely spot. No stone marks the position of their graves."

The differences between the Tingpan and Lantien or Lanten Yao are not very great. The name Yao is dropped by their Shan and Akha and other neighbours when referring to them, and it was not at first realized that they really were Yao. Nevertheless on the outskirts of British territory they are the most numerous of the Yao tribes. In feature Mr. Warry detects some differences between them and the Tingpan and notes a firm small mouth and a well-shaped chin as characteristic of the women and as giving them a more refined look than the mortar-board ladies have. The men are certainly more Chinese in appearance, but there is no distinction in dress or otherwise externally. It may be noted that both Tingpan and Lanten and all the Chinese or *quasi*-Chinese races round Yünnan wear blue coats and trousers. The turbans, which almost all wear, are also blue and, in the case of the Yao tribes, are flattened on the top and worn straight round the head. The dialects of the Lanten and Tingpan differ a good deal, but each can understand about half what the other says. The costume, too, of the women varies. The Lanten lady's jacket is plain and does not greatly differ from what the Burmese call the Chinese jacket, buttoning across the throat, whereas the Tingpan blouse is cut lower and has a double row of ornamental tassels on the breast; not unseldom the women wear trousers dyed with indigo and, when in full dress, have a long upper

coat, also blue, which reaches to below the knee like a gaberdine, or a Tongkinese coat, and like the latter is slit up on each side. East of Ssumao, where Prince Henri d'Orleans met what he calls Lintindjou, styled Yao by the Chinese, the women "displayed a "small disc above the hair knot, which lent their turbans some resem-"blance to a papal tiara. In their ears were heavy double rings of "silver." The men wore a "black tunic gathered in by a sash, "and studded from top to bottom with a double row of metal but-"tons. Round the neck was fastened a collar similarly adorned, "and on their heads they wore a large black turban over a small "horse hair skull-cap. Rumour ascribed to them a writing of their "own." The Lanten woman has a hat which is more like the huge basket-lid of the Annamese *congai* than the spathe hat of the Shan, and it can be taken off at will; indeed Mr. Warry says the Lanten woman considers it polite to remain bareheaded before strangers, whilst the Tingpan woman never uncovers. As a matter of fact it would take her quite an hour to ungum her hair, which would have to be done before the mortar-board could be got off.

The structure of the houses is moreover slightly different. The Lanten usually has a floor raised a foot or so above the ground. They are not exclusively hillmen like the Tingpan; some live on the slopes, some in the plains. Originally, it is said, they were all hill-dwellers, but in recent times some clans have settled in the valleys and they are naturally much the best off. In many parts the Lanten work in iron and make *dhas* and even guns for their own use and for sale. The guns have a short curved stock like those of the Kachins and are fired from the cheek.

The marriage customs of the Lanten resemble those of the Tingpan Yao with a few differences of detail, chief of which is that it is not necessary to compare the horoscope of the couple. Mr. Warry ascertained that the Lantien do not intermarry with the Tingpan Yao nor with any other tribes. "The burial ceremonies differ but "little. The Lantien, however, does not mark the site of a grave "with stones, but erects a monument of bamboo and coloured "paper over it. At the interment a pig is sacrificed and a wake "held. Thereafter the grave is not usually visited again and all "trace of it rapidly disappears. But occasionally in times of great "affliction the family revisit the grave and hold a similar ceremony "there. This can only be repeated three times altogether and the "place is then forgotten."

From these details collected among the people themselves by Mr. Warry, it is obvious that there is sufficient difference between the two tribes to warrant the Shan belief that they are distinct races. It is also clear that, if the people Mr. George calls Yawyin

are Yaojên at all, they belong to the Lanten tribe. As already noted, however, there seems not much doubt that they are La'hu.

Of the third and fourth divisions of the Yao tribes, the Santeng Yao and the Chiaokuo Yao, Mr. Warry saw nothing and no other British officer so far has heard of them. "The first-named are "pretty numerous in the K'ai-hua district of Yünnan and in Annam, "and there is said to be a fair sprinkling of the last in Tongking."

The Yao are of a timid and retiring nature and are not often seen even in bazaars. Nevertheless they are amiable and quick to make friends when they are kindly treated. In spite of this, among the Shans they have the name of being great warriors. It is worth noting that in the State of North Hsen Wi the Lihsaws have precisely the same reputation and were formerly frequently summoned to take part in desperate enterprises. Notwithstanding this, more unassuming and nervous persons it would be difficult to find. The fact may be noted by later enquirers.

Mr. Warry continues :—

"If a Yao is asked what his religion is he will probably reply Confucianism. This merely proceeds from a pardonable desire to impress his questioner. He has perhaps seen the word in his Chinese book, but he has no idea of its meaning. He is in effect a spirit-worshipper. At seed and harvest time he sacrifices to the unknown powers that control the seasons and make his crops grow. He has a particular dread of his ancestors, who he fears may return to his house and molest him. The most elaborate religious ceremony of his life is shortly after marriage, when he erects a bamboo altar to his ancestors in the north-west corner of his house, lights candles in front of it, and prostrates himself before it. Guests are then bidden to his house and a feast is held for a variable time, generally three days, at the end of which the altar is removed to an unfrequented part of the hills and left there. The further it is taken and the wilder and more inaccessible the spot in which it is left, the better will it be for the peace of the house, for it will be more difficult for the ancestors to find their way back and give trouble."

The Yao tribes are much more intelligent and, so far as it goes, have much more civilization than most of their neighhours. They have, at any rate, so far as is known, no distinctly savage or brutal customs. The few words of Yao obtained give no real clue as to the classification of the race. It may fairly confidently be said that they have no race-connection with the Tai, the Wa-Palaung or the La'hu Lissu stocks. The most probable conjecture is that they are an off-shoot or a half-breed race of the ' Mêng or Miao-tzu.

The Panthays or Hui-hui.

The name Panthay is a purely Burmese word and has been adopted by us from them. The Shan word Pang-hse is identical and

gives no help as to the origin of the term. Among themselves and to the Chinese they are known as Hui-hui or Hui-tzu (Mahomedans). The latter term Colborne Baber declares to be slightly derogatory, and is therefore the more commonly used by the Chinese. Their chief settlement in British territory is Pang Lōng in the Northern Shan State of Sôn-mu, but there are several smaller villages. They are chiefly known, however, as muleteers on the trade routes. They are excellent caravan drivers and their mules are highly trained. They are a race of Mahomedans very like the Tūngamis of the north. Accounts of their origin vary very much, but there can be little doubt that they are the descendants of military immigrants who inter-married with Chinese women and settled down in the country. They are still a much finer race than the ordinary Chinese and history shows that they are not deficient in warlike qualities. They kept the field against the Imperial troops from 1855 to 1873. For long after this they were proscribed in Yünnan, but many have again settled along the road between T'êng-yüeh (Momien) and Tali, and to the south of Tali they are in great force in the plain of Mêng-hwa Ting.

They furnished the late Sir Edward Sladen with the following account of themselves in 1869:—

"The Chief Queen of the Emperor Tanwan adopted a child and called him Anlaushan. In time the child developed into a man of extraordinary comeliness and wonderful intellect.

"The Queen was enamoured and the adopted son became her paramour. Anlaushan soon rose to distinction. His abilities were of the highest order and raised him at once to fame and influence. The queenly passion was not disclosed; but suspicion had been sufficiently roused to make it prudent on the Queen's part to get rid of her lover and defeat all signs of illicit intercourse.

"Anlaushan was accordingly accused of being privy to a conspiracy to dethrone the Emperor. The influence of the Queen prevailed to obtain a conviction and his favourite was banished from the royal capital.

"But the injustice of his accusation and a sense of wrong roused Anlaushan to action and induced him to become in reality a leader of rebellion. He lost no time in collecting a large force, with which he was able to make head against the Government and successfully encounter the troops of the Emperor. In time he had approached within a league of the capital and city and palace were alike threatened.

"The Emperor Tanwan in this emergency adopted the suggestion of his Vizier Kanseree and despatched a mission to Soeyoogwet and implored foreign aid. A force of 3,000 men was sent under the command and guidance of three learned teachers, who arrived in due time at Tanwan's capital. By their aid Anlaushan was defeated and eventually captured.

"The rebellion was at an end and the foreign contingent left China to return to its own country. Here, however, a difficulty arose. Their rulers refused them admittance and alleged as a cause for doing so that it was

against the constitution of the country to receive back men who had come into combat with pork-eating infidels. They had herded in fact with pigs and infidels, and could no longer be regarded as unpolluted subjects, or as fit members of a society which held pork in religious detestation.

"They returned therefore to China and became permanent sojourners in a foreign land. They are the original stock from which Mahomedanism has sprung up in China, in various communities and under several denominations."

Doctor Anderson in his *Mandalay to Momien* identifies Tanwan with (T'ang) Hüan (now more commonly written Yüan) Tsung, against whom Ngan Lo-shan rebelled. The *ng* are letters of supererogation frequently omitted. The next Emperor of the T'ang (not Tung as Dr Anderson writes it) was Su Tsung, who acceded in A.D. 756 and was rescued from his difficulties by the arrival of an embassy from the Khalif Abu Jafar Al Mansur, the founder of Bagdad, accompanied by auxiliary troops who were joined by Ouighour Tartars and other forces from the west.

This account of their origin seems far fetched when we remember Kublai Khan's conquest of Tali five hundred years later and the existence of the Tūngamis in the north.

Nevertheless the Hui-hui in the days of their independence believed it, for they sent the following letter to Sladen :—

"The Panthays send greeting to their friends.

"When Lanlu and other Kachins came to Momien we conversed with them freely and were extremely happy to learn that three hundred foreigners had arrived at Bhamo.

"Being of the same belief as yourselves, we know your willingness to help and assist us. We are the descendants of three thousand men of the Lerroo country, who, being unable to return to their native land, settled down in China, where we have been upwards of a thousand years. Some ten years ago the Chinese Government became so intolerably oppressive that by God's help Tūhin-shee of the Tu race (that is to say, his *hsing*, or surname) was commanded to separate the good from the wicked and obtained possession of the western provinces of the Chinese Empire.

"At present also we are carrying on war around Yünnan. The whole country has sided with us and we daily expect to capture that city. Already our rule at Momien has become so popular that those who were formerly inimical have gladly joined our cause and Government.

"The Shan Chiefs have also voluntarily placed themselves under our protection and have been confirmed in their several States.

"We have given peace to the country, and merchants and people can now carry on their several avocations with ease and security.

"With regard to your intention of visiting Momien we wish to consult your pleasure and convenience. We have sent word of your intentions to Tahinshoo (Tu Wên-hsiu), our King, and will write also to the Shan Chiefs to help and assist you on your journey.

"Fear nothing, but come by the Momouk route which leads direct to Momien. On your arrival all matters relating to trade and merchandise will be satisfactorily settled in accordance with your wishes.

"We are of the same nation; come without fear or anxiety of any sort.

"(Writer) Qualyen, a friend of the Lee race (Li Kuo-lien), 9th Waxing Nayôn 1230." (29th May 1868).

It appears therefore that then as now the Hui-hui accepted the name Panthay. Dr. Anderson discusses the derivation of the term: "Major Sladen gives Puthee as a Burmese term for Mahomedans "generally. Garnier says that the word Pha-si, which the Burmese "have corrupted into Panthee, according to Colonel Phayre, is the "same as Parsi or Farsi, which in India is applied to the Mahome-"dans, and this denomination is very ancient, as Colonel Yule "pointed out that in a description of the Kingdom of Cambodia, "translated by A. Rémusat, a religious sect is described called Pâssi, "who were distinguished by wearing white or red turbans and by "refusing to drink intoxicating liquors or to eat in company with "the other sects. But that distinguished Chinese scholar, Sir "Thomas Wade, derives the term Panthay from a Chinese word "Pun-tai, signifying the aboriginal or oldest inhabitants of a country; "and Garnier mentions that a people called Pen-ti are found on the "eastern side of the Tali Lake and in the plain of Tang-chuen to "the north of Tali. They are a mixed race, descended from the "first colonists sent into Yünnan by the Mongols, after the con-"quest of the country by the Generals of Kublai Khan. Mr. Cooper "tells us that the term Pa-chee, or white flag party as distinguished "from the Hung-chee or red flag, or Imperialists, was also used to "designate the rebels in the north of Yünnan, and Garnier frequently "applies these terms to the contending parties."

Sir Thomas Wade's opinion is deserving of the highest respect and would be incontestable if either Chinese or Chinese Mahomedans used the word. But they do not, and since it is only the Burmese and Shans that habitually speak of Panthe, the derivation from Pathi pronounced very nasally seems the more probable. It must not be forgotton that the invasions of Burma were led by Musalman Generals, who are known as such in Burmese annals.

The authority of Colborne Baber is absolutely conclusive and he says:—

"The word Panthay has received such complete recognition as the national name of the Mahomedan revolutionaries in Yünnan that I fear it will be almost useless to assert that the term is utterly unknown in the country which was temporarily under the domination of Sultan Suliman, otherwise Tu Wên-hsiu."

It is in fact as absolutely an outside name as the term Haw (spelt Hor by cockneys and Hô by Vice-Consuls), used in Siam and

the Lao States for the Yünnanese, is, and since that name sticks and has even been borrowed by the French in Tongking, it is useless to protest against it, and all that can be done is to note that it is not a new race and that it is applied indiscriminately to Mahomedan Chinamen and to their conquerors.

Colborne Baber continues :—

"The name of 'Sultan,' utterly foreign to the ordinary Chinese, was never applied to their ruler, except perhaps by the two or three *hadjis* among them. The name 'Suliman' is equally unknown. The Mahomedans of Yünnan are precisely the same race as their Confucian or Buddhist countrymen; and it is even doubtful if they were Mahomedans except as far as they professed an abhorrence for pork. They did not practise circumcision, though I am not sure if that rite is indispensable; they did not observe the Sabbath, were unacquainted with the language of Islam, did not turn to Mecca in prayer, and professed none of the fire-and-sword spirit of propagandism."

This is a little too sweeping. The Grosvenor-Baber Mission visited Yünnan some time after the insurrection was quelled and when Mahomedanism was proscribed. It is certainly true that the Mahomedan sepoy looks with the utmost disdain on the claim of the Hui-hui to be true children of Islam. It is undeniable that there are not a few at Pang Lông who made the *haj* years ago. Many of the caravans carry pennants bearing tags from the Koran, and some of the wealthier Hui-tzu can introduce these phrases into conversation. In 1891 the inhabitants of Pang Lông engaged a Moulvi Fakir Mahomed to preside over their mosque and to instruct them in the tenets. He had a poor opinion of his flock, but that is not uncommon with ministers of religion. Moreover, since the British occupation several parties have made the pilgrimage to kiss the black stone of the Kaaba.

All Hui-tzu of station have Mahomedan names, of which they are very proud, in addition to their Chinese style. Thus in 1893, two of the Administrative Council, Ma Yin-hsin and An T'sung-kuei, were known respectively as Ismael and Muley Mahomed. The third, Ma Tsu-hsin, gave "Shiliao Lôngti" as his Mahomedan name. It is such slips that excite the derision of the immaculate sepoy, and the assumption of the name of Abdul Rahman, which is very common, rouses his indignation. Several of the Pang Lông notables held office under Tu Wên-hsiu, and one of them claims to have been Governor of one of the eighteen provinces into which Yünnan was divided, no doubt in mockery of the Hwang-ti's *Shih-pa Shêng*.

It may be noted that "Prince Hassan," who went on a mission to England with tributary boxes of rock from the Tali mountains, is steadily asserted, not only not to have been a son of Tu Wên-hsiu, but even to have been merely a secretary. His letter, however,

is interesting as preserving the name of *Chin-ch'ih*, or golden teeth, the name which Marco Polo gave to Zardandan, the region of Yünnan. He describes himself as "a humble native of the golden teeth country."

It is unnecessary to give an account of the rebellion. That will be found in Rocher's *Province Chinoise du Yunan*. It is enough to say that the war seems to have originated in a quarrel about certain copper mines. Whenever the Hui-hui wanted to work a mine, the Chinese would seize the site. If an appeal to the local authorities resulted in favour of the Mahomedans, a considerable present would bring about a reversal of the decision. This and the irritating behaviour of the Chinese generally in the matter of pork, led through bickerings and jealousies between pig butchers and the fleshers of Islam to riots in the market places, to bloodshed, and eventually to the open rebellion which lasted for eighteen years. In this period many towns were taken and retaken upwards of ten times, and the people who took refuge in the mountains died of starvation, because they had no lands to cultivate. Thousands more, old men, women, and children, were ruthlessly massacred, and on the back of this came the plague. It has been estimated that the rebellion reduced the population of Yünnan from eight millions of human beings to one. Moreover, it originated the plague which reached Hong Kong in 1893 and Bombay in 1896.

A minor detail was that Li Ta-ssu-kon, the Governor of Têng-yüeh, with many of his followers, escaped to the Shan States and there joined the rebel Sang Hai. The result was the absolute ruin of the great state of Hsen Wi. It may be added that the so-called Sultan, Tu Wên-hsiu, was merely a wealthy merchant before the rebellion. Cooper met him at that period and calls him phonetically Dow Win-sheow.

About a century before there had been another rebellion which lasted from 1765 to 1771. It broke out among the Mahomedans of the western frontier and spread to the province of Kan-su. The rebels resisted the Imperial forces with great valour, but were ultimately subdued. After this they made great exertions to increase the numbers of their sect. For this purpose they purchased many children to be brought up as Mahomedans. During the famine which devastated the province of Kwang Tung in 1790 they purchased ten thousand children from poor parents; these were educated and, when grown up, provided with wives and houses, and whole villages were formed of these converts. This system still seems to be followed in a less wholesale way, so that large numbers of the Mahomedan population are of Chinese origin. Yünnan

appears to have been the scene of almost constant insurrections from 1819 to 1834 and no doubt the Mahomedans were responsible for them. The mixed populations of the province, Hui-hui, Tai, Miao, and Lolo appear to have been always distinguished by an independent and insubordinate spirit, which often defied the central authority. Some towns were even governed by elective municipal councils only nominally ruled by the Mandarins.

The Mahomedans from ancient times appear to have formed a considerable portion of the population of Western China. Mahomedanism was little known among the Tartars before the time of Ghengis Khan (Tamerlane or Timour the Tartar), but his conquests were the means of bringing a considerable population of Ouighours into Shen-si and Kan-su, and the faith of the Prophet had spread among this tribe long before the Tartar conquest of China. Marco Polo, in his description of the people on the western border of Shen-si, where the celebrated mart of Singui was situated, and his account of Singan and Carajan, a part of Yünnan, describes the Mahomedans as forming a considerable part of the foreign population.

How strong a position they had obtained under the reign of Kublai Khan, who overthrew Nan-chao, the Tai Kingdom, appears from Marco Polo's statement that the provincial governments were entrusted to Mahomedans, Tartars, and Christians. In the early part of the fourteenth century Rashid-ūd-dīn, Vizier of Persia, mentions Carajan or Yünnan province, and says the inhabitants were all Mahomedans.

The Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century made frequent mention of the Chinese and Mahomedans. Le Compt says that they had been six hundred years in the country undisturbed, because they quietly enjoyed their liberty without seeking to propagate their religion, even by marriages, out of their own kindred. They were regarded as foreigners, and frequently insulted by the Chinese.

It was these insults which brought about the revolts no doubt, and the Chinese were merciless in their executions when they got the upper hand. The number of the Hui-hui is therefore very greatly reduced and, although, so it is said, they only marry those of their own creed, they very commonly take Chinese women as concubines. There is therefore a very large infusion of Chinese blood. Still even now many are distinct in their physiognomy from the Chinese, and most are taller, stronger, and more energetic. Men over six feet high are common among them and they are fair-skinned, with high cheek bones and only very slightly oblique eyes.

When Tu Wên-hsiu's rebellion was put down, the Hui-hui were for many years proscribed in Yünnan. Ten or twelve years ago, however, many were allowed to re-settle in the province under special permits. Now all are allowed to come and go freely, and it is even said that the bulk of the garrison at Talifu is now made up of Hui-tzu. There is at least one brigadier of that nationality, Wang Pè-chen, who in 1897 commanded the Chinese troops in Chên-pien and eld fast by his old faith.

The Hui-tzu in the Shan States are all engaged in trade and have only sufficient cultivation to supply their immediate needs. The manual work is all carried on by slaves or hired servants—some Chinese, some natives of the country. Except in their capacity of traders and carriers, they do not seem likely to increase in numbers in British territory.

TRANS-FRONTIER TRIBES.

In the absence of sufficient information to warrant the classifying or grouping of the various tribes it may be worth while to give a short account of the main tribes beyond the British border so far as they are known. At the same time it should be noted that enforced migration and the miseries of a wandering life have no less an influence on whole races than privations have upon an individual. Those who have seen the Lolo in their northern homes are unanimous in their praise, and the same enthusiasm is expressed, except as regards cleanliness, with respect to the Kutsung. Yet near Ssu-mao a Frenchman stamps them both as *des peuplades abâtardies et dégénérées,* while Mr. Bourne calls them "heavy featured and stolid." Even within the limits of British territory the La'hu of the south are spoken of as wretched in physique, timid, and cowardly, yet in the north they are by no means weakly and they fought pertinaciously for years against the Chinese. Mere outward characteristics are therefore no more trustworthy than the correspondence or divergence of a few leading words, or the variation of habits and methods of cultivation.

Lolos or I-jên or I-chia.

The chief of these trans-frontier people are the Lolos or I-chia (barbarian families). Their home for very many years has been the part of Ssu-ch'uan included in the large bend made by the Yangtzu river in 103° east longitude. Thence they have spread south into Yünnan and east into Kuei-chao, and are found in scattered communities as far as Ssumao and the southern frontier. They call themselves Lo-su and Ngo-su and in some dialect Ne-su. The word Lolo is said to be a corruption of Lulu, the name of one of their ancient Chiefs, but in most places it is pronounced very broadly as Lawlaw. The Chinese

divide them into two sections, the 'Hè (or Hei) Lolo or Black Lolo and the Pai Lolo or White Lolo. The former have succeeded in maintaining their independence of Chinese suzerainty, and besides this make frequent raids on the low country and even maintain a large number of Chinese slaves. The chief reason for their independence seems to be that they never intermarry with the Chinese; even the women they carry off in their incursions into the plains are retained only as wives for their slaves.

Their villages are in the hills and they grow wheat, maize, oats, beans, buck-wheat, rice, potatoes, and poppy. The opium is said to be grown only for sale. They do not smoke it, but are very fond of tobacco. They are great sportsmen, and gold is found in their hills. Their villages are situated in strong defensive positions. The houses are built of mud and stone much in the Chinese manner and are very closely huddled together. There are no openings to let air in or smoke out.

They are described as a tall handsome race, energetic, and hard-working, but simple, hospitable, and frank and very apt to be deceived by Chinese traders. They wear their hair rolled into a knot or horn on the front of the head, and narrow strips of cloth are wound round this and the head itself. The women wear a short jacket and skirt; the latter is plain from the waist down to the knee, then for about a foot it has several small plaits, below which there is another plain strip about four inches deep and rather wider than the rest so as to give freedom in walking. The jacket is tight at the shoulders, but comes down loose to the waist. A fine embroidered stiff collar is worn round the neck fastened at the back with a silver clasp.

The White Lolos differ considerably. They mix with the Chinese and their women marry Chinamen. The great majority of the inhabitants of Yünnan are believed to have Lolo blood in them, and perhaps for this reason are always ready to join in any rebellion against the Government. Many of those who call themselves White Lolo have adopted the pig-tail, a sign of Chinese citizenship, and have received Chinese official rank and appointments, and some of the women have compressed feet.

The Lolo have, or perhaps it would be more correct to say had, a written character which Monsieur Terrien de Lacouperie declared to have resemblances with that of the Bugis and Mankassars of Sumatra as well as with the Indo-Pali characters of the Açoka fragment. Only a few *per-ma* or sorcerers here and there can read it, and it is disconcerting to find that most of them can only read their own particular manuscripts. The writing seems to be an ideo-

graphic system based on picture writing, and the language is of the Chinese type, with a small number of monosyllabic and dissyllabic words helped out by tones.

Prince Henri d' Orleans says :—

"Manuscripts were plentiful at Lu-chu, and they brought me some very fine illuminated ones. The characters are still in use, employed in property contracts in duplicate with Chinese. A more learned native than most* * * said the Lolo caligraphy contained three hundred letters and signs, and was read from the top of the page to the bottom, and from left to right."

As regards religion they believe in a future state of retribution and have no idols, but worship a supreme deity called Peti.

They have books of prayer and, though they do not build temples, they erect little bamboo altars in the woods. They sing and dance, and the dates of their feasts are generally marked in the Chinese calendar. The dead are burnt and the ashes are deposited in caves and crannies in the rocks.

The *Mantzus* are thought by Mr. Bourne to be a section of the Lolos. Mr. Baber thought they were more akin to the Sifan and gives a list of eighteen tribes of them. Mr. Bourne gives thirty-two distinctive names given by the Chinese to tribes which he considers to be Lolo. It seems probable that some of our Shan hill tribes will be identified with these. Captain Davies found that in some places Mêng-hwa Lolo women were dressed very much like the La'hu. They disowned all connection, but that proves nothing. Another Mêng-hwa village furnished a vocabulary much resembling the Lihsaw dialect. In some places Lolo tribes have adopted Buddhism even to the extent of building monasteries. In others they are said to have accepted "the Chinese religion," presumably ancestor worship. The Mantzu have undoubtedly been distinct from the Lolo for centuries, but the balance of opinion seems to connect them with that tribe. They are found in isolated bodies from Tali-fu on the west to Kuei-chao on the east and the minor tribes of them, Wo-ni, P'u-t'ê, P'u-la, K'a-to, Pu-tu, and many more seem to overlap the Lolo clans. It may be noted that at Mo-lan-po in Southern Yünnan Mr. Bourne came upon some Lolo celebrating the "Little New Year" which suggests the *Waw-noi* of the La'hu.

The Sifan and Kut-sung.

The later opinion as to these tribes seems to be that they are closely allied to the Tibetans, if not Tibetans pure and simple. Mr. Baber referred to the former as Menia tribes and coupled them with the Mantzu, and his authority is not lightly to be put aside. With them no doubt are to be considered the Mu-sus, the Li-sus, and what not, and it may be noted that the late Sir Henry Yule agreed with Dr. Anderson in thinking that the

Mu-sus and Li-sus.

similarity of Li-su and Burmese languages was so great that it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the two peoples have sprung from one stock.

Prince Henri d'Orleans spent some time among the Lissus, as he calls them, whom he first met near the Yang-pi, an affluent of the Mèkhong, which flows southwards west of Tali. They have there a great reputation for fierceness, and what he calls the Hé Lissus, who inhabit the Salween valley between latitude 26° and 27°, are independent. It is difficult to say whether this Hé is the Shan *hai* or the Chinese *yè*, but all three mean savage. The Prince is inclined to connect the Lissus with the Lolos and their division into Ain-Lissus, Pe-Lissus, and Kwa-Lissus seems to support the theory. Moreover, "he studied the Lissu dialect, which resembled that of the Lochais "(Lao'hè, La-hu, or Muhsö) and the Lolos. By his account (a "Lissu T'u-ssu's) the Lissus came here four (?) generations ago "from Nang-king, which accorded with a similar tradition among "the Lolos. Farther on we were to learn that the Lissus them-"selves spoke of a country where they had formerly lived, where "there were elephants. They must then have come from the "south." This suggests the Wa, the Hka Mūk, and the Môns. Many of the Lissus were noted as having marked aquiline noses and straight set eyes, with a copper complexion. The photographs of the women suggest the 'Mûng or Miaotzu, but they do not wear the kilt, though they have aprons. The Lissus "knew that the "Lolos possessed a writing, but they themselves had none. They "are spirit and perhaps tree worshippers. Shrines stood under "notable trees and they had New Year's trees, *Lao-tien-shu*, firs like "our Christmas trees." The Pe-Lissus wore long white coats like the Lihsaws or Yawyins. Some of the women wore white fillets as do some of the Was. Their clothing varied from the atmosphere up to two garments, an apron, and an armless waist-coat.

"The Mossos or Musus have a king at Yetche, near the Mèkhong, "a little south of Tseku, about the twenty-eighth parallel. In the "view of Terrien de Lacouperie the Musus would be of the same "Thibeto-Burmese group as the Jungs or Njungs who appeared on "the frontiers of China six centuries before Christ, coming from the "north-east of Thibet." Chinese historians mention the Mossos seven hundred and ninety-six years after Christ, the epoch of their subjection by the King of Nan-chao. Regaining their independence for a time, and then re-attached to the kingdom of Tali, they acknowledged the Imperial suzerainty in the fourteenth century, and were definitely subdued by China in the eighteenth century. They and the Lolos probably have the same origin. The names of the two peoples are of Chinese application; and, whilst the Lolos call

themselves Ngo-sus, the Mu-sus call themselves Na-chis (or Na-chris). The dialects have many points in common. Upon their reduction by China they were settled round Li-kiang, within a few days radius of the town. Towards the north they extend on the left bank of the Mèkhong to Yerkalo, and on the right bank up to within two days march of Tseku. Formerly their sway reached far into Tibet, beyond Kiang-ka. There is a popular Tibetan poem, the *Keser*, which celebrates the prowess of a warrior who strove to drive back the Mu-sus.

The men dress like Chinamen, but the women have a distinctive head-dress. "Their hair is gathered into a knot and brought up in "front of the head like a horn, with a silver button on the top; be-"hind this button is fastened a silver-studded band from which hang "down behind the ears a pair of scalloped earrings, also silver, larger "than walnuts. This ornament is only worn by married women, "and is presented to them by their husbands on the birth of a child. "Young girls have only the band without the rings. Great value is "set upon these trinkets, which are handed down from generation "to generation.

"The Mu-sus worship spirits and have carved posts, on which a "frequent design is an eye, set up at the entry of the villages to "avert evil, and to the same intent within the houses a pillar is "planted in the centre with branches, inscribed bamboos, and small "flags round it. The tradition of the deluge is known to them. "On the first day of the year a feast is held at which a pig fattened "on peaches is sacrificed and nothing but Mosso talked; if any "Tibetans are in the village they are excluded." This immediately recalls the *Waw-lông* of the La'hu, who seem to be connected with these Mu-su. The Mu-su have "medicine-men" who are elected by the people and suggest the Tafu-yè of the La'hu. Prince Henri says:

"Mosso writing has no real existence as such. The wizards make and keep manuscript books filled with hieroglyphics; each page is divided into little partitions, horizontally from left to right, in which are inserted rough drawings of men, houses, animals' heads, and conventional signs for the sky, lightning, &c. * * * They are prayers beginning with the mention of the creation of the world, and ending by an enumeration of all the ills which menace man, which he can avoid if he is pious and gives gifts to the magicians.

"Yetche is the residence of a *Mokwa* (Mu-su, king). He is of noble blood, and belongs to the ancient royal family of Li-kiang. The power with which he is invested by the Chinese Government is hereditary. His territory, which extends but a short distance to the east, runs northwards almost as far as Atentse, southward to within two or three days' march of Yetche, and westward beyond the Mèkhong and the Salween till it touches the borders of the Irrawaddy; but the *Mokwa* only accounts to China for

his administration, that is to say, the collection of imposts, in the districts on the left bank of the Mèkhong. * * * He levies on his own subjects every three years the tithe of their live-stock, and to him of right belongs the yearly issue of a license to hunt called the Sha-ma-shu Rui (price of the Sha-ma-shu or flying squirrel) which more especially affects the Lissus of the Mèkhong right bank. They must furnish besides, yearly and by family, four *Tsiens*, paid in cereals, wax, or money. He for his part presents also yearly and by family to one-third of his people a plate of salt, to another third wine, and to the remainder meat."

The Lissus call the *Mokwa*, *Iseupa*.

This information does not seem to bear out the theory of Dr. Anderson that the Li-su have any great connection with the Burmese. On the other hand it seems to connect them with the Lihsaw and therefore possibly with the Yao tribes on one side and with the La'hu on the other. The Shan and Burmese name Mu-hsö for these tribesmen immediately suggests Mu-su. The fact that neither Mu-su nor Mu-hsö is the name given to themselves by the people proves nothing either way, any more than the fact that the Hui-hui are known as Panthays. The information available is, however, so much collected at random and is in many ways so contradictory, that it is unsafe to do more than indicate lines of enquiry for those who may have the opportunities.

The *Kutungs* or *Kutsungs* at any rate appear to be Tibetans and the Mu-sus appear to be intimately connected with them. Of them it is said that in physique they are superior to the Chinese, but are extremely dirty and neither moral nor warlike, and as regards the former of these two qualities no apparent change has taken place in their customs since Marco Polo passed severe strictures on the "caitiff" husband.

The A-ch'angs or Nga-ch'angs.

The A-ch'angs seem to mark the connection with the Burmese if it is to be proved at all. These people form the bulk of the population of the Ho-hsa La-hsa plain, often referred to as Möng-hsa by the Shans, whence the Burmanized name Maingthas for the people who come south to work in the plains during the cold season. These people are usually assumed to be Shans and the men dress like Chinese-Shans, while the women more frequently seem to wear trousers after the Chinese feminine fashion, but they appear to be certainly a distinct race, as they say they are. In feature there is a noticeable difference between the A-ch'angs and the Shans, and "the two languages are "totally distinct, both in vocabulary and construction," according to Captain H. R. Davies, who says they call themselves Ngachang and are called Chang by the Shans, which is the same name that the Shans know the Chins by. The Nga-ch'ang language is evidently closely connected with Burmese and its resemblance to the

languages of the Szi, Maru, and La-hsi Kachins is still more marked, while the dialect of the Hpön or Hpwon of the upper defile has many resemblances. Captain Davies' theory is that these tribes mark the track by which the Burmese came into Burma. (*See* also under Kachins.)

The Shans are the other main race of the trans-frontier country and are treated of separately. It will be enough to say here that they are variously called by the Chinese P'o, Pa or Pai-i, Shui; Han or Hua Pai-i, Pai-jên, T'u-jên, P'u-man, Pai, Hei, or Hua T'u-lao, Nung or Lung-jên, Sha-jên, Hei or Pai Sha-jên, Min-chia, or Ming-ch'iang, Shui-chia, and Chung-chia.

The Mois of the mountainous country between Amram and Siam are almost certainly Shans. There are many tribes of them, of whom the Sedangs, notorious on account of their temporary Frenchman King, M. Mayrena, are the chief.

The great difficulty in trying to classify tribes and to identify peoples mentioned by different observers is the extraordinary number of names and the looseness with which they are applied. Unfortunately it is usually the Chinese nick-name which is taken, and the Chinamen are wonderfully fertile in inventing such terms and apply them with a recklessness characteristic of the national self-sufficiency. Thus the name P'u-man or P'u-mang is well known. Mr. Bourne found it applied to undoubted Tai; in the Mèkhong neighbourhood it is given to the Hka Mûks and Hka Mets (or Lamets), and Prince Henri d'Orleans is persuaded that some Pumans he heard of were Chingpaw. In face of such expansiveness, it is not only impossible to dogmatize, but it would be reckless to formulate an opinion.

With regard to these trans-frontier tribes Monsieur Bons d'Anty, Consul Designate in Canton, and previously Consul for the French Republic in Ssu-mao and Wuchao, has furnished the following suggestive note:—

"Leaving out the Miaos and Yaos, not numerous and recently arrived in these parts, the population of Yünnan, meridional and occidental, and of the regions lying between China Proper and Burma or Tonkin is composed of the following elements:

"1. *The Chinese* (Han-jên), coming from Ssu-ch'uan, with earlier settlements of Kiangsi men who came there as soldiers at different times. Naturally the descendants of these Han-jên of the old or new stocks are a very mixed lot, showing plainly that they are métis of Chinese and aborigines.

"2. *The Pai-yi* (the Shans of Burma). They are far from being a pure race. The Ho are mixed with Chinese and look more Mongolian than the others; the Lü (Kieng Hūng) seem to be more pure. But all these different tribes speak dialects very much akin to the Laotian and showing very

few variations. This same language is spoken by the Tho of Tonkin and Kwang-si; the Lung (or Nung) and Chuang of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si; and the Li of Hainan.

"3. The *so-called Lolo.* Here I must notice a most important distinction between—

"(*a*) *Lolo proper,* or as they call themselves Nies-su (literally, those who are brown). The Nies-su speak a language very much like the Burmese and their type reminds one of the Hindus of the north (the Punjabis or Afridis, for instance). They certainly, as said most excellently M. Thorel (in De Lagree Rivière's book), belong to the '*rameau noir de la race Caucasienne.*'

"(*b*) *The Wo-ni.*—Under this appellation the Lolo proper and the Han-jên of Yünnan include a group of mixed populations speaking dialects derived from the Lolo. The original stock seems rather related to some Oceanic tribes, the Alfurus for instance.

"(*c*) The *Poumang,* calling themselves Santeum; called by the Lolos Alou, and by the Pai-yi Hka-dam. All the surrounding populations recognize them as being the true aborigines of Yünnan and Laos (and perhaps Burma). Some of them have kept their peculiar language entirely different from Chinese or Lolo or Pai-yi. They are very small in size, with flat faces, noses without bridges, and black skin. They generally are broken in variegated tribes and are mixed with Chinese, Lolo, and Pai-yi, and generally speak dialects borrowed from a Lolo source. One of their peculiarities is their *rounded forehead* and their protruding lips. The majority of the Han-jên of Yünnan are certainly from this stock, and the characteristics exhibited by these Poumang are very often visible in the Pai-yi. Moreover, I am ready to admit that the Khas of China and Laos, the I-bang, I-vou, and Yeu-lo-jêns, and the Kachyns, the Pou-eun-jên also, are of the same stock. The *Lo-he* are certainly métis of Poumang and Wo-ni. Altogether the Poumang, more or less mixed with alien blood, is for me the original element of the population of these regions. It would be very interesting to compare them with the *negritoes* of the Andamans and some of the dwarf populations of Borneo, Java, &c."

This is a most instructive letter, particularly in the later suggestions. It differs very considerably from some of the conclusions hinted above as to the affinities of the various races described.

The reference to the negrito races at once suggests the submerged continent of Lemuria, imagined by naturalists, but decried by geologists. The pointed chin of the A-kha, the eagle beak of the Lissu, and the rounded forehead of the Shan certainly imply very different stocks, but so far as British territory goes there seems to be no dialect which has any affinity whatever with Andamanese, Selung, or Jakun.

VOCABULARIES.

These have been collected by many workers, and in some cases the lists given are the result of the comparison of several distinct tables.

The system of transliteration adopted is the Hunterian in general and more particularly that prescribed for the transliteration of Shan.

The cognate languages are grouped side by side in every case and in some cases dialects which have been supposed to be allied are entered in the same table for comparison.

Mistakes are inevitable because in a great majority of the lists the words were obtained through interpreters, some Burmese, some Shan, some Chinese, accordingly as the hillmen questioned understood some language besides their own.

Ordinary systems of transliteration are incapable of reproducing the extremely guttural sounds of races like the Palaung and the Wa, and in Karen-ni there are a series of gradations in sound between the sharp vowel *é* and the broad vowel *ē* which cannot be adequately represented on paper; similarly between *ö*, *ü*, and *i*, and between the consonants *s* and *sh*, which shade into one another. In very many dialects *l* and *r* are constantly interchanged and the Wa have an extraordinary sound which seems to combine the two letters. The *n* sound in Yintalè is extremely nasal and approaches an indistinct *ng*.

Shan group.—The Siamese and Lao vocabularies have been furnished by Mr. W. R. D. Beckett, Her Majesty's Consul at Chieng-mai. It did not seem necessary to add Lü and Hkampti vocabularies, for the differences are very slight. Mr. G. C. B. Stirling supplies the following comparison:—

Certain words used by the Lü, which differ from the word in ordinary use among the Western Shans.

English.	Common Western Shan words.	Lü word.
To beat ...	Paw (ပေႃ)	Ti (တီ)
To throw ...	Htim (ထိမ်)	Kwāt (ၵႂၢတ်)
To go ...	Kwa (ၵႂႃ)	Pai (ပႆ)
Short ...	Pawt (ပွတ်)	Ek (ဢေၵ်)
Poor ...	Hpān (ၽၢၼ်)	Tok (တွၵ်)
Trousers ...	Kōn (ၵူၼ်)	Teo (တဵဝ်)

Certain words used by the Lü, which differ from the word in ordinary use among the Western Shans.

English.	Common Western Shan works.	In word.
Sulphur ...	Kān (ၵၢၼ်)	Māt (မၠ)
Custom ...	Htong sam (ထုင်ၸံ)....	Hit, Kawng (ထွိ။ၵွၵ်)
Picture ...	Ayuk or ayot (အရုပ်)	Hup, Hāng (ၿုပ် ႁၢင်)
To sing ...	Hit kwām (ႁိတ်ၵႂံ)	Hkāp, Kwām (ၶၢပ် ၵႂံ)
To dance ...	Ka (ၵႃ)	Fŏn (ၾွၼ်)
Poison ...	Ngon (ငုၼ်)	Ngon Bö (ငွၼ် ပေႃ)
Poison (arsenic)	Hsān (သၢၼ်)	Hsān Bö (သၢၼ်ပေႃ)
Crime ...	Apyet (အပြိတ်)	Tut (ၸုတ်); also used for punishment.

Some of the above words, entered as Lü are also used by the Western Shans. But they are not the ordinary equivalents of the English word.

Mr. Stirling also adds—

"Everything seems to point to the Hkün having come from the Chieng-Hai Chieng-Mai country. The written character is practically the same. Where it differs the Hkön seems to have degenerated. Lao, Lü, and Hkün are practically the same characters."

No doubt these Tai got their letters from the Cambojans, while those west of the Salween got them from the Burmese. The divergencies in written character seem to indicate very clearly that the Tai had no letters before the disruption of the old Nan-chao Empire. There are further differences, as Mr. Stirling points out:

"The Lü and Hkün talk about Hpra-in, Hpra-pawm (and so do the Lao and Siamese). Hpra-in is no doubt Indra, but it is not so clear who Hpra-pawm is. The Hkün can say no more than that they are great gods. The Western Shan has only one Sao Hpra. The Western Shans follow the Burmans in putting up pagodas everywhere. The Hkün, Lü, and Lao are only moderate pagoda builders, but are very fond of elaborate *wats* (or monasteries). Among the Tai Loi again pagodas begin to increase, but they never approach to the Western Shan standard."

No doubt this also comes from Cambojan influence. The ornamentation and figures in the great Angkor *wat* on the Tonle Sap have all a distinct Indian character.

Wa-Palaung (*Vü-Rumai*) *group*.—The Hka-Muk words are mostly supplied by Captain H. R. Davies; the Riang lists by Mr.

G. C. B. Stirling. The Palaung tables are a combination of many lists. Much of the Môn vocabulary entered for comparison was supplied by Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

Karen and half-breed group.—The Karen-ni, Yintalè, and Manö vocabularies are compiled by Mr. H. G. A. Leveson; those of the Sawng Tüng, Padēng, Ban Yang, Sin-hmaw, Taungthu, Taungyo, Danaw, and Kawn-sawng by Mr. F. H. Giles.

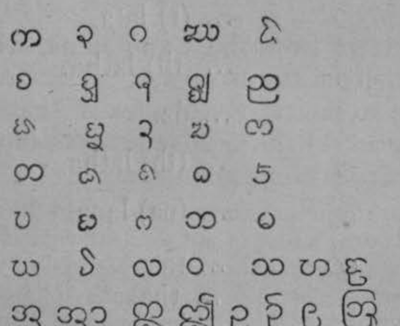
Kachin and unclassed groups.—The Chingpaw table is from comparison of a number of lists; the Maru was supplied by Mr. W. R. Hillier; the Szi, Lashi, Hpön, Ngachang, Mêng Hwa, Lo-lo, Mingchiang, and Mahè by Captain H. R. Davies. The Lisu, Musu, and Lanten Yao are taken from Prince Henri d'Orleans' latest book.

Chin or Zho group.—Siyin is taken from Captain F. M. Rundall's Manual. Haka is taken from Captain D. J. C. Macnabb's Handbook. Shonshe was supplied by Captain F. H. Eliott. Yawdwin was supplied by Mr. A. Ross. Taungtha and Chinbôk were supplied by Mr. W. B. Tydd.

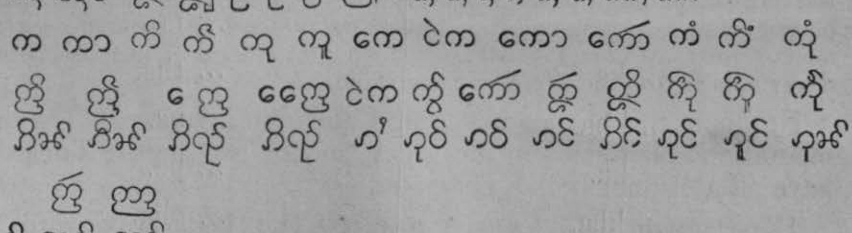
For other lists the compiler is responsible.

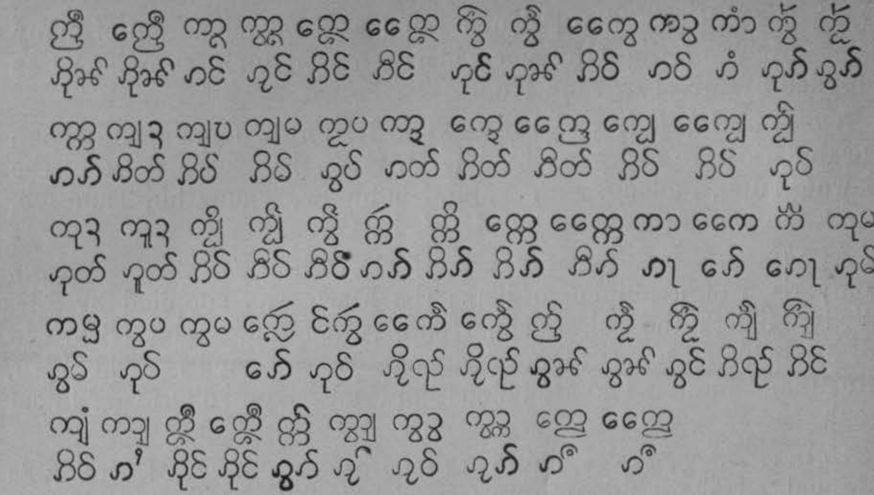
Following the main tables are a series of separate vocabularies which may be considered mostly mere dialects, but are valuable as showing how greatly languages change with isolation. The Kadu vocabulary is Mr. B. Houghton's. Mr. Stirling supplied the others.

Lü Alphabet.



ka hka ga hga nga
cha sa cha sa nya
ta hta da hda na
ta hta da hda na
pa hpa ba hba ma
ya la la wa hsa ha la
ă, ā, ĭ, ī, ŭ, ū, ăw, āw.





Lao Alphabet.

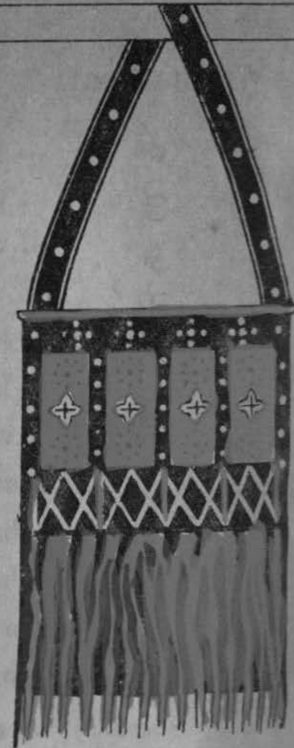
... a.	... nga.
... ā.	... cha.
... i.	.... sa.
... ī.	... cha.
... u.	... sa.
... ū.	... nja.
... e.	... (t) lata.
... ô.	... (th) latha.
... ai.	... da.
... ü.	... (th) latha.
... ö.	... (na) lana.
... an.	... ta.
... am.	... tha.
	... ta.
... ka.	... tha.
... kha.	... na.
... ka.	... pa.
... kha.	... pha.



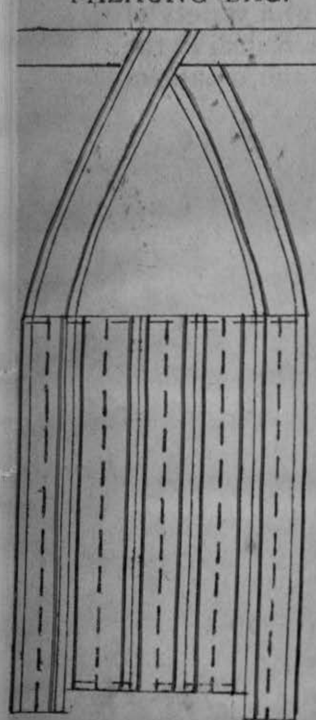
PALAUNG BAG.

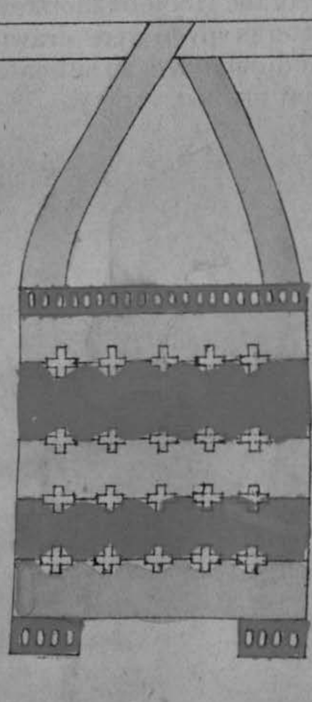


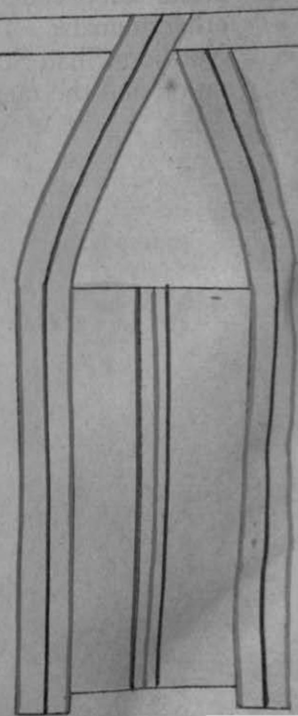
HKÜN SHAN BAG.

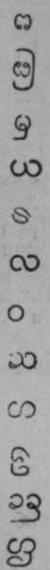


YANG LAM BAG.

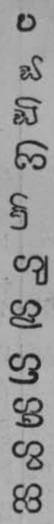








... pa.
... pha.
... ma.
... nja.
... la.
... la.
... wa.
... sa.
... ha.
... la.
... a.
... ha.



... ba.
... ya.
... fa.
... fa.
... cha.
... nja.
... ma.
... na.
... nga.
... wa.
... la.

Shoulder bags, or wallets, are worn by all the hill tribes. The number of patterns is very great and is quite a study in itself. Some, like the bags of Loi Ngün (Ngwedaung) and many of the Chingpaw tribes, are very handsome and are elaborately decorated with seeds, cowries, coins, and tiny dried gourds. Others again are quite plain. Besides the woven bags occasional specimens are come across made of the skin of the python, of the Hoolock monkey, and of a variety of other animals. The patterns given were drawn by a Rumai in the Northern Shan States and only give an indication of the ornamentation and the merest hint at their variety.

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
One ...	Nüng	Nüng	Nüng	Te	...	Hle
Two ...	Hsawng	Sawng	Sawng	Ra (ā)	...	E
Three ...	Hsām	Sām	Sam	Lai (oi)	...	Oë
Four ...	Hsī	Sī	Sī	Pôn	...	Hpôn
Five ...	Hā	Hā	Hā	Hpawn (fan)	...	Hpan
Six ...	Hôk	Hōk	Hōk	Laiya (līa)	...	Taw
Seven ...	Sit	Tchet	Tchet	A-laiya (alīa).	...	Pu
Eight ...	Pēt	Pet	Pet	S'tē (sn'tē)	...	Ta
Nine ...	Kao	Kao	Kao	S'ti (sn'ti)	...	Tim
Ten ...	Hsīp	Sīp	Sīp	Kao	...	Kō
Eleven ...	Hsip-it	Sīp-et	Sīp-et	Kao ra te	...	Kō-ra-hle
Twelve ...	Hsip-hsawng.	Sīp-sawng	Sīp-sawng	Kao rā	...	Kō-ra-ā
Twenty ...	Hsao	Ji-sip	Sao	Ngā	...	E kō
Twenty-one	Hsao-it	Ji-sip-it	Sao-et	Nga-ra-te	...	E-kō hle
Thirty ...	Hsam-hsip.	Sām-sīp	Sam-sīp	Ngoi	...	Oë-kō
One hundred	Pak(nüng) (Hsoi= one viss).	Roi-nüng	Hoi-nüng	Rayatè ta-ra-je.	...	U-pai-ya
One thousand.	Hēng (nüng).	Hpan-nüng.	Hpan-nüng	Ta-rēng (Shan)?	...	U-heng (Shan)?
Ten thousand.	Mōn	Mun-nüng	Mün-nüng	Ta mün (Shan).	...	A u-mōn
I ...	Kao-hka	Chan	Hka	Ngawt ngan, ūm.	...	Ao
We ...	Hao-hka	Rao	Hao	È	...	Ye
Thou ...	Maü	Rao	Hao	The, Pe	...	Mai
You ...	Hsu	Rao	Hao	Pe	...	Pe
He ...	Man	Hkao	Hkao	Yōng	...	An
They ...	Hkao	Hkao	Hkao	Tai yeng, Hkī.	...	I
Of me ...	Kao	Hkawng-chan.	Hkawng-hka	Ngawt, ūm	...	Ao
Of you ...	Hsu	Hkawng-rao.	Hkawng-hao	Pe	...	Mai
Above ...	Nō	Hkang-bōn.	Hkang-bon	Ka-tang, ka-prang.	...	Hki ten, i-deng.
Below ...	Taü	Hkang-lang.	Hkang-lūm	Ka-hse, lang-te, kōm.	...	Hki-hkyem
Far ...	Kai	Klai	Kai	Sa-ngoi, nge	...	Dōng
Near ...	Sam	Klai	Kai	Kin-kan, de(t).	...	Indäw
Alone ...	Kaw-leo	Hkōn-diu	Hpu-diu	Kwai, kaü	...	U-kai-lai
Inside ...	Ka-naü	Hkang-nai.	Hkang-nai	Ka-neng, ka-tūm.	...	U-chiang
Outside ...	Ka-nawk	Hkang-nawk.	Hkang-nawk	Ka-pa-re, ngat.	...	...

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Hle	Hawk	Hawk	Muwā	Sapong	Mu-ā
Ā	Kār	Kār	Hpa, ba	Āvun	Bâ
We	Kwai	Kwai	Hpaik, pè	Wa-è	Pi
Pwan	K'pwon	K'pwon	Hpōn, pawn	Pun	Pawng
Hpan	Kān	Kān	Pa-thaun, pa-sōn, m'son.	Hpan	M'sôn
'Ndaw	Twal	Twal	Kā-rao, t'rao	Bru	T'raw
'Npu	Pul	Pul	Ka-paw, t'pau	Pōt	T'pawk
'Nta	Preta	Preta	Ka-tsan, hka-hsam.	Tā	T'chan
'Ntim	Tim	Tim	Ka-si, t'chīt	Tin	T'chit
Kü	S'kall	S'kall	Tsao, chaw	Se'kūr	T'chawk
Kü-ra-hle	Kall-eis	Kall-eis	Tsao-mwa	Kūr-pong	Chawk-muā
Kü-ra-ā	Kall-ār	Kall-ār	Tsao-hpa, saw-bā.	Kūr-ā	Chawk-bā
A-kü, kü-ra-kü.	Ār-kall	Ār-kall	Hpa-tso, bā-so	Ā-kūr	Bā-chôk
A-kü-ra-hle	Ār-kall-eis	Ar-kall-eis	...	Ā-kūr-ā	Bā-chōk-muā
We kü	Wai-kall	Wai-kall	Paik-tso, pi-chaw.	Wa-è-kūr	Pi-chôk
Ma-ya	S'priā	S'priā	Hklawn, klōm	Se-par-yar	Muā klawm
U-hreng	S'rēng	S'rēng	Ngīn, ngīm	Se-hing	Muā l'ngīm
U-mōn	Mōn	Mōn	...	Kūr-hing	Muā lāk
Aw	E or O	E or O	Wa-doit, owā	Aw	Öa
Yè	E	E	Pwe-dauk-to, pue.	Yè	Pu-e
Mai	Mu or Mi	Mu or Mi	Moing, bai	Mi	M'nā, bai (colloquial).
Bè	Pe	Pe	Pai-ta	Sā-wut	M'nā (tawng)
An	Hu	Hu	Nyia, nya-er	Gai	N-yā
Ke-doi	Ku	Ku	Nyia-to	Yè-tan-dwè	Nya (tawng)
Aw	O-ni or O	O-ni or O	...	Aw seku	No possessive case.
Mai	Pe-ni or pe	Pe-ni or pe	...	Kaw-mi	
I-ra-we	Hār kul	Lawng kul	Ā-lawtai	Kerawui	Latû
I-krum	Har awk	I'kut	A-hmo-no	Ke-rūm	S'maw
Dōng	S'ngi	Yān	Nguwa, nyuwa.	Mi-aw	Za-ngo-ā
Dat	Rim	Tat	Tsaik	Gwaè rimaw	Krap
Ŭ-ī	...	...	...	Aw-sä ku	Ch'a-nya
I-cheng	Kun-di	Tu	A-dowa, adwa	Werakawng	P'ngo-ā
...	...	...	Ma-ngai, nga-è	...	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Before ...	Hpai-na	Hkang-nawk.	Hkang-nawh	Kai-yè, ka-hka.	...	I-ai
Behind ...	Hpai-lang	Hkang-hlang.	Hkang-hlang.	Ka-hkè, ang-hkè.	.	I-pan
East ...	Wan tang-awk.	Tawan-awk.	Tawan-awk	Karali si-nyi	...	The Shan words seem to be used.
South ...	Tang-taü	Hkang-tit-tai.	Hkang-tai	Ka-sè, ka-rōm.	...	
North ...	Tang-nö	Hkang-tit-nua.	Hkang-nua	Ka-lang, ka-ka.	...	
West ...	Tang-tôk	Tawan-tôk.	Tawan-tôk	Karali si'nyi	...	
Good ...	Li	Di	Di	Ti-luen môn	...	Chi, hmōm
Better ...	Yēn-hken li.	Di-kwa	Di-kwa	Ti-lüa, mō môm.	...	Hmōm ku-kè.
Best ...	Li (n ā) hse pōn.	Di-nak	Di-nak	...	...	Wai ku-kè.
Bad ...	Hai	Chua	Chua	Ti-ma, le, wa-wi.	...	Jeo, aw-hmōm.
Worse ...	Ham-hai	Jing-chua-kwa.	Jing-chua-kwa.	Mō le	...	Wai-u-hmōm.
Worst ...	Hai-hse-pōn.	Chua-nak	Chua-nak	Ang-kwet ti-ma kai ru-ong.	...	Wai-u-hmōm.
High ...	Hsūng	Sūng	Sūng	Lawng	...	Dza
Low ...	Tyem	Tam	Tam	Hta yim	...	Dōm
False ...	Am-man am-men.	Mai-chong	Baw-ching	K'rawng am-sā.	...	Ao-mu
True ...	Saü, sö	Ching	Ching	K'ra yeo-pe, mu.	...	Mu
Pretty ...	Hang li	Ngām	Ngām	Mawm yang	...	Ra-kho-e
Ugly ...	Hang hai	Mai ngām	Baw ngām	Sang bō	...	Rang jan
Thin ...	Mang yawm.	Bang or pawm.	Bang or pawm.	Tōuk, pa-re	...	Hre, cha
Fat ...	Man	Man	Man	Hoen, yen-pe.	...	Klaing
Thick ...	Na	Na	Na	Pu, ngai	...	Hat
Clean ...	Mōt	Cheng or sai.	Cheng or sai	Ūt	...	Ka-mai
Cheap ...	Ka ke	Thūk	Thūk	Et, so ngoi	...	Ka-taw
Dear ...	Ka yaü	Hpeng	Hpeng	Hün, hteng-ngoi.	...	Nga
Poor ...	Hpan	Chon	Chon	Hpan pe, hsuyu.	...	Plān
Rich ...	(Sang)mak	Mang-mi	Mang-mi	Koi-lik koi-mō.	...	Krăm
Old ...	Htao	Kai	Htao	Sa-hkūt, prim.	...	I-pyim
Young ...	Lĭk nūm	Nūm	Nūm	Ayang lang so hkūt.	...	Det

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Ta-laing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
I-ai	Har sān dall	Ait-ngai	...	Kwai-dēn se-ni	Kata
I-pan	Har-pwut	Ta-law ta-pawt.	...	La-bŭn	Lak-karaw
...	Har-lè	Ring-lè	...	Gandar rè wu-naw.	P'môk
...	Har-Vyar	Sān-dall	...	Gandar bă zan	Sm'lung kia
...	Har kun-bong.	Sik-pōng	...	Gandara pa hawng.	S'maw kia
...	Har-köt	Ring-köt	...	Gandar rèwun tôk.	P'lāt
(E)r-hmām	Rāk	Rāk	Ka-hkwe-ra, hka.	Myan-nyōn-haw.	K'ā
...	Yēng-cher-rāk.	Yung-pai-rāk.	...	I-imyan-nyōn-haw.	...
...	Rāk lawk-i	Rāk lawk-i	...	...	...
U-hmām	Rai or dwall	Rai	U-hka, h'kè	Kămăn	...
Wai-tu-hmām.	Yēng-cher-dwall.	Pai-yung rai	...	...	...
...	Rai lawk-i	Rai lawk-i	...	...	...
Dza	S'rawng	S'rawng	...	Dzar	...
...	Dell	Dell	...	Dē-um	Saw
...	Nè-ho, nam-sa-ho.	Am-an	...	Kŭmaw nyon hyaw.	Samun t'lawng
...	Hai-sō, hai-nè.	An	...	Himyaw myan nyon hyaw.	T'aw
Sit	Kun-nu-wung.	At	Hku, gao	Kariā	Paik
Sit-gyi-an	Rāng-cha	Rāng-cha	Parrè, prè	Kaw-kariā	Parām
Chā	Praw	Praw	...	Hrai	Srai
Klaing	Pre	K'bi	...	Dhān	...
Hat	Kŭt	Kŭt	...	Hkŭt	Tām
Ka-mai	Mōt-se-pra-wal.	P'lawt or lep	...	Shin-lan-hnyaw.	...
Ka-taw	Hung-yai	Hung-bai, lung-bo.	...	Un kung go(r)	...
Nga	Lang-an-pul	Kerswo	...	Unwā	...
Plān	I-pran	I-ken	...	Kèyè pan-maw	Daik sâ
Kram	I-māng	I-kwen	...	Un-krŭm	...
Gāt	I-taü	I-taü	...	Kwan-hnya	Pyu
Det	Kan-liet	I-kye	...	Kwan-hnā	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Tall ...	Hsūng	Sūng	Sūng	Lông, lawng	...	Ja, dza
Little ...	Lik	Lek	Noi	Tem, so	...	Jem, det
Very small ...	Lik-awn	Noi	Noi	So	...	...
Big ...	Yaü	Yai	Yai	Hting	...	Dang
Tight ...	Kep	Hkap	Hkap	Hsa kalaw	...	Hkyi-a(ch)
Wide ...	Kwang	Kwang	Kwang	Vöt, wak	...	Ka-wa
Close ...	Hyim	Hkep	Hkep	Thö timan, karawk.	...	Dat
Painful ...	Hkop-hkün.	Puat	Puet	Hsa karēng	...	Hsan
Pleasant ...	Môn	Sabai	Muen	Pyaw	...	Tha-ya (Burmese)
Red ...	Leng	Deng	Dĕng	Rao,ka-ra(k)	...	Rawn
Yellow ...	Löng	Hluang	Hluang	Hsen-nyi	...	Tan
Green ...	Hkio	Kiu awn	Kiu awn	Hsüng ngō, hsa-nga hsôm.	...	I-nyo
Blue ...	Hsawm	Kiu	Kiu	Hsüng ngōm	...	La
Black ...	Lam	Dam	Dam	Lông	...	I-wang
White ...	Hpök, kao	Hkao	Hkao	Poi, hpa röng.	...	I-lui
Hand ...	Mü	Mu	Mu	Tè, tai	Ti	Tai
Foot ...	Tin	Taw tin	Tin	Chawng, sing, chan.	Tsu awng	Jan
Nose ...	Hku lang	Tamuk	Hudang	Kawng muk	Mo	Kadongmu
Eye ...	Mak ta	Ta	Ta	Ngai, sūk-ngai.	Mat	Ngai
Mouth ...	Hsūp	Pāk	Pāk	Taü 'mtut 'njui, hkwe.	Tanaw	Mwe
Tooth ...	Hkio	Fan	Kiu	Rang, harā	Rang	Hrang
Ear ...	Hu	Hu	Hu	Yaw(k) yük	Ramwe	Hsôk
Hair ...	Hkōn	Hpawm	Hpawm	Hak keng	Klō	Hük ken
Head ...	Ho	Hua	Hua	Hkeng	Kam pong	Ken
Tongue ...	Lin	Lin	Lin	'Nta(k), tak	Tak	Hsā tă
Belly ...	Tawng	Htawng noi.	Htawng	Htu	Lwe	Wat
Arm ...	Hken	Hken	Hken	Htè, pa	...	Tai
Leg ...	Hka, tin	Hka	Hka	Pari chawng, rawang.	Plo	Plo
Skin ...	Nang	Hpiu nang	Hpiu nang	Hak	...	Hūn
Bone ...	Lūp	Kaduk	Kadūk	Hsa-ang, a-kwi.	...	Ka-āng
Blood ...	Lōt	Luet	Luet	Nām	...	Hnām
Stone ...	(Mak) hīn	Hīn	Hīn	Hsi-mo, hsi-mao.	Klang	Mao
Iron ...	Lēk	Lēk	Lēk	Hrem, hreom	...	Hlak
Gold ...	Hkam	Htawng hkam.	Hkam	Hsari, hsarai	...	Khyi
Silver ...	Ngün	Ngōn	Ngōn	Mü	...	Rōn

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Dza	Chrawng	Chrawng	Hlaung, tha-lōn.	In-gyā	...
Det	Pawk, dell	Pawk, dell	Hkli, kle	Brè	Dawt
...	Kan-liet	Kyè	...	Dèdayat	...
...	Pull	Maw	...	Dhan	Snou
Hkyi-a(ch)	...	...	...	Awp	...
Wa-h	Wass	Wass	...	Wa	...
Dat	Kyep	Sak-nyek	...	Dat	...
Hsan	Su, sawk	Su, sawk	...	Su	...
...	Saya-rāk	Maw-rak	...	Hye myan-nyo-hyaw.	...
Reng	Rōng	Rōng	Pakit	Un-ko	P'kāt
Tēng	R'mīt	R'mīt	...	Un-ting	Daik-mit
Nyen	Nyer	Nyer	Yhnīt	Un-yè	Sā-ngak
Nyen-ra-bai	Lang	Mun	...	Nyè-swam	Dām
Wăng	Lang	Lang	Ka-tsôk, katsaw	I-yūm	Lasok
Luc	Kan-ra	Kan-ra	Pataing, p'tan	Bain	Kamu
Kă-ba-tai	Ti	Ti	To-wa, twe	Ti	To-ā
Kă-ba-jeng or seng.	Chawng	Chawng	Jo-ing, zīn	...	Saing
Kawng-mu	Ka-dawk	Ka-dawk	...	Gawng-mu	Mu
Ngai	Ngai	Ngai	Mūt, mwut	Ngyè	Mut
Mwe	Ko	M'waing	Pan	Mūt	Paing
Rāng	Rāng	Rāng	Nget, ngawt	Krang	...
Shôk	Ka-tik	Ka-tik	Ka-to	Hyaw	Kontaw
Hăk-kyēng	Hôk	Hōk	Tsūt, swet	Pu-king	...
Kyēng	King	King	Kadop	King	K'dāp
Kā-tă	Tāk	Tāk	...	Să-ta	Lataik
Wai	Klung	Klung	...	Wai(k)	...
Tai	...	...	...	Va	...
Jēng	Pli plu (thigh) Pli-chawng (shin).	Ka-dell Pli-chawng	...	Gyôn	...
Hun	Hur	Hur	Hnam, S'nam	Să-rè	...
Ka-āng	Ring-an	Chin-an	Jūt, sūt	Kun-ăng	Sut
Hnām	Nām	Nām	Sin, sein	Hnām	...
Mao	S'môk	Ra-ang	K'maw	Mo-dayat	T'mawm
Hīn	Hir	Hir	Pa-thwe	Gre-ya	Paso-ā
Krī	Hkam (Shan)	Hkam (Shan)	...	Kri	T'aw
Rōn	Run	Run	...	Drōn	Srawn

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Copper ...	Tawng leng.	Htawng deng.	Htawng deng	Tu-nam, lat	...	Ma-lăng
Lead ...	Lün	Ta-kua	Chün	Htai wün	...	Mă-zat
Tin ...	Sēk hpök	Dibuk	...	Hrem-hpang	...	Hin-lui
Brass ...	Tawng lōng.	Htawng luang.	Htawng luang.	...	...	Mă-lăng-tēng.
Sulphur ...	Kan	Kamma-htan.	Māt	Kan (Shan)	...	Kan(Shar)
Earth ...	Lin	Dīn	Dīn	Hak-te, te	Ka-te	Kătai
Salt ...	Kö	Klüa	Hkia	Hkīt, sai	Mar	Se
Sugar ...	Kö wan, Nam oi (crude).	Nam tan	Nam tan	Hkīt nyum, sai nyam.	...	Se ngām
Father ...	Paw	Hpaw	Hpaw	King, pwa, te.	Yong	Kôn
Mother ...	Me	Mai	Mai	Ngua, me-at, ma.	Ma	Mā
Brother. Elder ...	Pi	Hpi-chai	Hpi-chai	Ek	Tai	Pi
Brother. Younger	Nawng	Nawng chai.	Nawng-chai	Po	Ham	Wa
Sister Elder ...	Pi nang	Hpi-sao	Hpi-sao	Aw	Sem kün	Pi ipan
Sister Younger	Nawng-yīn.	Nawng-sao.	Nawng-sao	Po	Ham sem kün	Wa ipan
Man ...	Kōn, Hpu-sai.	Hpu-chai	Hpu-chai	(Ă) ramè(t), pwi.	Sim yaw	I-ma-i
Woman ...	Hpu-ying	Hpu-ying	Mè-ying	(Ă)ra (m)pōn, 'mpōn.	Sim kün	I-păn
Wife ...	Mè	Mea	Mea	Ra-mawng	Tum kaw	Pyi
Husband ...	Hpo	Hpua	Hpua	Hriawng, karaw.	Kle	Men
Child ...	Luk awn	Dek	La awn	Kawn nyūm	Hkawn ne	Ī-det
Son ...	Luk sai	Luk hpu-chai.	Luk hpu-chai.	Kawn (a)ra-mè(t).	...	Kawn ī-mai.
Daughter ...	Luk ying	Luk hpu-ying.	Luk hpu-ying.	Kawn 'mpôn, rapôn.	...	Kawn i-pan.
Father-in-law	Pu nai	Hpaw-ta	Hpaw-mea	Kün ampun ao, pao.	...	Pō
Mother-in-law	Awn nai, mè-sao.	Mai yai	Mai mea	Mö ampun ao, hting.	...	Kān
Uncle ...	Lung	Lung	Lung	Mpaü, hting	...	Kôn or pō
Aunt ...	Pa	Pa	Ā-ao	Pao	...	Kān or mā
Nephew ...	Lan sai	Lan chai	Lan chai	Kawn hpa, hsaü.	...	Hlan i-mai
Niece ...	Lan ying	Lan sao	Lan sao	Kawn hpa (a)rampôn	...	Hlan ī-pan
Cultivator. Upland	Kōn hēt hai.	Hkon tam rai.	Hkon rai	Htō ma hpu-yu-ma.	...	Ī-raing-nā
Cultivator. Lowland	Kōn het na.	Hkon tam na.	Hkon ye	Yōn nō hpu-yu-na.	...	

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Pa-lăng	Tawng-rōng	Tawng-rōng	...	Dong	L'mwai
Pă-zăt	Sün	L'wun	...	Pra-gyet	...
Hin-lui	Hir kan-ra	Hir kan-ra	...	Greya-bain	Paso-ā daik
Pă-lăng-tēng	Tawng r'mit	Tawng r'mit	...	Dong-ting	P'rāt
Kan	Kan-tŏk	Kan	...	Yan-yim	Kawn mạk
Kă-tai	K'te	K'te	Taik, te	Ka-dè	Ti
Hsè	Swāk	Swāk	Baw, bu	Saw	Hâ
Hsè-ngām	Swāk-nām	Swāk-nām	...	Saw-nan	Da-krā
Gôn	Pa	Pa	A-ba, a-pa	Kūn	Ma
Mā	Ma	Ma	A-mai	Mā	Mi
Wè-ī-mai	Bo, mai-kerame.	Mai	...	..	Kon
Wa-i-mai	Taw	Sen-bo	...	Bwi	Dām
Wè-ī-pan	Mai kannya or chaross.	Wai	...	...	I-hmuā
Wa-ī-pan	Taw-kannya or chaross.	Bo kannya	...	Bwi-pūn	I-dām
(Lui) ī-mai	Keramē	Keramē	Mani, karu	Bī	M'ni
(Lui) ī-păn	Kannya	Kannya	...	Bī-pūn	Brao
Ī-păn	K'pun	Ya	...	Bī-pū-naw	Kayaing
Ī-mai	K'mē	K'me	...	Yi-ma-aw	Kayaing
Kawn-det	Kwan	Kwan	...	Kwanā	...
Kawn-ī-mai	Kwan kerame	Kwan kerame.	...	Kwān	...
Kawn-i-pan	Kwan kannya.	Kwan kannya.	...	Kwān nīpan	...
Pō	Paw (by men), Kun by women).	Paw (by men), Kun (by women).	...	Pō	K'awm sī
Kān	Ta (by men) Ya (by women).	Ta (by men) Ya (by women).	...	Kun	K'awm sī
Kōn or Pō	Lēng	Lēng	...	Paw shi-on	A-nai, a-mū
Kān or Mă	Paw	Pa-dēng	...	Wā-kun	I-nai, i sī
Hlan i-mai	P'li	P'li	...	Su	Klin
Hlan i-pan	P'li kannya	P'li kannya	...	Su la-pyā	Klin
Ī-raing-nā {	E-kin-marā or E-swŏm-marā.	E-kin-marā or E-swŏm-marā.	...	...	...
	E-swom-na	E-swŏm-nā	...	Kro-mā	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Cow-herd ...	Kôn ling wo.	Hkon ling ngua.	Hkon ling ngua.	Ngōm mük	...	Ī-hyaing-măk.
Hunter ...	Mu hsō	...	...	Mu-hsō, kwi	...	Mu-hsō (Shan).
God ...	Hpra	Pra chao chiwit.	Pra chao chiwit.	...	...	Pă-rā
Devil ...	Hpī	Pī	Pi	Yūm tsao kēng.	...	Kă-năm
Sun ...	Kang wan	Dēt	Dēt	Hsa-ngè, si-ngai.	Mat si-nyi	Se-ngai
Moon ...	Lōn	Duen	Duen	Hke	Mong	Pa kyo
Star ...	Lao	Dao	Dao	Hsim-ūng, hsa-nūt.	Chel meng	Hsa man
Fire ...	Hpai	Fai	Fai	Ngo, ngu	Para lua	Lakwai
Water ...	Nam	Nām	Nām	Rōm	Ōm	Em
House ...	Hōn	Ruen	Huen	Nyè, nya	Hkang	Kalep
Horse ...	Ma	Mā	Mā	Marōng, brum.	Imprang	Imbyang
Bullock ...	Wo	Ngua	Ngua	Mūk, ma(k)	...	Măk
Cow ...	Wo mè	Ngua tua mai.	Ngua mai	Mūk moi	Impo	Măk
Bull ...	Wo paw	Ngua tua hpu.	Ngua hpu	Mūk meng	...	...
Dog ...	Ma	Hma	Hma	Hsaw	Hsaw	Hsao
Cat ...	Miao	Meo	Meo	Miwi e-ya	Miao	A-nyiao
Fowl ...	Kai	Hkai	Hkai	Ēti yüang, È-rape (wild).	...	Yan
Hen ...	Kai mè	Hkai tua mai.	Hkai mai	È-rakôn	...	Yan kămā
Cock ...	Kai hpu	Hkai tuà hpu.	Hkai hpu	È-rame	...	Yan akôn
Duck ...	Pēt	Pet	Pet	...	...	Pyit
Bird ...	Nōk	Nôk	Nôk	Sun, hsim	Hsim	Hsim
Mule ...	Ma (law)	La	Luwa	Parōng, law	...	Law
Elephant ...	Sang	Chāng	Chang	Hsang	Sang	San
Buffalo ...	Kwai	Kwai	Kwai	Karak	...	Kă-ră
Fish ...	Pa	Pla	Pa	Ka	Ka	Ka
Deer ...	Hpan	Kwang	Kwang	Pōt, mo	...	Tüng
Goat ...	Pè	Hpe	H-pe	Hpun	...	Be
Sheep ...	Sīn	Ke	Ke	Sin	...	Hso (Burmese).
Flea ...	Mat	Mat	Mat	Tep, pik	...	Sa-tye
Milk ...	Nam nūm	Nam nom	Nam nom	(R)um-po, rum-tük.	...	Ūm-bu
Bamboo ...	Mai	Mai (pai)	Mai (bwa)	Hkao, khawng-keng.	...	Hrăng

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (or Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Ī-hyang-măk	E-tam-mūk	E-tam-mūk	...	Bī-heng-pè	...
Mu-hsö	Mu-hsö	Mu-hsö	...	Mok-so	...
Pă-rā	Sao prā	Sao prā	...	Prā	Kuk
Kă-năm	Hsông (Shan).	Hsōng	...	Pait	Mā
Hsa-ngai	S'ngi	S'ngi	Nyuwa, ta-ngowa	Să-nī law	T'nguā
Mă-kyen	Kyer	Kyer	Ka-to	Plang-ker	K'tu
Mă-lăng	Sagamun	Sagamun	Naung s'nong	Să-main	...
Nga(h)	Ngall	Ngall	Ka-mwot	Ner	P'mawt
Ōm	Ōm	Ōm	Taik t'dat	Ōm	Daik
Gang	Kāng	Kāng	Hoi, hnyi	Gang	...
'R-brăng	Marāng	Marāng	Hkyai, kchè	Brang	...
Măk	Mūk	Mūk	...	Mi	...
Măk kă-mā	Mūk-nyang	Mūk-maya	Ka-lian-bo, ka-raw.	...	...
Mâk ră-hso	Mūk-tuk or rēng.	Mūk-tūk	...	Mi-rasū	...
A-ôk	So	So	Hkla, kle	Saw	...
A-nyiao	Miao	Miao	Pa-ko wa, pa-hkwe.	A-myao	Ba-kö-a
Yan	Yer	Yer	...	Her	...
Yan kă-mā	Yer-nyang	Yer-nyang	...	Her kamā(r)	...
Yan a-kōn	Yer-rēng	Yer-rēng	...	Her a-krōm	...
Pyit	Pyit	Pyit	...	Pyet	A-dā
Hsūm	Sim	Sim	Ka-tsin	Sim	...
Law	Law-la	Law-la	...	Brang-law	...
Sāng	Sang	Si-chang	Sêng	Sang	...
Kă-ră	Panā (Taungthu).	Panā	Pri-eng, parin	G' rā(r)	...
Mi	Ka	Ka	...	Kā	Ka
Tüng	Puss (barking deer), Tyak (sambhur).	Puss Tyak	...	Po	...
Be	Pè	Pè	Kabek, kabai	Pyè	Ba-bīt
Hso	...	...	...	...	Sa
Sa-tyen	Wass	Wass	...	Ga(r)	...
Ūm-bu	Ōm-nen	Ōm-bu	...	Bu	...
Hrăng	Rung	Rung	...	Hrăng	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Turban ...	Hkin ho	Hpa pōk hua.	Hpa Tawng	Win-k e ng, ne(t) hsapa nawt.	Hsing pong	Kame (woman's)
Hat ...	Kup, mawk ho	Muak	Kup	Keng tang luak, sap-na keng.	Wawm	Klep
Coat ...	Hsö	Sua	Sua	Sha(ch) sha-be.	Htep	Kabyok
Trousers ...	Kōn	Kang keng	Hpa tiu	Kōn k'la	Teao	Să-lā
Petticoat ...	Hsīn	Sarawng	Sin	Tai	...	Glang
Shoes ...	Hkep tin	Kūk	Kūp	Kep-tin (Shan).	Hkep	Hkep-tin
Ear-rings ...	Pe-hu	Tam hu	Lān hu	Ru-pö, nga-rung.	...	Shôk
Rice (Unhusked)	Hkao hsan	Hkao san	Hkao san	Ngao, üp	Ngaw	Hneao
Rice (Husked)	Hkao pōk	Hkao	...	Ngao, üp	Un hko	Sakao
Opium ...	Ya l a m, hping.	Fin	Fin	Hpīn	...	Hpīng
Grass ...	Yö	Ja	Ja	Yēp	...	Bẹt
Tree ...	Tōn mai	Tōn-mai	Tôn mai	Rung hkao	Sa awng	Tăng-hoi
Leaf ...	Maü	Bai mai	Bai mai	La, 'nla	La	Hla
Wood ...	(Nö) mai	Mai	Mai	Ka (pang) hkao.	...	He
Cold ...	Kat, nao	Hnao	Hnao	(Yūm) krawt lat.	...	Kaw
Warm ...	Mai, hawn	Rawn	Hawn	Rao, lao, kawt.	...	Hrang
Ice ...	Nam mwe	Nam keng	Nam keng	Ūm karo, mwirōm.	...	Mă-tāp
Snow ...	Nam mwe	Hima	Nam mwe	...	...	...
Rain ...	Hpōn	Nam-fōn	Nam-fōn	(Tūm) lè	...	Klai
Wind ...	Lōm	Lōm	Lōm	Kö-a, ka, hsup-pu.	...	Hku
Thunder ...	Hpa-lang	Fa-rong	Fa-hong	Nūm pa-re, ranim pa-le.	...	Kă-năm-blēng.
Lightning ...	Hpa mep	Fa-lep	Fa-mep	Sip-puk ka-lak, mim-lim sè-pü plak.	...	Bla-blēk
Sky ...	Hpa	Fa	Fa	(Hak) ma	Hrauang	Plan
Cloud ...	M a w k kum.	Meik	Meik	Wi-ūm, hpra paru.	...	Mă-ūt
Day ...	Wan	Wan	Wan	Yiawng, pe-si-ngai.	...	Hkai să-ngai.
Night ...	Kang hkōn	Hkün	Hkün	'Mhsom, 'mbang.	...	Hkai sōm
Light ...	Lēng	Lēng	Lēng	Rüang pe, rang.	...	Blang
Dark ...	Lap hsing	Müt	Müt	Awp pe, wak	...	Ăp
River ...	Nam hawng.	Me-nam	Me-nam	Rōm ngawt, ka-lawm, sawk rôm.	Hra w n g om.	Rawng fai.
Hill ...	Loi	Hkao	Doi	Turu, tu-a	Tan hkōn	Gawng

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (or Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Mă-tawng	Pi-lwil	Sem-wut	...	Gyan-king	...
Klūp	Klūp	Klūp	...	Hmaw	...
Să-daw	S'keng	S'keng	...	Sĭ-taw	...
Să-lā	Kōn	Kōn	...	Si-lā (r)	...
Glang	La	La	...	Klān-tōng	...
Kyet-tīn	Sawng-klep	Sawng-klep	...	Kyet-tīn	...
Să-yōk	Pan-wall	Sam-kyut-katik	...	Hyaw	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
Tă-kao	Ko	Ko	...	A-ko	...
Hpīng	Rut-lang	Ya-lam	...	Bīng	Bīn
Păt	Mun	Tak	...	• ...	...
Tăng-he	Tung-kè	Tung-kè	Kanaung-su	...	...
Hla-he	La-kè	La-kè	Hla	Hla(r)	...
He	Rung-kè	Rung-kè	...	He	...
Kăt	Kat	Kat	Ba	Mi ki-bye	Bā
Să-ūn	Koit	Koit	Katao	Kwo(r)	A-zrung
'R tāp	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	Bwe-gywat	...
Klai	Kyung	Kyung	...	Dōn	...
Hkūn	Kur	Kur	...	Kwi	...
Kă-nă m-plēng.	Pli ta-kur	Ta-kur	...	Gene-plang	...
Bla-'r-biĕk	Pli lak-lawk	Lak-lawk	...	Ka-sā-s'tè	...
Blēng	Plēng	Plēng	Ta-hka	Kerawè-king	...
Mă-ūt	Tōp	Tōp	...	Ūt	...
Hkai să-ngai	S'ngi	S'ngi	Ta-ngua, nyu-i	Sa-nī	T'nguā
Hkai sōm	Tak-bim, tak-sawm.	Tak-bim	Pa-taung	In-sōm	B'tawm
Blang	Tak-klup	Tak-mut	Ka-ma	Plang	Laya
Ăp	Tri-bim	Bim-lang	...	A-bing	D'mlu
Ūm-rawng	Ōm-rawng	Ōm-rawng	Bi	Pōn-dan	...
Nawn	Rang	Rang	D'oi, hde	Sūr	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Valley ...	Ké loi, hwe loi.	Wang-hkao.	Wang-doi	Möm lawt möm lawng. hsa-na tu-a	...	Blyang
Insect ...	Meng	Meng	Meng	Rai, ma-la	..	Wä
Heart ...	(Ho) saü	Chai	Chai	Hsūk	...	Ble-na
Chief (ruler) ...	Sao hpa	Chao	Chao	Krăw, ra-mang.	...	Ăn-dang kukè.
Freeman ...	...	Htai	Htai	Mü ka-lawn	...	...
Slave ...	Hka	Tāt	Tāt	Hsaiu, chuang kraw.	...	Hmai
Witness ...	Hsak hse (Burmese)	Payan	Hpu pam hu	Tōp-me, hpwi-yaw.	...	Hsak-hse (Burmese)
Law ...	Tara	Kot-mai	Hit kawng kōt mai.	T'ra	...	Tă-rā (Burmese).
Punishment ...	Tam	Htōt	Htōt	Hpe, tam (Shan).	...	Dăm
Crime ...	A-pyet (Burmese)	Htōt	Htōt	...	...	A-bret
Spirit (soul) ...	...	Winyan	...	Liyè-a rī-ya (the greatest, that of the house), Kūm turu (of the hills), Kūm ari yuawn (of the streams).	...	Wi-nyin (Burmese)
Dream ...	(Nawn) hpan.	Fan	Fan	Saram ao, ra-mu.	...	It-ban
Vision ...	Ruparong (Burmese)	Lamö	Kang	...	...	...
Sacrifice ...	Pôk-saw (Burmese)	Wai hpi	Wai hpi	...	...	Nè kă-năm.
Penance ...	...	Ke bōn	Ke bōn	...	...	...
Kindness ...	...	Chai ku-son.	Chai būn	Môm ra-rōm.	...	Ka-we
Time ...	Hkēng ...	...	...	...	...	...
Morning ...	Kang hkün, kang naü.	(Rung) chao.	...	Na ngao	...	Kai hnyā
Evening ...	Kang sai, kang tôk.	Wela bai	...	...	...	Să-ngai-līp (sunset).
Midday ...	Kang tēng.	Wela tieng.	...	Nyawng sang.	...	Kadai să-ngai.
Round ...	Môn kôm	Klom ...	Mōn	Ma roi, lu-lī.	...	Kălăng

Rumai (Mantôn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Mōn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Blyang	Wur	Hōt	...	Law	...
Wă	Thak-sit, mar-ri.	Marri	...	Bwa	...
Ble-na	Kin-kan-wass.	Kin-kan-wass.	...	Kera-pu(r)	...
...		...	...	Bī-dan	...
...		...	...	Wawt	...
Hmai		...	...	Hmi	...
...	As in Shan.	...	...	Sak-sā	...
...		...	...	...	...
Dăm		...	...	...	...
A-bret		...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
It-ban	Yet r'mu	Yet r'mu	...	Im-po	
...	...	...	...	...	
Nè kă-nam	Pu-saw (Burmese)	Pu-saw (Burmese)	...	Ko-gwai kera-nam.	
...	...	...	...	...	
Ka-we	...	...	...	Mū n-nyo-hynaw.	
...	...	...	...	...	
Sa-ngai-le (sun rise).	S'ngi mat-sang-sang-ho.	Tak-mōp	...	Kai hyā	Kaya.
Bre-ap (after dark).	S'ngi Wa küt.	S'ngi Wai	...	Sa-ngai līp	S'maw T'ngu-ā
					...
Kadai sa-ngai.	S'ngi mat sang-sang.	S'ngi-sang-sang or S'ngi-tun-sang.	...	...	
Kă-lăng	Mun (Shan)	Mun	...	Kala-bwai	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Flat ...	Hpep, ping	Ben	Ben	Plaü	...	Kă-htēp
Hollow ...	Kông	Prong	Kluang	Raü la-awng.	...	Klōng
Strong ...	Heng (yaü).	Keng reng	Herg	Măra, mö-ka-leng pa-ting.	...	Blawm
Weak ...	Heng lik	Awn	Hlu	Ang-pa mă-ra, sūkka-leng.	...	Ra-hla
Spear ...	Hawk	Hawk	Hawk	Hpa-lia(k) plia	Plek	Yō
Sword ...	Lap	...	...	Wè(k), wai	Hkam-awng.	Bo
Bow ...	Kang	Tanu	Kong	Ā k-htet, ngak.	Maw	Kang
Hatchet ...	Ta-mat	Kwān	Kwān	Mwe	...	Tă-māt (Shan).
Needle ...	Kyem	Hkem	Hkem	Nyo, hsi	...	...
Pot ...	Maw	Maw	Maw	Tawng	...	Kă-lōp
Boat ...	Hö	Rua	Hua	Kao-nang, rōng, kao-pōk.	Rua (Lao)	Kale, rō
Cord ...	Sök	Chuek	Chuek	Ngawn, mao.	...	Wăn
Village ...	Man, wan	Ban	Ban	Yawng, yüng	Kung	Imju
House ...	Hön	Ruen	Huen	Nyia, nya	Hkang	Kalep
Roof ...	Mung hön.	Lang ka	Lang ka	Tōp-maro, tōp-plawng, rang yang	Katrawng hkang	Da kalep
Chair ...	Ti-nang	Tao-i	Tāng	Hkao ngom	...	Kă-la-heng (Burmese
Table ...	...	Taw	Taw	Karēng-hsam.	...	Tā-kōn
Box ...	Ūp, ep	Hib	Hib	Ngōk, yep	...	Sa-tōk
Basket ...	Tang	Kabung	Peat	Tang, pōng, yaw hsawng	...	Hkawn
Bag ...	Htông	Tūng	Tung	Haü, rō	Pok	Jan, hu
Fishing-net ...	Hsai hkè	Hai	Hai	Hke	...	Răp
Snare ...	Hküm	Krun	Kun	Hkawk	...	Ting
Picture ...	Pum hang	...	...	Rang	...	Rāng
Statue (image)	Hak tu ...	...	..	...	...	Yōk-tu (Burmese
To carve ...	Tawng	...	...	...	...	...
Song ..	Kwam ün	Pleng	Saw	I-he, a-ü, a-sa-sawn.	...	Ka-ō
Dance ...	Ka	Ten ram	Fawn	Kā, ngoi	...	Kā
Pipe ...	Maw ya	...	...	Rōm nya	...	...
Medicine ...	Ya ya ...	Yā	Yā	Arahtā, ra-taü.	...	Băt nyawt
Poison ...	Kawng	Yā hpit bua.	Yā bua	Ōm	...	Kawng (Shan).
Toy ...	...	Thuka-tā	Luk patā	...	...	Mă-kă hlè kawn.

Rumai (Mantōn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Môn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Kă-htēp	Klep	Klep	...	Hrat	...
Klōng	Māng-tu	Māng-tu, tu-krek.	...	Bēng	...
Blawm	Kum-rang	Kum-rang	...	Ko(r)	...
Ra-hla	Kum-rang kan-vyet.	Kum-rang lēng.	...	Ka-kwen-mōn	...
Săt	Plas	Plas	...	Ka-long	...
Bwet-lāng	Wait	Wait	...	Bo-lang	...
Ă-ba	Āk	Āk	...	Drai	...
Mwe	T'mat (Shan).	T'mat	...	Mwĕ	...
...	Pun-ngi	Pun-lait	...	Pa-laik	...
Ka-lōp	Klo	Klo	...	Klo-ūm	...
Rō	Chun-lwawng.	Chun-lwawng.	Kalōn	Rū	...
Wăn	Nwur	Nwur	...	Wer	...
Ran	Pru	Pru	Kwon, ko	Rū dan	...
Gāng	Kāng	Kāng	Hoi, hnyi	Gāng	...
Dăp	Tōk-up	Tōk-up	...	Gāng ta-pūn	...
...	Tang	Tang	...	...	...
Ta-kôn	K'rēng ti-môk.	Pen-pell	...	...	...
Sa-tōk	Tōk (Shan)	Tōk	...	Dūk	...
Hkawn	Kak, up, pyit	K'rep, yuk, pyit.	...	Bēr	...
Ka-byan, hu.	S'ki	S'ki	...	Kūr	...
Răp	Kye-kang	Kye-pru	...	Ta-hke	...
Ting-	Dāk	Dāk	...	...	Danawt.
Rāng	Rang-un	...	...	Sāt	Bām.
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
Ka-ō	Kyi mawk wam (Shan)	...	...	Dān hè-ting	...
Kā	Kā	Kā	...	Kā	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
Tha-dūt	Sa-nam	Sa-nam	...	Pat se-nūm	...
Kawng	Sa-nam yam.	Sa-nam yam.	...	Hēn taw-han	...
Rō	...	...	...	Kwun-nā king	...

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Hka Mūk.	Palaung or Rumai (Shan States).
Game ...	...	Kān len	Kān len	...	...	Ră-hlè
Riddle ...	Kwam takan.	Ban ha	Pun ha	...	...	...
Today ...	Mö nai	Wan ni	...	E-ring, ariying.	...	...
Tomorrow ...	Mö hpōk	Prung ni	...	Paya, nüng ngôp-sa.	...	...
Yesterday ...	Mö wa	Wan ni	...	Pakaw, paka kaü.	...	...
To stand ...	Sük	Jun	Jun	Tsung, jōng	Tün	Jăng
To walk ...	Kwa	Dōn	Dōn	Luen, ro	...	Han ră jeng.
To run ...	Len	Wing	Lôn	Pèrayè, wük.	...	Kanok, tabu.
To sleep ...	Nawn (lap).	Lab	Lab	Nyim ik	Hsi	I
To eat ...	Kīn	Kīn	Kīn	Sām, I, pyere hpa-ra.	A	Hawm
To strike ...	Yen	Ti	Bub	Ti-ya, mōn tek.	...	Ka
To see ...	Han	Hēn	Han	Yao, sawn	...	Yeo
To make ...	Hēt	Tam	Je	Yôk, yu-haawng.	...	Ren
To sit ...	Nang	Nang	Nang	Nak ngawm	Tani	Mōng
To die ...	Tai	Tai	Tai	Hsiawm, yum.	...	Yăm
To call ...	Hawng	Rik	Hawng	Kawk, huet karai.	...	Te
To throw ...	Tyem pü	Jon	Jon	Wong, tēng chek.	...	Dawt
To drop ...	Yawt tōk	Tōk	Tōk	Araü, ka-rik	...	Jaw
To place ...	Tang, wai	Wang	Wang	Ngaw katang, tik.	...	Un
To lift ...	Yôk, yawng.	Jōk	Jōk	Yūk	...	Jôk
To pull ...	Süng	Chak	Chak	Ngün tek, naw.	...	Tüt
To smoke ...	Kawn hpai awk.	Sūb	Sub	Mat-ngaw, le-mawk-ngu, tünwo.	...	Nyawt
To love ...	Hak	Rak	Hak	Hak pao, re.	...	Rak (Shan).
To hate ...	Sang	Kleat	Kīat	Ang ren nang pao, hkōn.	...	Bloi
To go ...	Kwa, pai	Pai	Mua	Lōn, ro	Yaw	Hao
To get up ...	...	...	...	Kao jōng	Rö	Yoi
To beat ...	Yen	Hkien	Hkien	Tiya, ma-ru	...	Ma
To lie down ...	Nawn king yu	Nawn	Nawn	Īt-ït, pangmu-ta-it.	...	Ma gĕ
To come ...	Ma	Ma	Ma	Ni, roi	Wet	De
To ride ...	Hki ma	Hki ma	Hki ma	Hpūk, brung būk.	Pak imprang.	Bak imbyang.
To fly ...	...	...	...	Rai	Tar	Pō

Rumai (Mantōn neighbourhood).	Riang or Yang Sek.	Riang or Yang Wan Kun.	Môn or Talaing.	Palaung or Rumai (of Nam Hsan).	Mōn.
Ră-hlè	Tan-lawng	Tan-lawng	...	Aw byè	...
...	...	...	...	Pōr	...
...	...	...	Ngwai-no	...	...
...	...	...	Nu-ye	...	...
...	...	...	Lek-kanè	...	...
Jăng	Chēng	Roi-chē ngbo	...	Jung	Datao.
Han ră jeng	Nwur	Nwur	A-taik, kwaik	Hlaw tan-ding.	...
Han dao	Ruk	Rawng	Hkrīt, krape	Ter	...
It	Yet rūng-ngöt.	Yet-rung-ngöt.	Toik, hling. tet.	Iyit	Hlīng.
Hawm	Swŏm	Swŏm	Tsī, tsīt	Hōm	...
Ka	Ti	Ti	Tāk	...	...
Yö	Oll	Oll	...	Yè-yu-wūn	Nyāt.
Raing	Si	Si	...	Aw-nya-ūn	...
Koi	Kade	Kade	...	Maw	...
Yăm	Yam	Yam	Hkyet	Yam	...
De	Rāk	Rāk	...	Ke rā ahi	...
Dawt	Kwall	Sam-pat	...	Taik-kwan	...
Jaw	Kyer-klè	Loi-klè	...	Tōr-taik	...
Yek	Li-mōk	Li-mōk	...	Ôm	...
Jôk	Chaw-li	Chaw-li	Kaban, kabaung.	Yaw	...
Tüt	Tụ̄t-li	Tüt-sang	...	Tūt	Dasawt.
Nyawt	Teng	Teng	Thaung	Nwat	...
Rak	I'rak, i'riaw	I'rak, i'riaw	...	Aw-ket	Sra Hān.
Tsăng	S'kur	Sang (Shan)	...	Aw-san	K'du.
Hao	Lan	Lan	Ā	...	Ā.
...	...	...	...	...	
Ma	Nak	Nak	...	Hnaw	
Ma-gĕ	Ta	Ta	...	I-yit	
...	Mu	Mo	Klaung, klom	...	
...	...	...	...	...	
...	...	...	...	...	

English.	Shan.	Siamese.	Lao.	Wa or Vü.	Palaung or Rumai.	Riang or Yang-sek and Yang-wan-kun.
The men are coming	Kōn laü makan ō	Hpu chai ma ...	Hpu chai ma	{ Ni kyi ēng Hpwi tamu roi ta an.	Lui ke weng e Bi-klaw	Kerame tru mu (or Mo).
The men are going	Kōn laü kwa kan ō	Hpu chai pai ...	Hpu chai pai	{ Luen kyi ēng Hpwi tamu pa ro ta an.	Lui ke hao e Bi-kūn hlaw yaw	Kerame lan
He has gone ...	Man kwa yao	Hkao pai leo	Hkao mua leo	Rai ro no {	An hao hoi I mai hlaw	Hu wa lan
She will come ...	Man tak ma ō	Hkao chai ma	Hkao chai ma	Roi ra-pun {	An rā rawt I pūn klaw	Hu te tru
They should have come.	Hkao ma lai ō	Hkao chai tawng dai ma leo.	Hkao chai tawng dai ma leo.	Roi pe ta mo {	Ke doi hmōm rawt Bè mom klaw	Ku rāk yom tru mo.
Go ...	Kwa ta	Pai sia	...	Luen tè, ro	Hao, hlaw	Lan (wut or ra)
Let them go ...	Haü hkao kwa kanta.	Hai hkao pai thōt	Hu hpuen pai thōt.	Kaü hai hke ro ro ne. {	De ke hao De gai hlaw	Ku lan ta (pe lan ta).
A good woman ...	Hpü yīng li	Hkun di	Hkun di	Pwi mōm, rapon mawm. {	I-pan hmōm I-pūn ma hōn	Kan-ya rāk
A bad man ...	Kōn hai	Kkun chua	Hkun baw di	Pwi tsan yo hpwi le. {	Lui u-hmōm Bi wao	Kerame rai or i-dwall
Mischievous animals.	Tarēkhsan an hai an hōk.	Sat rai	Sat hai	Tareikhsan le {	Tareiksan sämā ya ma lō. Mu byaw	...
Ten head of cattle	Wo hsīp to	Ngua sīp tua	Ngua sip tua	Moi kao mo {	Mak kōi to Mu sa-kū	Mūk s'kall

What do you call this?	An nai wa sang	Ni riek arai	Nai chu chadai	Öp pe nan mai a-ü en pe.	Se be da an ni I-ī pa sa itā	Annai da sinè or annai rak chin rè
What is your name?	Sü hsu sang	Nai chu arai	Nai chu chadai	Tsü pe nan mo mi hpwe.	Se mai jü Sa mi kyū	Mu samè da si nè
How old is this horse?	Ma nai a-hsak lai pi.	Ma tua ni ayu dai ki pi.	Ma tua ni ayu dai thao dai.	Lan su brum nan nūm. A-hsak marōng en hpare nyim.	'Rbrăng ninăng sa-awu năp. Brang hlung ī ki gyu.	Merang an n a i asak nè si nè
I do not know ...	Kao-hka am hu	Chan mai ru	Hka baw hu	Ayōng, ang' a-yōng.	Aw-u nap Aw ke nap	O nam mass
How far is it to S—?	S—pōn kai tan laü	S—thi nan klai tai thao rai.	S—thi han hkai Hkang tai htao dai.	S— sung r o i ao tieng. Mao, S—h s a n g nya taü lang mo	Hao S—i h m a'r dōng. S—ru pe tan Sa-ni	S—singi tan nè or yan tara nè
It is a journey of one day.	Lai kwa wan nüng ö	Dōn wan nüng tūng.	Dōn wan nüng hpeo.	Ēk K'ra sum Yawng hte.	Hm ü jou sa-ngai Lok se sa-nī	S'ngi lwat mu or su s'ngi loi bo

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manö.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Za-yein.
One ...	Ta	Ta	Ta	Ama	Ama
Two ...	Nö	Ni	Kinī	Ner	Ner
Three ...	Sö (low tone).	Sun	Sū	Tawn	Tawn
Four ...	Lwi	Lwi	Ti	Lwi	Lwi
Five ...	Nya	Ngai	Jē	Ngè	Ngè
Six ...	Sö so	Sun so	Sū sö	Ser	Saw
Seven ...	Sö so Nā ta Sö so ta.	Sun so ta	Sū sö ta	Ngwè	Ngè
Eight ...	Lwi so	Lwi so	Ti sö	Tsu	Tsu
Nine ...	Lwi so Nā ta, Lwi so ta.	Lwi so ta	Ti sö ta	K'chi	K'chi
Ten ...	Sö (high tone).	Sai	Shī	Aser	Aser
Eleven ...	Sö ta	Sai ta	Shi ta	Ser ama	Ser ama
Twelve ...	Sö nö	Sai ni	Shi kinī	Ser ner	Ser ner
Twenty ...	Nö sö	Ni sai	Kinī shi	Ner ser	Ner ser
Twenty-one ...	Nö sö nata, nö sö ta.	Ni sai ta	Kini shi dako ta.	Ner ser dawmaw.	Ner ser ma
Thirty ...	Sö (low), sö (high).	Sun sai	Sū shī	Tawn ser	Tawn ser
One hundred ...	Tayē	Tayā	Tayā	Aya	Aya
One thousand ...	Tari	Tari	Tari	Areing	Areing
Ten thousand ...	Tasaw	Tasong	Tasaw	Athang	Athang
I ...	Wa, pē	Kwai	Hē	Nga swun	Nya
We ...	Pē ta klaw	Kwai ta klaw	Aw-ta po	Nga ter	Nya nun
Thou ...	Nē	Na	Na	Ngā	Nā
You ...	Si	Ya, na	Se-ta po	Ngā ter	Nā pla
He ...	Yē	Nā	Nā	Pla	Nya pla
They ...	Yē sī	Ya, na	Se-ta po	Pla-ter	Nya pla
Of me ...	} No sign of possessive.				
Of you ...					
Above ...	No ku	Dö ku	Dö ku	Alör	Alör
Below ...	No te	Dö ta	Dö ta	Alā	Alā
Far ...	A-ye	Ayü	Jiyā	Ayā	Zao, za
Near ...	A-pū	Apun	Ba-ö	Apwun	Pūn
Alone ...	Ta kū tő	Ta kū ke	Ta kū tā	Apla-u	Apla-u
Inside ...	No daw	A-ü	Dō ko	Aku	Akyu
Outside ...	...	...	...	...	...
Before ...	Dö nyè	Dū nga	Dö tako	A-nga	Min ya
Behind ...	Dö kyè	Dū kyin	Dö kaw peta.	Kang sa	Kang sa
North ...	To	Tang	Wā ta wā	Lata	Lata
South ...	Lyā	Lang	Law ta law	Lawi	Lawi
East ...	Tū	Mūn tang	Taw ta law	Lakwun	Lakwun
West ...	Nö	Mūn tai	Tū mū law	Lapū	Lapū
Good ...	Arya	Ărī	Ăwī	Apu	Hwa
Better ...	Arya klaw	Ari té	Awī te	Apa-sut	Hwa zun
Best ...	Arya adūta	Ari te ēn	Awi te ako	Pu ler pla	Hwa ler
Bad ...	Ăhā	Ăhe	Ăkū	Kai	Tè

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Lōng.
Ama	Ta	Ta	Tit	Küt	A-plè
Nyin	Ni	Ni	Hnit	An	Ta-nger
Tün	Than, thon	Sôm	Thôn	Wi	Ta-law
Lwi	Lwi	Lit, lwe	Le	Pün	Ta-l'hi
Nye	Ngè	Ngat, ngai	Nga	Thun	Ta ng'hai
Saw	Sot	Hsu	Chauk	Tun	Ta-ser
Nè	Nwè	Nüt	Ka-ngai	Pet	Ta-ngwut
Tsu	Tso	Swat	Shit	Sam	Ta-sao
Chu	Kwi	Kük	Ko	Sin	Ta-chi
Aser	T'si	Ta si	Ta sha	Pak yin	Ta-ser
Ser dawma	T'si ta	Ta si ta	Ta sha tit	Pak yin küt	Aser aplè
Aser nyin	T'si ni	Ta si ni	Ta sha hnit	Pak yin am	Aser nger
Nyin ser	Ni si	Ni si	Ne sha	Amkyin	Nger ser
Nyin ser dawma.	Ni si ta	Ni si ta	Ne sha tit	Amkyin küt	Nger ser aplè
Tün ser	Than si	Sôm si	Thon sha	Wi-kyin	Taw ser
Aza	Tara	Ta sya	Taraw	É-pya	Ă-yè
Ateing	Ta tawng	Ta-rein	Tatè	É-taung	Ă-rai
Athang	Ta thaung	Ta mön	...	É-thaung	Ă-bang
Nya	Hi	Kwe	Nga	O	Ngè-vao
Nya pla	Pa	Kwe	Nga-do	E	Ngè-sao
Nā	Na	Na	Nang	Mer	Nè
Nā pla	Na	Na	Nang-do	Per	Nè
Na	Na	Wé	Thu	Pyi	Ngè ta plè
Na pla	Awite	We-thi	Thu-do	Pyi-en	Ngè ser nyè plè.
Dalo	Kaung-ku	Ki	Abawma	Taung-kwe	Ălö
Kya lā	Kaung-la	Lap	Ek ma	Taung-ket	Ălè
Za	Ayaw	Anya	Awi wi	Aka ngai	Ăyè
Püng	Aper	Abaw	Ani	Aka mè	Ă pao
Apla-u	Tapra-hao	Tapra-cha	Tayè tadè	Akut tēng	Nga-plè-u
Akyu	Aku	Pu	Atama	Taung klong	Aku
...	...	...	...	...	...
Lekyi	Ari	Nga	Ashe	La-ngwun	A-ngè
Kya naw	Kun shu, küngsu.	Kya	Anè	Lawng wüt	Ngai-sè
} No word {	Myawk	Tang	Mlè	Ka tan	La-ti
	Tawng	Nao	Der	Kanaw	La-ir
Möng hawng	Ashe	Kwun	Ashe	Tabü, laung sate.	La-kwang
Möng lang-te.	Anawk	Tü	Anè	Taket, se-kawk.	La-per
Apu	Tu	Hao	Akwun	Klö	Haw
Apu-du	Kaung-tu	Yün-hao	Akwun	Klö-na	Haw sè
Apu-zun	A-tu-klu	A-hao-son	Akwun-le	A-klö-sôn	Haw ler la-ir.
Hè	Sao	Ăkai	So	Sö	Kyi-kè

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manö.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Za-yein.
Worse ...	Ahā klaw	Ahè te	Aku te	-Kai sut	Tè zun
Worst ...	Aha adüta	Ahe te ēn	Aku-ku-ako	Kai ler pla	Tè ler
High ...	Te	Tū	Tū	Aler	Aler
Low ...	Yā	Yaw	...	Aper	Aper
False ...	Ama to	Mwe wa	Atoma to	A-lēng	A-lēng
True ...	Ama	Mwe	Ato	Amao	Amao
Pretty ...	Ato	Atsü	Awi	Asang, apu	Hwa
Ugly ...	Amo mya	Atsü wa	Awi to	Yē lao, züp-pu.	Tika, kyi-kya.
Thin ...	Bü (high tone).	Akrai	Akwe cho pe.	A pang	A pang
Fat ...	Bü (low tone).	A bōn	Abūtā	...	...
Thick ...	Bü (low tone).	A bōn	...	Dawn	Dawn
Clean ...	Apli	Atsü (te)	Awi (te)	Plang	Plang
Cheap ...	Ă-ngu pati	A pre pati	Ru pati	A-ngu pyi	A-ngu-pyi
Dear ...	Ă-ngu e	A pre du	Ru du	A-ngu du	A-ngu-du
Poor ...	Rū a-o tomā	A-o wa	Ache-i	Sa-ngè	Pan (Shan)
Rich ...	Rü a-o mā	Tai tama lan.	Ate kano	Kya m-sa (Burmese)	Awdai
Old ...	Mü pre	Dū prā	Amū	Pla	Pla
Young ...	Atse	Mitsā	Aprichae	Bang	Bang
Tall ...	Du	Atū	Dū	Taw	Tu
Little ...	Pati	A pati	Pati	Per	Per
Small ...	Pu	A pati	Pati	Pyi	Pyi
Big ...	Du	Atu	Du	Du	Du
Tight ...	Tatse	Ata chū	Atsa	Ting	Tēng
Wide ...	Lya	A-lwai	Lya	Lai	Le
Close ...	Pwi	Ata chü	Pwi	Kya	Yen
Painful ...	Se	Asā	Sā	Sa	Sa
Pleasant ...	Mo	Arī	Awī	Tang, nger, tali.	Nger, tang
Red ...	Ti	Alī	Atī	Ali	Ali
Yellow ...	Bya	Aban	Abaw	Abang	Abang
Green ...	Kawbè	Ata-ngā	Asūta	A twawn	Atwawn
Blue ...	Sū	Ata pā	Asapa	Aklu	Atün
Black ...	Pa-ā	A-sū	Alū	A lom	Alom
White ...	Bū	A-bū	A-bū	A-pawng	A pawng
Hand ...	Kadā	Tsawn ko	Kawdi ko	Su	Taw
Foot ...	Kadū kada	Kan sā	Kaw pe	Kang-ku	Kang ku
Nose ...	Ku pö	Nan kai	Non ki	Na kawng (Burmese)	Na kyawng
Eye ...	Mēsē	Mai mā	Mū sā	Mye	Mye
Mouth ..	Ka-ū	Kako	Kū pe	Prawng	Prawng
Tooth ...	Ku kö	Ta kai	Kū kī	Mye	Mye
Ear ...	Kale	Nan kaw	Maw kū	Nala	Nala
Hair ...	Kulü	Kū lan	Kulū	Ku swun	Kyu to
Head ...	Kuklaw	Ku kā	Īkū	Ku dang	Ku dang
Tongue ...	Pli	Pli	Ptī	Pli	Pli
Belly ...	Haw	Ho	Pu	Per	Eng
Arm ...	Sakya	Pteng	Chukaw	Tser bawng	To

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Lõng.
Ahè du	Kaung-sao	Yũn-kai	So	Sö na	Kyi-kè sè
Ahè zun	A-sao-klu	Akai son	So-le	A-sö-sõn	Kyi-kè ler la-ir
Aler	Ă lũ	Ăto	Amrang	Kang	Law
Aper	Lõng-plũ	Apo	Anein	Dè	A-per
Nalaw	Bo	Lyēn	Lēn	Lēng	Lai
Zun	Ot	Man	Man	Kwat-dè	Mo
Pu	Raw	Ta-re	Hla	Ngu, ngo-na	Haw
Kyi-kya	Diraw	Atakai, arôk takai.	A-rôk-so	Arôp-sõ	Kyi-kè
A pang	Ber	Pũ	Aba	Tum-tang	Baw
...	...	...	...	...	...
Dõng	Dõng	Dôn	Atu	Üm	Da
Plang	Blũ	Sũ	Kyè	Ngen, ka-ngo	Plaw
A-nyo vi	A-n g a w shan.	A-ngo pye	Apo ngè	Ngwat-pè	A-ngu-tsai
A-nyo-su	A-ngaw du	A-ngo htan	Apo kwi	Ngwat-kong	A-ngu du
Pan	Singre man	Sangrè	Sa ra	Sang rai	Chaw, tsaw
Aw su	Kyam-t h a, aw-a.	Kyam tha	Chaung sa	Kyam-tha	Saw-sè
Pla	Pra	Pra	O	Tao	Prè
Bang	Palè	Bang	Pyo	Plõk	Bang
Tu	Tu	Tõ	Myaung	Kang	A law
Per	Dalo	Põ	Bu	Pu	A per
Pyi	Shan	Apyi	Anga	Pè	Dè
Du	Du	Atan	Akwi	Kong	Du
Tēng	Kaser	Kyap	Akyi	Tit	Tu
Lè	Lè	Alè	Akla	Yo, chawng	Hao
Aden	Kla	A baw	Kaung	Mè	Yè
Sa	Sa	Sa	Naw	Su	Sè
Awi	Bwan, tu-man.	Sim, awi	Sa, sēn, kru	Sün, tu	Sè-yè, v a o, hawhaw.
Ali	Ali	A ta nya	A-ni	A-sõn	A-li
Abang	Abang	A ta thi	A-waw	A-rwi	A-sao
Atũng	Asya	A-sein	A-sein	A-lai	A-lã
Aba	Ali	A-klo	A-pla	A thõm	A-sawm
Ā long	Alo	A-prēng	A-nak	A-mak	A-lao
A pawng	Apu	A-bwa	A-pru	A-ko	A-per
Taw	Tso-de	Su	Lak	Ti	Ser
Kyang	Kang-de	Kang	Akye	Tsung	Kyè
Na kyawng	Dõng-pu	Ne po	Kwun ye	Kadüt	Na-kler
Myē	Mye	Myet-prôn	Myak-sai	Tawng-nai	Ma hao
Ngyaw	Ka	Prawng	Pasaw	Ka-nwe	Ngaw
Me	Thu	Ta-nga	Saw	Pēng	Myè
Na	Dõng-ka	Na-la	Naw	Tun	Nahè
Ch'law	Kulu	Ta-lu	San bang	Ngywok ka-tãng.	Kulur
Chu	Ku kao	Ka-tu	A-ker	Katãng	Ku
Pli	Pli	Pri	Sha	Tãk	Pli
Awng	Pu	Ho	Kri paũ	Pit	Per
Taw	Ta putha	Su-lawng	Lak nger	Pli-tu	Su-per

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manō.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Zayein.
Leg ...	Kadū	Kantaw	Kolapaw	Kang per	Kyang paw
Skin ...	Pā	Pyè	Obè	A-pyi	A-pyi
Bone ...	Krwi	Akrwè	Akwī	A-thwi	A-thwi
Blood ...	Pwi	Swè	Asi	A-swi	A-swi
Stone ...	Law	Lon	Lū	Lom tu	Lom tu
Iron ...	Tawte	Tonta	Tū taw	Ta	Pathi, ta
Gold ...	Tē	Tā	Tā	Kam	Kyam
Silver ...	Rū	Tamūn	Ru	Kwawn	Kwawn
Copper ...	Talīli	Lon ban	Talīlī	Ser li	Han tser
Lead ...	Tsū	Tsin	Paw sū	Tswan	Trūng
Tin ...	Prē	Prā	Paw	Tapawng	Tapu
Brass ...	Talībya	...	...	Ta ser	Tser bang
Sulphur ...	...	...	...	Kan	Kan
Earth ...	He	Hanko	Hako	Han	Han
Salt ...	Īsē	Īsā	Īsā	Tita	Tita
Sugar ...	Īsē sū	Īsā sun	Īsā shu	Thagya (Burmese)	...
Father ...	Pē	Pā	Pā	Apa	Apa
Mother ...	Mō	Mūn	Mō	Amu	Amu
Brother { Elder	Vyā	Vē	Wē	} Ve	Ve
Brother { Younger	Pō	Paw	Pu		
Sister { Elder ...	Vya pre maw.	Ve mon	Meamā Mū	} Vemer	Vemer
Sister { Younger	Pō pre maw	Paw mon	Pu amā Mū		
Man ...	Pre ku	Kū	Amākū	Plaku	Pa-kyo
Woman ...	Pre maw	Mon	Amāmū	Plamya	Mamaw
Wife ...	Me	Mā	Mā	Ama	Ama
Husband ...	Ve	Va	Waw	Awa	Awa
Child ...	Pū (high)	Pū	Pū	Plapyi	Plapyi
Son ...	Pū pre ku	Pū kū	Pū amākū	Pu	Pu
Daughter ...	Pu premaw	Pu mon	Pu amā mū	Pumye	Maw
Father-in-law ...	Prē	Prā	Pā pwā	Aper	Apaw
Mother-in-law ...	Prē	Pra mon	Mō pwa	Aprè	Plawngpla
Uncle ...	Pē dū	Mai	Pā dū	Pa du	Apre
Aunt ...	Mō du	Mēn	Mō du	Mērdu	Aprō
Nephew ...	Pu lō	Pū pū	Pū dū	Yeku	Yeyu
Niece ...	Pu lō (pre maw).	Pu dai	Pūdū amā-mū.	Ye mer	Ye mer
Cultivator (upland)	} rendered by a paraphrase.			{ Maw thu tha.	Maw thu tha.
Cultivator (lowland)				Maw lai tha	Maw lai tha
Cowherd ...				O thur tha.	O thur tha
Hunter ...				Motsu	Motsu
God } (spirits) ...	Lō, nē	Law nan	Tū, nā	{ Pra	Pra
Devil } (spirits) ...				Ler	Ler
Sun ...	Maw (low tone), ta-maw	Tamūn	Tū mu	Mūng	Mūng

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Lōng.
Kyang paw	Kang putha	Kang-lawng	Kyi bang	Pli-süng	Kaw-prer
Sü	A-pai	A-pyi, a-pro	Are	Ka-düt	A-pyi
A-swi	A-swi	A-sut	Aru	Ka-nang	A-swi
Twi	Thwi	A-thwi	Swi	Ngam	Swi
Lom tu	Lo	Lom	Krè	Tamu	Lahao
Ta	Data	Pa-thi	Sang	Thi	Tè
Ta	Ta	Kam	Shwe	Hen, han	Kaw
Kün	Rwan	Run	Ngwe	Run	Kwa
Chaung thili.	Tawng ti	Tawng tanya.	Kye-ni	Plang-sōm	Tser
Sude	Thwi lo	Sün	Ka	Kā sak	Tsa
Pla	Pra	Sün-bwa	Ka-byu	Kasak-to	Tè-per
Chaung thè	Tawng-ban	Tawng-tathi	Kye	Plang	Tsè-sao
Kan	Kan	Kan	Kan	Kan	Kaw
Chang-chu	Hawm-pōng	Ham	Mye	Nyawn	Haw
Tita	Lēt-tha	Ta-tha	Saw	Sa	Ti-tè
...	...	Thi-kya	A-kya	...	...
Apa	Apa	Apa	Apa	Ba	Apè
Amu	Ma-a	Amū	A mwe	Mè	Ma-her
Ve	Awi	Ave Apu	Ikkur Nyi	Maw Twe	A-fao
Vimaw	Ngaw-pi-mu.	Ve-mu Pu-pu	Lamaw ...	Kanan Kantu	Fao-maw
Pachu	Plaku	Lö-kö	Ye-yaw	Prawk	Plaku
Paw maw	Plamōn	Lōmu	Mēn-maw	Ta-mya	Plamaw
Ama	Ma	Ma	Nyaw	Pru	Myè
Awa	Wè	Wa	Lang	Ta-man	Avè
Puta	Po sa	Lö-pyi	Lu-pè	Lu-pè	Pu-tè
Pu	Pao-ku	Pö	Saw	Kun	Pu
Pumaw	Pao-mōn	Pö-mu	Thami	Kun-nya	Pu-maw
No word	Thin-tha	Pu	Kauk-kama	Ta	A-fer
Do.	Thin-tha	Pyi	Kauk-kama	Ya	A-ser
Do.	Pa du	Ba-nang, ba-tan.	Ba-kwi, banga, mwi.	Ku, saraw kōng.	Pè-du
Do.	Dumu	Mü-tang, mü-nang.	Aywi, mwi-pē	Mi-be, sa-de	Maher-du
Do.	Pao-du plaku.	Pö	Sa-daw	Tu	Nga-ther
Do.	Pao-du plamōn.	Pö-mu	Thami-daw	Tu-ma, kun-danang.	Nga-ther-maw
Tüng-bè	Rang klön na.	Lai-lop-tha	...	Yawk-lai	Maw-bao
...	...	...	La lok thama	...	...
Apör pu	Akyaung tha.	Po-pana ti-tha.	No-klör thama	Tin-wat	Ō-ther
Motso	Motso	Motsō	Miso	Motso	Motsao
No word	Payā	Para pwe	Para	Para	Parè
Law	Ta-tōng	Ngaraikun-tan, ta-nam	Nai	Ka-ngam	La-fer
Mūng	Mü, sa	Mü	Ne	Si	Mahao

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manō.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Zayein.
Moon ...	Te	Tata	Ta	La	La
Star ...	Se	Lasā	Shā	Sa	Sa
Fire ...	Mi	Mi	Mi	Mi	Mi
Water ...	Tō	Tai	Chikutso	Ser	Ser
Horse ...	Tasī	Tasī	Tisī	Ti	Ti
Bullock ...	Pū	Pū	Pū	Pu	Pu
Cow ...	Pū (low) mō	Pomon	Pūmō	Pu mu	Pu mu
Bull ...	Pū (low) pe	Pū pā	Pū pā	Pu pa	Pu pa
Dog ...	Twi	Twe	Chī	Tswi	Tswi
Cat ...	To	Chi Nyawn	Meka-aw	Mye	Mye
Fowl ...	Shē	Shü	Shi	Sa	Sa
Hen ...	Shē mō	Shü mon	Shi amō	Sa mu	Sa mu
Cock ...	Shē pē	Shü pa	Shi apa	Sa pa	Sa pa
Duck ...	Tasā	Amā	Tasaw	Tukum pai	Tukum pai
Bird ...	Tū	To	Taw	Tu	Tu
Mule ...	Myā aw lyā	Manawta	Mawrilaw	Law la	Law la
Elephant ...	Tashā	Tasān	Kawshaw	Sang	Sang
Buffalo ...	Panē	Panā	Panā	Pana	Pana
Fish ...	Tē	Tāpu	Tāpo	Tu	Tu
Deer ...	Kraw, takü	Chu, Kakai	Kō taki	Yu, Ker	Su
Goat ...	Pe	Pe	Pe	Ya	Ya
Sheep ...	...	...	...	...	...
Flea ...	Takla	Si	Sekwe	Ker	Ker
Milk ...	Nō tō	Non	Nushī	Ngyè ser	Myenser
Bamboo ...	Ve	Wa	Wo	Wa	Wa
Turban ...	Kuto	Pūpūn	Kutō	Ku-kyēn	Ku-sēn
Hat ...	Kamaw	Kuklo	Kuku	Kuko	Kyulü
Coat ...	Tsa	Chēn	Chepo	Kannseng	Hwunting
Trousers ...	Hō	Kon	Hijaw	Kwun	Kyun
Petticoat ...	Hō Premaw	Hai	Mamwa hījaw.	Ngyè, ngō	Ngyè, ngō
Shoes ...	Kāpā	Kan kwā	Kawpē	Kanpa	Kyanpa
Ear-rings ...	Katsya, Kashya.	Mankōng	Nawse	Na-kyēn	Na-klēng
Rice (unhusked) ...	Bō	Bō	Bu	Fè	Faw
Rice (husked) ...	Hū	Hao	Hu	...	...
Rice (cooked) ...	Di	Amin	Di	Nyen	Nyin
Opium ...	Tarü Law	Pi	...	Pyēn	...
Grass ...	Me	Mi	Mi	Kēr	Tata
Tree ...	Sawmaw	Sen	Sū	Tōnmü	Tōnmü
Leaf ...	Te	Ata	Ta	A-la	A-la
Wood ...	Saw	Sēnyā	Kaw	Ata, Tangūn.	Ata, Tangūn.
Cold ...	Ro, Tatsō	Atsai	Kakū	Pyēng	Pyēng
Warm ...	Kū	Akū	...	A-la, A-ku	A-la, A-kyū
Ice ...	...	...	...	Byi-tu	Byi-tu
Snow ...	...	...	...	...	...
Rain ...	Ketsi	Kantsū	Kachū	Kan	Kan
Wind ...	La	Kantalai	Lawmī	Ta	Kan
Thunder ...	Mawkraw	Kantatū	Taklū	Kankrōn	Kankrōn
Lightning ...	Sāke	Chūvan	Shilibu	Tsalang	Tsalang
Sky ...	Maw (high)	Kanchon	...	Mu	Mu

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn sawng Karens of Loi Lōng.
La	La	La	Saw	Kato	Lè
Sa	Sa	Sa	Kya	Kalam	Sè
Mi	Mi	Mè	Mi	Mi	Mi
Ser	Ti	Ti	Ye	Om	Ther
Ti	Thai	The	...	The	Tsi
Pu	Pu	Po	No	Pa wak	Fer
Pu mu	Pu-mü	Po-mu	No-maw	Pa wak mei	Fer-ma her
Pu pa	Pu-pa	Po-ti, Po-tü	No-di	Pawak tük	Fer-pè
Twi	Twi	Twi	Kwi	So	Ch'swi
Mye	Mi-kaw	Nyao	Kyè	Mi-mam	Mao
Sa	Sü	Sya	Kyak	Payin	Sè
Sa mu	Sü-mu	Sya-mü	Kyak-maw	Payinmai	Sè maher
Sa pa	Sü pa	Sya-ti	Kyak-pa	Payin tük	Sè pè
(No word)	Won-bē	Kampai	Won-ba	Tawng-bai	Kampai
Tu	Tu	Wa	Ngat	Sim	Tu
...	...	La	Law	La	Lè
Sang	Rasang	Sang	Sang	Sang	Saw
Pana	Pina	Pana	Kywa	Mana	Pè nè hè
Tu	Ta	Ta	Ngaw	Pyan	Tè
Su, Ser	Chao, Kyi-kao.	Kro, Chi	Sai, Kre	Mai, Kalim, Yit.	Su, Hwan-na
Za	Pi	Byè	Se	Pu pè	Yè
...	...	Tho	So	...	...
Ker	Klai	Takri, Tham	Kwi-te	Tawk-tip	Ser
Naw	No	Nyen	Ngai	Nyen, Bu	Myé
Va	Kwa	Wa	Maw	Karo	Vè
Chu-kyi	Kukaw	Tu bauk	Kwun bung	Rit-tang	Kupye
Chu-tüng	Kuklaw	Kôn brông	Kaw-ot	Katu	Kumwa
Lawngthēn	Kundu	Seng	Ang-kwi	Sük	Kawtai
Kyong	Kunbi	Kwun	Pung-pi	Kun	Baw
Nyē	Hi	Banni, seng	Tan-pi	Kathi	Nger
Kyannachaw	Penat	Kangpa	Penap	Penap	Kawkao
Nadawng...	Nakuthè, Nakuthan.	Paila, Na-kyèn.	Nadè, Nasaing	Tunrun, Pye	Nakai
Faw	...	Gyen	Tamang	Ko	Ther
...	...	...	...	...	...
Zin	...	Hu	Saw	Byu	Ye
Pēn	Bēn	Byin	Bēn	Pying	Pai
Nangkawng	Ru	Mi	Myak	Bo	Tata
Tüng	Thumu	Thin-mü	Sekka	The, Sok-the	Tao
A-la	Ala	Ala	Awa	La	Asao
Tu-tüng	Thupu	Thinya	Sek-kyaw	Thuk-thi, Nyun-the.	Ngadu
Pēn	Sao	Ta-kwa	Kran	I	Pye
La	La, Ku	Ta-lom, Ta-lya.	Nwi	Lut	Alè
Patan-ser	Söngti	Wa-kron	...	Ômtum	Batu ser
...	...	...	...	Küng (frost)	...
Kyan	Mao	Kam	Mo	Kalè	Kaw
Kyan	Dali	Ta-li	Ne	Kun	Kawser
Salangza	Klōn-mu-ya	Kam-krōn	Mo-ōn	Lekrung	Kro sè
Salang-lang	Klōn-mu-langsi.	Pyao-ō	Pyak-si	Tangmang	Kro sè
Mu	Mao-ku	Mo	Mo	Kalè	Mu

English.		Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manō.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Zayein.
Cloud	...	Awlō	Awlū	Pu ūlu	Kan awn	Kan awn
Day	...	Nö	Mūn sekta	Lūmū shā	Hwun nyer	Mūng nger
Night	...	Se, He	Mūnpā	Lūmu chī	Nā	Nā
Light	...	Ti	Ti	Sha	Ti	Ti
Dark	...	Chī	Chī	Chī	Mū, Ker, Sading.	Mū, Ker, Sading.
River	...	Lya	Law	Lö	Ser kawng	Ser kawng
Hill	...	So	Son	Shö	Kaung sawng.	Kyaung shawng.
Valley	...	Lya	Law	Lö	Takawng	Serkeng
Insect	...	Shī	Vetakwè	Shī	I-sā	Tiker
Heart	...	Saplaw	Nontū	Saptu	Ta	Ta
Chief	...	Kwi	Kwi	Kwi	Kwun	Kyun
Freeman	...	Tsūto	...	...	Pla-lu	Pla-lu
Slave	...	Tsū	Kron	...	Aswun	Aswun
Witness	...	Sase (Burmese).	...	...	Sakse, Mantsi.	Mantsi
Law	...	Aro leklo	Kyèbo	...	...	...
Punishment	...	Me lya e	Law an	...	...	...
Crime	...	Me ādamā	...	...	...	...
Spirit (soul)	...	Yayo	Kon	...	Vinnyan, Tahang.	...
Dream	...	Omō mya	Meman	...	Ner mang	Ner mang
Vision	...	...	...	...	Onan taku	Onan taku
Sacrifice	..	Bō	Makī, Rechi	...	Boilè	...
Penance	...	Pta	...	...	...	...
Kindness	...	Sayaw	Saiyun	...	Tanyang	Kyu-aw
Time	...	...	...	...	...	...
Morning	...	...	...	...	Mū-ko	Mūng-kyo
Evening	...	...	...	...	Mū-nèng, Mū-ha	Mūng-neng, Mūng-ha.
Midday	...	...	...	...	Mū-tū	Mūng-tū
Round	...	Bo	Atarū	...	Ama, Awung	Awung
Flat	...	Be	Atabyū	...	Āpya	Tongsa
Hollow	...	Akumo	A-ū	...	Ākudai	Āpudai
Strong	...	Aso	Atso	...	Ā-du	Ā-du
Weak	...	Asoto	Atsowa	...	Ā-pyi	A-pyi
Spear	...	Tabyā	Taban	Sabaw	Bang	Bang
Sword	...	Ne	Tanā	Nawshe	Da-theng	Han-theng
Bow	...	Pya tsaw	Klai	Kli	Se, Sō	Sō
Hatchet	...	Hedi, ko	Tadu, kwa	Dawdu, kotapla.	Ta-kwa	Ta-pa
Needle	...	Te	Ta	Tawne	Thakyè	Sato
Pot	...	Tömaw	Pūn	Kapū	Pōng, Prōng	Prōng
Boat	...	Sawklū	Klai	Sikli	Ther	Ther
Cord	...	Suplö	Sanplai	Sūpti	Taprivi	Hunprivi
Village	...	Daw	Dōng	Dū	Dōng	Dōng
House	...	Hi	Shin	Hi	Ywan	Ywan
Roof	...	Tahi	Maw	Kehiko	Oda	Oda

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taunğthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Long.
Kyan üm	Mao-i	Mo-li	Tan	Üt	Kaw-ā
Ē mye	Musa	Mü-ya	Ne	Si	Hwun nger-è
Müng ha	Muha	Mü-ha	Nyaw	Kako	Mahè
Plang	Ka	Mü-le	Lang	Lang	Li
Üm	Ke-thu	Mü-chi	Mawng	Ri, Wet	Sadai
Ser kawng	Ti-rawng	Ti-krawng, Ti-myit.	Yemlè, Myaik	Parong, Omlaung.	La-hao-kwe
Kyu	Kawng	Kawng, sawng.	Ten	So bwè	Ke
Sèlata	Kön-to	Krawng	Mlè	Myaung	Praing
Lèmu	Thepu	The	Po-myaung	Pli	Tamahu
Ta	Tha	Lotha-prawng.	Hni-lōn	Nywat	Tè
So	Mang	Kün, Mang	Mang	Mang	Kwa
...	Pra-ri	...	...	...	Plalu
Süm	Swan	Swun	Klwai	Su	Swun
Yese	As in Burmese				So-sao
...					Tarè
...					Dao
...					Ta-amu
...					Serhaw
Myemang	Mi-man	Bing-mang	Ein-mak	Ting-po	Nger mahaw
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
Nyatawng maing.	Mitta kyeza	Mit-ta	Meit-taw	...	Ngè mahaw
...	...	...	...	...	...
Müng-kaw	...	Han-rao	Panak	Ngwun-ka	Müng-ko
Müng-tipu-ya.	...	Mu-lwè, Mü-ha-ko	Mun-lwa, Nya-kang.	Si-mōn-lwè, Lang-ko-ko.	Müng-nè, Müng-hè.
Müng-tü	...	Mü-tè	Mun-tè	Si-môn-tè	Müng-tü
Awung	Ta-klu	Ătawng-lôm, Ătawün.	A-lōn	Alôn, Awun	Awā
Paungpa	Ă-bi	Ă-twa	A-pla	A-plak	Pyi-gyè
Ākyulè	Ā-klu-klo	Āta-o	Kaung-paw	Katang pwa	Aklu
Ā-pu	Ā-du	Ā-tan	Ā-kwi	Ring-bōk	Ēdu
Azaw-wa	Ā-shaw	Ā-pyi	A-pè	Ring-pè	Ē-tsai-u
Bang	Ban	Bang	Hlan	Plit	Baw
Dasaing	Lung-dōng	Na	Ta	Wik	Kawsè
Law-klè, Sō	Kli	Kri	Hledu, lè-tè	Lèdu, Lawk-te, Ak.	Ther
Ta-bu	Dao-pa	Kwa	Pè-sein	Kanè	Kapè
Sataw	Longpo	Ta	Ap	Takap	Ther
Püng	Per	Püng	O	Omlo	Pa
Hü	Kli	Pri	Hle	Tawng-lwi	Ther
Namprwi	Lüng-pli	Ta-prwi	Kyo	Kanet	Naw-kwi
Dōng	Do	Dōn	Wa	Tabo	Dōn
Züng	Thing	Lam	Ein	Nya	Yaü
Ashu	Thing-kawng	Atha	Mo	Plang	Odè

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manö.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Zayein.
Chair ...	...	...	...	...	...
Table ...	Katyā	...	...	...	...
Box ...	Tūta (Burmese).	Tēt ā	Tuta	...	...
Basket ...	Dya, kri	La-ū, Kraw	Law-wo, Kī-pā.	Chang, Tan-ku.	Chang, Tan-ku.
Bag ...	Pye	Pawkai	Pukī	Tsa	Tsa
Fishing-net ...	Tavī	Tavē	Chī	Kre, Sam	Kre, Sam
Snare ...	Dango	San	Pu-ū	Kyibawng	Kyibawng
Picture ...	Pre-yo	Praiyan	...	Marapang	Marapang
Image ...	Pōdīkrī	...	...	...	...
To carve ...	Tepo	...	...	Aprawk	Tawk
Song ...	Iro	Antarong	...	Dawng per	Dawng per
Dance ...	Īle	Antacheng	...	Tsu	Ka
Pipe ...	...	...	...	...	...
Medicine ...	Teku	Sai	Ta ko	Tünkawi	Tünkawi
Poison ...	...	...	...	Ker	Ker
Toy ...	Law aw	Ap ton	...	...	...
Game ...	Law aw	Ap ton	...	Awn	...
Riddle ...	...	...	...	...	...
Today ...	...	...	...	...	...
Tomorrow ...	...	...	...	...	...
Yesterday ...	...	...	...	...	...
To stand ...	Ītaw	I tün	Ītū	Tōng	Tōng
To walk ...	Sü (high), Kadö.	Hā	Chü	Tawng	Tawng
To run ...	Sü (high) te	Hā tata	Chü mītā	Vyi	Vyi
To sleep ...	O mü	Mēn	Mü	Ner	Ner
To eat ...	E	Ang	A	Am	Am
To strike ...	...	...	...	Twawt, Si	Twawt, Si
To see ...	Mya tö	Maw	Kechī	Ser	Ser
To make ...	Me	Ma	Mamō	Maw	Maw
To sit ...	O nyā	Nang	Dü	Nang	Nang
To die ...	Sü (low)	Sai	Sī	Ser	Ser
To call ...	Ē	Ā	Ka-ā	Hawng	Hawng
To throw ...	Vi chā	Tū	Wī	Vying	Byi
To drop ...	Lā tā	La tai	Alawti	Va-pyi	Lang-ti
To place ...	Be	Na-aw	Bē	Likye, pyi-dang.	Ta pè
To lift ...	Tsaw	Tang	Pē	Yo	Yo
To pull ...	Tswi	Tswè	Chī	Ter	Ter
To smoke ...	O	Aw	O	Mi-lè-hang	Mi-lo
To love ...	Sayü	Sayū	Sawyu	Rak	Ta-myng
To hate ...	Sayü to	Sayū wa	Saw yu to	Lwa ser	Sa-ne
To go ...	Sü	Ha	Chü	Lè	Lè
To get up ...	...	...	...	...	...
To beat ...	Mō	Mo	Pu	Wan	Wan
To lie down ...	O mü	Mawn	Mu	Dawng	Dawng
To come ...	Sü (high)	Hā	Chü	...	...
To ride ...	...	...	...	...	...

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Lōng.
...	...	Kala-Tang	...	Tum sang thut	...
...	...	Katang	...	...	...
...	...	Tŏk	Mlè	...	Ta
Va	Chang, Po	Myetang, Chang, Paw	Tè-chang	So	Fu-daw
Tsa	Bya	Tawngpü	Eit	Tawng-per, Ta-kyi.	Ngè-sè
Che	Thwi	Klai, Put	Kwaing, Thang	...	Kao, Saw
Chüng	Kwa	Chi	Kadaik	...	Odao
...	Ka	Ka	Ka	Ka-ngaw	Takurser
...	...	Arôp	...	...	...
...	Tahi	Tawng arôp	Tu	...	Atè
Ker	Üng-kawng	Tē-chang	Maw-mlè	...	Doper
Ka	Ka	Suta	Ka	Thai	Kè
...	...	...	...	...	...
Zalula	Tahi ta-kre	Tathi tamü	Se-wa	Nam ngan	Ngyè
Tu	A sŏng	Asü	A-seit	Ka-sö	Ader
...	...	...	...	...	...
Na nywa	Klang	...	...	Pli-lai	...
...	Kata	...	Suta	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	...	I	...	...	...
...	...	...	...	...	...
Tŏng	Sŏng-tü	Ōn tüng	Tā	Ō	Ta-Tao
Su	Tu	Tawng	Shè	Tsup	Sula kler
Vyi	Swa	Law	Pte	Lwa	Laü
O-me	Mi	Bing	It	Tin	A-nger
An	An	Am	Cha	Swi	O
I-se	Sè	Tŏp, Sè	Tu	To	Dao
I-ser	Lü	Ti	Myaw	Yin	A-ser
Üng	Ma	Ma, Lōp	Tŏt	Yawk	Mao
Nang	Sanang	Lang	Tan	Thert	A-ngaw
Ser	Thi	Thi	Se	Pyin	Ser
Hawng	Ka-a	Hè	Kaw	Hēk	Hē
Byi-ye	Ka-lēng	Nai	Kai ta	Hüt, Rai	Pa-vai
Bè-laung-tè	Kya-lang	Ri-lang, Tè-lyen.	Aklaw saw	Yok-lu	Va-pyi
Bè	Kwe	Awn-lwe	Ta	Büt	Ta-vao
Zaw, Tawpyi	Ser-su	Ma	Maw	Ma, Pang	Va-kao
Twè	Swi	Tü, Ngang	Swè	Sen, Tüt	Taw
Mi-shaw	Ku, aw	Mi-ko, Sōn	Mi-ko, Sōk	Üt, Ngwan	Mi-ku, Ao
Ta-ba	Awan, Sao-man.	Rak, Kyök	Kyawk	Ko	Yu mahè
Pla-ta	Sao-pla	Lwa-ti	Mu	I	Lwa-ser
Lè	Lè	Lwe	Saw	Kü, Kya	Lai
...	...	...	...	...	...
Wan	Twan	Nak, Twè	Rai raw	Tüng	Mao
O-myin	Ka	Ao-bing, Lawng.	Lè	Lün	A-der
...	Thi	Lwun	Law	Dè, Daw	Tai
...	...	...	...	...	...

English.	Karen, ni.	Yintalè.	Manö.	Sawngtung Zayein Karen.	Padeng Za-yein.
The men are coming.	Ye si sü	Na hā	Shi chü dupé.	Plakuko lu lai.	Plaku hè daw haw.
The women are going.	Ye si sü	Na hü	Shi chü dupé.	Plamer ko lè lai.	Mamaw hè swa haw.
He has gone ...	Ye sü haw	Na hā tsen aw.	Chü tö hö	Nga lè lu tü	Nga swa lè lu.
She will come ...	Ye sü dü pa	Na hā tè ka aw.	Chü ta dupé	Nga lu lai	Nga baw daw haw.
They should have come.	Ye si aryā sü tā.	Ma hā ari	Shi chü awe	Nga lè sang luda.	Nga daw sang daw da.
Go ...	Sü maw	A hā	Chü lö	...	...
Let them go ...	Ye si sü chā maw.	Ha na	Shi chü mamö.	Nga lè tü	Nga lè tü
A good woman ...	Premaw arya ta pre.	Amon ta dö a-tsü.	Amā mū ta prē awi lö	Plamer pu	Mamaw hwa
A bad man ...	Pre kū ahā ta pre.	Pyan ta dö ahe.	Kayö ta prē akü lö.	Plaku kai	Plaku kyi ku.
Mischievous animals.	Te mi ahā	Tami ahè	Pu aku	...	...
Ten head of cattle	Pu pane ta sö.	Pu ta sai	Pu shī	Pu adur sör	Pu adur sö
What do you call this?	Ö ta kö ma ne he dī té.	Ènö mi ra di ta.	Tanö takū ma na he hi tè.	È pla hawng tara.	È pla hawng tara.
What is your name?	Ne mi ne he di té.	Na mi na mi di ta.	Nami me nā kā naw hi té.	Na myin ta ma.	Nga myin ta ma.
How old is this horse?	Tasi bö-ö ma ani na nā bā té.	Tasi enö na-aw bö neng	Ö tasi ta du ani obi ni té.	Nga ti la tur (ning) sö ta ma.	Nga ti kyai haw sö ta ma.
I do not know ...	Wa seni to	Kwai si tā na wa.	He sikanā to	Nga di (si) ti kao.	Nga di ti daw.
How far is it to S—?	A-o bö-ö su daw S—aye ba té.	Bödöng S—ayü ten aw bwe ma.	Dü dü S—aje be te.	S—döng aya sö ta ma.	S—dông azao sö ta ma.
It is a journey of one day.	Aye ta nü	Ayü ta ne ha.	A-o to ni chü.	Oa ngō ke	Oa ngō ke

Banyang Zayein.	Sinhmaw Mèpauk Karen.	Taungthu.	Taungyo.	Danaw.	Kawn Sawng Karens of Loi Lōng.
Pa kyu he lu ta.	Plaku a-thi thi da.	Lo ko ā lōn	Yè yaw myaw lan kyaw dè.	Prawk-bok püt kya (or tü).	Plaku hō tai haw.
Pawmaw he lè (swa) ta.	Plamōn a-lè thi da.	Lo mu ā lwe ni.	Mein-maw myaw saw kyaw dè.	Tamya-bok kü kya (or tü).	Plamaw hō lao haw.
Na swa (lè) o.	Ngaw lè hü	We lwe su	Su saw byi	Mō kü dè	Lao haw
Na lu	Nga ka thi	We i lōn	Su law mè dè	Mō püt dê (daw).	Tai haw
Na pla lu	Awi thi da ya.	We thi lōn thang so.	Su da law kaung et.	Mō nu thang kü dè.	Tè tai
...	...	...	...	...	...
Na pla pyi swakyi.	Lè di mè	We thi lwe bè ā.	Su do saw ba lè si.	Kyi-en kü ba kwai kü dō.	Sè lao ma hao
Paw maw pu	Plamōn tu man.	Lo mu hao	Meinmaw kwun.	Tamya klō aw	Plamaw haw
Paku hè	Plaku sao man.	Lo ko kai	Yè yaw so	Prawk sō	Pla ku kyi kè
...	Makè tara tara tareit san.	Pyaksi tar-eiksan pōn.	Pyak-kyi lēde tareiksan.	...	...
Pu wa sun do.	Tasi du	Po tasi ba	No sa kēn	Wak pakyin küt.	Fu a-sō
È kyung a tam ta la.	E ngyun ka ta ra.	Ta yo hè ta mai.	Hè ha go kya kyaw daw.	No no ka tün da.	Nè hō ta hè
Na myin ta la.	Na amyōn dawng tha ma.	Na myin paw mai.	Nang namè bè dulaw.	Mat mō ka tün da.	Nga nyu hō ta hè.
Na ti ma na aw pla tawng ma.	Thai e ta ma lē mya ma hü.	The yo pra sü kōn mai.	Hi myang dè le o law.	The kumaw put ta da.	Tsi nè kaw hwoi süm hè.
Nya zi ti ba	Hi thai bè	Kwe ta thi tao.	Nga ma si bu	O ngan gaw	Nga ti thi
S—dōng aw-tawng ma za.	Klai yaw myama S—.	S—anya kōn mai.	S—dè lè awi law.	S—ka-ngai lawk mè-ā.	S—ayè hwoi süm hè.
To a-ngyè	Awia daw kari.	Ao ta ni ta pu.	Tanè kari hi dè.	Asi ka ngwun	Laü a nō

English.	Chingpaw or Kachin.	Asi or Szi.	Lechi or Lashi.
One ...	La-ngai	La, ra	Ta
Two ...	La-kawng	Ī	Ok
Three ...	Ma-sum	Sum	Hsawm
Four ...	Ma-li	Mi	Mik
Five ...	Ma-nga	Ngaw	Ngu
Six ...	Kru	Chu, chŏ	Chuk
Seven ...	Sa-nit	Nyit, Ngit	Nyet
Eight ...	Ma-sat	Shit	Shet
Nine ...	Cha-ku	Kao	Kok
Ten ...	Shi	Lă-tsē, ra-tsi	Ta hse
Eleven ...	Shi la-ngai	Lă-tsē-lă, ra-tsi-ra	......
Twelve ...	Shi la-kawng	La-tsē-i, ra-tsi-i	......
Twenty ...	Hkūn	I-tsē	......
Twenty-one ...	Hkūn la-ngai	I-tsē lă	......
Thirty ...	Sum-shi	Sum-tsē	......
One hundred ...	Lā-sā	La-shaw, Ra-chaw	Ta shaw
One thousand ...	Ching-mī	La-hing	Ta tong
Ten thousand ...	Mūn mī	La-mun, ra-wan	Ta kyen
I ...	Ngai	Ngaw	Ngo
We ...	Antè, anhteng (hai)	Nga maw	......
Thou ...	Nang	Myang	Nang
You ...	Nante, nan hteng	Nå maw	......
He ...	Shi	Hēyū, he	......
They ...	Shante, shihteng (hai).	Maw-bang, he-ga	......
Of me ...	Nye, ngai hai kaw	Ngaw	......
Of you ...	Nang hteng i	Myang	......
Above ...	Ning (nung) sang de.	Pyit sūm, hu-shūt	......
Below ...	Kāta, impude	Cham-ki, mao-shūt	......
Far ...	Sān ai, kū hkūn	We (le)	Ve
Near ...	Ni ai, ne i	Chang (le)	Kyang
Alone ...	......	Hao layū	......
Inside ...	In-kū, ka-gā	A-tè	......
Outside ...	......	......	......
Before ...	'Shon dè, shōng dè	Kwè-pyang, he-shūt	......
Behind ...	Pang-dè htōm-dè	Tang-pyang, hlang-shūt.	......
North ...	Tin tōt	Asōn pyang, pwi pyi hpyit.	......
South ...	Tin da	Hi pyang, pwi pyi hpyit.	......
East ...	Sumpro, Zanprū	Pwī htaw	......
West ...	Hsin-na, Zanshang	Pwī wang	......
Good ...	Ka-kya, krau	Chaw-i, kè	Ke
Better ...	Shang ka-kya	Chaw-ke e (ro)	......
Best ...	Ka-kya tūmsā	Tsŏm (ro)	......
Bad ...	Ing ('m) ka-kya	A-tsŏm a-kè	A-ke
Worse ...	Shang (krau) 'm ka-kya.	Ai-a lum tsŏm	......
Worst ...	'M ka-kya tumsa	A-chaw yō	......
High ...	Saw (ai)	Myang (lo)	......
Low ...	Nyem (ai)	Myem (ro)	......

Maru.	Pwun or Hpŏn.	Ngachang or Ho Hsa.	Lisaw or Yawyin.
Ta	Tawk (kaung), taw	Ta	Hti
Hsĕk	Naik (kaung), hai	Hsŏk	Nyi
Hsam	San (kaung), hsang	Hsum	Sā
Pĭk	Si (lan) [Same as in Shan.]	Mi	Li
Ngo	Ha (lan)	Ngaw	Wa, ngwa
Chauk	Hok (lan)	Hŏr	Cho, htaw
Nat	Tsit (lan)	Nyit	Shi, shŏ
Shi	Pet lan)	Het	He, hyi
Kuk	Kao (lan)	Kao	Ku
Ta-hse	Taw si	Ta che	Chi
Ta-hse ta	Si-ip	......	Chi-ti (ma)
Ta-hse-hsĕk	Si-sawng	......	Chi-nyi (ma)
Hsĕk-hse	Sao (lan)	......	Nyi-chi
Hsĕk-hse ta	Sao-ip	......	Nyi-chi ti (ma)
Hsam-hse	Sang-si	......	Sa-chi (ma)
Ta-yaw	Taw-ya	Ta pak	Tĭ-hya
Ta-twang	Taw-hing	Ta heng	Tĭ-to
Ta-kik	Si-hing, taw mün	Ta hmun	Ti wan, ti-hsiu
Ngo	Nga	Ngaw	Nu, ngwa
Ngon-ōng	......	......	Ngwā
No, nyo	No	Nawng	Nā
Nan-ōng	......	......	Nā, yĭ
Yōng	......	......	Yā, jawma
Ta pām	......	......	Yā
Ngo	......	......	Ngwa
Nyo	......	......	Nā
Muk-kōng	......	......	Tă-shŏ-a, Ga-sè
Mik-kōng	......	......	Nă-kwa, wo-sè
Wārā	We, we-lin	Ve	Gŏ-a, wi
Hsun	Ni, ru-lin	Ne	Nŏ-a
......	......	......	Ti-ju-a, ti-ma
Ne-ku	......	......	Yi-ku-nā
......	......	......	Sho-mā
Hte-te	......	......	Mi-ta-shŏ, awĭa sè
Htung-kyo	......	......	Ka-nya-shŏ (sè)
Hsit hsai	......	......	Pē fang (Chinese), ba sè.
Hte hsai	......	......	Nan fang, pu pú sè
Pa tŏk	......	......	Mŏ sā do kŏ, myi myi daw kè.
Pa wun hsai	......	......	Mŏ sa gwè kŏ, bui dui kē.
Kai-wa	Kawng	Kyi	Hkā, gyi law
Kai-ro	......	......	Su machi hkā
Hsak kai wa	......	......	A kü hkā
Ma kai	Ma-kawng tso-mŏng	Ma-kyi	Ma hkā, ma-gyi
......	......	......	Su machi ma hkā
Hsak ma kai	......	......	A kü ma hkā
Myin rā	Mrawlin	......	Mo-ă
Nyam rā	Naing	......	Ü-ă

English.		Chingpaw or Kachin.	Asi or Szi.	Lechi or Lashi.
False	...	Mă sū, 'm tyeng	Mā-u (le)	......
True	...	Tè, tyeng ai	Ngwut na (lo)	......
Pretty	...	Sōm ai	Tsom (ro) yōng-de	......
Ugly	...	'M sōm ai	A-tsom, a yōng	......
Thin	...	A pā-shā	Gīrhu, yăm	Paw
Fat	...	Pum ai	Myum (ro)	Htu
Thick	...	Htat ai	Htū (ro)	Htu
Clean	...	Ahsan hsan ai	San (ro)	......
Cheap	...	Mānūpa, mānung pa	Wīlaw yam	......
Dear	...	Manu lakya, ma nung kaba.	Hte pao	......
Poor	...	Ma-san ai	Myung	......
Rich	...	Lū-i, sū ai (i)	Ngun myaw	......
Old	...	Tēng la, tēng hsa	Eprat hung, nang be	Mang, Atsawk
Young	...	Shi brang, wa ram	Eprat hti ashi	A-hsōk
Tall	...	Katū	......	Nyang
Little	...	Kā-chi, kā-kyan	......	Nyawm
Small	...	Kādun	Hti	Nge
Big	...	Kābā	Kaw	Kyi
Tight	...	Kyat ai	Chap	Kyap
Wide	...	Dam, tam ai	Kaw (ro)	Lam
Close	...	Ani, 'm sha	......	......
Painful	...	Ma-chi, ma-si	Naw (ro)	......
Pleasant	...	Pyaw ai	......	......
Red	...	A-cheng, chai	Ne (ro)	Ne
Yellow	...	Sīt-sīt, sao	Shănkăn sădut (ro)	Nyao
Green	...	Ka-sēng	Nyū-ī (ro)	......
Blue	...	Mūt	Mū-i (ro)	......
Black	...	Chang, san	Naw (ro)	Naw
White	...	Prōng, praw	Hpyu (ro)	Hpyu
Hand	...	Kya, lata	Hīlaw	......
Foot	...	......	Chī	Chi
Nose	...	Lati	Năw	No
Eye	...	Mi, myit	Myaw	Myawjik
Mouth	...	Ning-kōp, tin-gūp	Nut	Nawt
Tooth	...	Wa	Thū-ī, tsu-ī	Thō
Ear	...	Na	Naw, naw-chap	Ni chap
Hair	...	Karā	Hsam	Tsam
Head	...	Paw	Ulum	Wulam
Tongue	...	Salet, shing-de	Shaw	Yaw
Belly	...	Kān	Wăm	Wam tao
Arm	...	Lata, lapūm	Law bo	Law
Leg	...	Lakōn, lagōng	Chī-bū	Chi
Skin	...	Hpi, hpyi	Să-we	......
Bone	...	'Mra, ning ra	Shă-wi	......
Blood	...	Sai	Sū-ī	......
Stone	...	'Mlon, lōng-gya	Lă kăw	Lūk pawm
Iron	...	Hprī	Sam taw	Tsaw taw
Gold	...	Gyā	Hung	Shūng
Silver	...	Kumpraw, kūmprōng	Ngwun	Ngo
Copper	...	Ting san, makri cheng.	Kyī	Kyi
Lead	...	Cho, machu	Tchū-ī	......
Tin	...	Pri-praw, hprī-prōng	Sam taw pyu	......

Maru.	Pwun or Hpōn.	Ngachang or Ho Hsa.	Lisaw or Yawyin.
Mūk wa	......	......	Ma tō
Tap wa	......	......	Tō
Yung-wa	......	......	Byi-a, byi-law
Mayung-wa	......	......	Ma byi
Ngao-wa, paw	Pa	Hyam, shyam	Bā
Htao-wa	Htu	Kan	Bu-ă
Htao-wa	Htu	Kan	Tu-ă
Hsai pe	......	......	Shā shā kā
Kā wā	......	......	Ī-hpü ni-a
Ye wā	......	......	Ī-hpü vu-a
Ma-myông	......	......	Cho-sā
Myōng	......	......	Cho-bo
Mūng	Mo, ahawng	Mawng, atsao	Mao, maw yaw
Hse ngen	A-hke	Ashök	Ju-a
Myōn rā	Myo	Hmang	Mo-a
Ta ngen	Hkawng	Hnyun	Ati nè
Ngai rā	I-hsit, nyen	Tsaw	Ati nè
Gyi ra	Ching, chi	Hke	I dă mā
Kye-ra	Htip	Hnyap	Kyi-a
Hse	Kwang	Kō	Vu-ă
......	......	......	Nü-ă
No rā	......	......	I nā jwā
Myo rā	......	......	Pyan
An ne	(Ka) Ne no	Na	Yi-shi shö
An nyōk	Lōng	Nyao	Yi-shi shü
An ne	(Ka) Tsaing	......	Yi-ni chü
An ne	Apya	......	Chywe lă
An no	(Ka) Naw	Naw	Nānā
Ap hpyu	Hpōn dü	Hpör	Hpu-a
Lo	A-law	......	Lā pā
Chi	Hpao-wa, hki	Chi	......
No	Nakawng	Nyihawng	Nā be
Myo sik	Yo-hsi, lo-hsi	Nyaw-tsi	Mya-sü
Nă	Le-hsa	Hnyut	Na hu, mü-lè
Soi	Hsama	Kyo-e	Si-che, tse-chi
Nā hke	Nitsaw	Ana	Na paw
Hsam	A se	U	Wu chō
Ao lam	Apawng	Ôk-kawng	Wu dō
Hsaw	Aya	Shaw	Lă chō
Wen tōk	Pauk ma	Um-tsaw	He-chi
Lo	Law-pawk, a-lo	Law	La vü
Hsik	A-hki	Chi	Chi vü
Hsi-kik	......	......	Ku gyi
......	......	......	Yu to
Hsā	......	......	Shü
Lao pam	Hka lōk	Likaw	Lu di pa tha lachi, hōchi.
So to	Hse-hset	Sham	Ho
Kāng	Shain	Se	Shō
Ngoi	Myain	Ngo-e	Hpu
Kik ne	Tawng	Tōng	Gyi
Hsā	......	......	Tsōng
Kik hsang hpaw	......	......	Zi

English.	Chingpaw or Kachin.	Asi or Szi.	Lechi or Lashi.
Brass ...	Makrisit, makeng	Kyī nū ī	......
Sulphur ...	Kan	Kan htik	......
Earth ...	Shingbāt, Lamūka	Mye kōm	Mi
Salt ...	Chūm	Yet chum	......
Sugar ...	Chumdwe	Kūwan (Shan)	......
Father ...	Kawā	Yo-wā, awa	Hpaw
Mother ...	Kanū	I-nō, nga nu	Myi
Brother, elder ...	Kapu	Ī-mang	Mang
Brother, younger ...	Kanau	Ā-ko	Pōn nawm
Sister, elder ...	Kanā	Ī-na	Pe
Sister, younger ...	Kanau	Ā-ko	Pōn nawm
Man ...	Lāshā	Yuk-ge	Pyo yup-ke
Woman ...	Numshā	Mi me, me we	Meye
Wife ...	Kasha kanu	Ngā mī	Myi
Husband ...	Num duwa	Ngā lang	Lang
Child ...	Ma, kasha	Tsano otsaw	Tsaw
Son ...	Kashā, lakasha	Ngatsaw, ukè zaw	Yupke tsaw
Daughter ...	Shiyishā, numkasha	Ngatsaw-mi we zaw, nu we zaw.	Meye tsaw
Father-in-law ...	Kasa, saba	Mung	......
Mother-in-law ...	Kani, niba	Ao-maw	......
Uncle ...	Dwè	......	......
Aunt ...	Notūng	......	......
Nephew ...	......	......	......
Niece ...	Hkuwa	......	......
Cultivator (upland)	......	Itōng rang	......
Cultivator (lowland)	Kaonatu (talaw)	......	......
Herdsman ...	Yungrem	Letsōng song su	......
Hunter ...	......	......	......
God ...	Parā, sagya parā	Namo hparā	......
Devil (spirit) ...	La-san, sit-nam, sit-tôn.	Nat	......
Sun ...	Chan, zan	Pwī	Pwi
Moon ...	Shat-ta	Lamaw	Lamaw
Star ...	Shat-kan	Kyi	Kyi
Fire ...	Wan	Mi	Mi
Water ...	Hka, in-sin	Wetcham	Kye
Horse ...	Kum-rang	Myang	Myaung
Bullock ...	Dum, tum-su	......	Na
Cow ...	Dumsu wāyi	Le tsōng mi	Nachong
Bull ...	Dumsu dola (wala)	Wa htang	......
Dog ...	Gwi	Kwī	La hkwit
Cat ...	La mi, la myao	Lenyao	Lai nyao
Fowl ...	U	Waw	Kyaw
Hen ...	U wāyi	Waw	......
Cock ...	U wāla	Waw paw	......
Duck ...	U pyet	Pyit	......
Bird ...	U	Ngaw	Ngaw
Mule ...	Law sè, ma-law	Kumyang malaw	......
Elephant ...	Ma-gwi	A-pao	......
Buffalo ...	Ngā, wabu wi	Natū-ī, nawlin	Na lü
Fish ...	Ngā	Na shaw	Ngo
Deer ...	Lao ni, sa kyi	Chī chī	......
Goat ...	Pè nam	Pai nam	Chat pat

Maru.	Pwun or Hpōn.	Ngachang or Ho Hsa.	Lisaw or Yawyin.
Kik neo	......	......	Gyi shü-shü
Hpāng	......	......	Hwan
Mik sai	Ta-myi	Hnun	Mi-na, ni-hō
......	......	......	Sa-bo
......	......	......	Sa-bo bya
Hpaw	A-hpa	Hpaw	Bă
Mye	A-ye	Me, gya	Mă
Maw	Momo	Tsai	Ko
Palam	I sa	A nyi	Nyi-tha
Pai	Mi chi	Be	Chi-che
Nawng	Pi pi	Maw	Nyi-mā
Yao, pyu	Lu, luk-sa	Tso, i-kye	Cho-pā
Mege	Mi sa	I-nyaw	Cho-mā
Myi	Mi sa	Tsi	Za mō
Lawng	A lo	Hpao	Za gu
Tsaw	Sā-ni, a-hsa	Tsaw	La-nyo tha
Tsaw	A-hsa	I-kye tsaw	Ābi
Myege tsaw	Mi-hsa	I-nyaw tsaw	Āmi
......	......	......	Sā yü
......	......	......	Sāmo
Hpa le	......	......	Wu hpa, vō tha
Le	......	......	Ru-dama, ru-ru
......	......	......	Tè le ngo
......	......	......	Sā mā
......	......	......	Demi sha
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	Anyi locho
Hsi aw len	......	......	Licha tō so
Sa-lo	......	......	Fu
Sān	......	......	Kyin-kwe, shin-yu
Nakōng	Aing-zo, kali	Nyi-maw	Mō tsa
Lo	Se-la	Hpaw-law	Abā-chü
Ki	Chi-hsi	Hke	Ku thā
Mi	Tam-nu, tami	Pwi	Ā to
Glōk-ke	Hkō, chi	Ti	Yigya
Myōn	Mraw mio	Hmang	Āmo
Nga	Wā	No	Anyi
Ngachaungsu	Wa	No	Anyi mā
Nga hsū	......	......	Anyihpā
La hka	Ta hkwi	Hwi	Ānā
Lik nyo	Chawng	Kalaw	Ānyā tszü
Ngo	Hkaw, cho	Kō	Āgă
Ngo sang	......	......	Āgă ma
Ngo hpo	......	......	Āgă hpā
Pai hse	Pèk	......	Ā
Ngo	Ngo hsa	Hmaw	Nyā
Lo hse	......	......	Lo tszü
Hsūn	......	......	Hă mā
Niu lai	Kalui, kali	No lo e	Ā ngă
Ngā	Ta-nga	Ngaw	Ngwā
Hse	......	......	Che
Hsai pe	Pye yang	Pa	At chü

English.	Chingpaw or Kachin.	Asi or Szi.	Lechi or Lashi.
Sheep ...	Yang	Samao hung-ro	......
Flea ...	Wakali	Wakalai	......
Milk ...	Chū	Nao	......
Bamboo ...	Kawā	Wa	......
Turban ...	Pawngbām, 'mkū	Wă-top	Wu-htawp
Hat ...	Pālāmtā, kakūp	Mo chōp	Mod
Coat ...	Palōng	Hpo, pu	Pyi
Trousers ...	Sin kōn	Pītsan, law	Lo
Petticoat ...	Labū	Mewe pitsan	Me
Shoes ...	Larōp, saokai	Sao hai	Chik-tsong
Ear-rings ...	Lakān	Mă kăn	......
Rice (unhusked) ...	Mām	Gōk soī	Kok sū
Rice (husked) ...	'Mgu	Chin	Chen
Rice (cooked) ...	Shat	Tsang	Tsaw
Opium ...	Kani	Ya pyen	......
Grass ...	Sing-du, sum-pra	Wā ko	Man
Tree ...	Hpūn	Sit kăm	Hsŏk-kam
Leaf ...	Hpūnlap, namlap	Sit hkā	Hsŏk-fu
Wood ...	Hpūn	Htāng	......
Cold ...	Ka-shong	Chaw (ro or lè)	Ngam
Warm ...	Lum ai	So-ōp (ro), a gyaw	Lom
Ice ...	Sin, hkakang	Chăm săn	......
Snow ...	Chen	Lik baw	......
Rain ...	Hsin, lamu	Tōng byōng wacham, mao.	......
Wind ...	'Mbōng	Lai	Lai
Thunder ...	Mushika	Mao kun	......
Lightning ...	Miprāp, mu adyè	Lap pyap	......
Sky ...	Lamu, ningsa	Mao-hkong	Mōk-kong
Cloud ...	Lamu mōng, marang lamsi.	Inōng lao	......
Day ...	Ni, sha-ni	Kani sū, ku-nyi	Nyi-kyo
Night ...	Na, sha-na	Myin, ku-myin	Myen
Light ...	A-hsan	Hpyū (ro)	......
Dark ...	Ning-hsin, sin i	Mao chut raw	......
River ...	Mali hka	We maw	Lang hkao
Hill ...	Pūm, būm, pumkabā.	Pum	Pawm
Valley ...	Layang, laprang	We kon	......
Insect ...	Raikachi, singpai	Htōng san	......
Heart ...	Salōm	Lik lom	......
Chief (ruler) ...	Dŭ-wā	Mang saw	......
Freeman ...	Ngai	......	......
Slave ...	Mayām	Kyun	......
Witness ...	Sak lè	Sak se	......
Law ...	Prat, tōn-gyam	Tarā lum (Shan)	......
Punishment ...	Amu krōm	Dām (Shan)	......
Crime ...	Kagya wat krōm	Abyek adap	......
Soul (spirit) ...	Satumtum	Sopyaw	......
Dream ...	Yūp māng	Imyaw myang	......
Vision ...	Mikatè	......	......
Sacrifice ...	Nat-chaw-i	......	......
Penance ...	Ting-ri	......	......
Kindness ...	Kyaw-ya	......	......

Maru.	Pwun or Hpön.	Ngachang or Ho Hsa.	Lisaw or Yawyin.
Yōng	......	......	Ā chü hpu
Kālā	......	......	Kă tö
Ā nūk	......	......	Ā jü
Wo	Tā-wa	......	Mā-kwā
Ao htap	Pawng sawng	Pā-tong, ū-htup	Wu tö
Mūk	Muchaung	Kan, ū-hsung	Nā hu
Pao	Hso	Tze	Bi chü
Lo	Pun	Hlaw	Mi chi
Mai hsīn	Pa shu	Tang kaw	Mi chi
Kik hsūn	Chep tin	Kyaptin	Chi ni
Nit tawng	......	......	Nā ko
Kauk hsai	Kao, kok	Ku	Chö
Hseng, ching	Sesi, she	Ts'en	Za hpu
Tsaw	Hsa	Kyaw	Tsa
Ya ping	......	......	Gzo
Myo meng	Tamyo, amak	Hröng	Shü
Hsak-ke	Sha sein po se-sain	Shö tseng	Shi-gyi
Hsak-hpo	Arö	Sho tseng arö	Shi-pya
Hsak	......	......	Kă chi
Keo	Cho	Kam, kat	Jyă
Lawngrā	Pu	Pan, pu	Lu-ö
Ngün	......	......	Ni
Sam	......	......	Pā-pā
Mūk-ū	Tammu wa	......	Mă hā
Lā	Kali	Hli	Mī hi
Mūk-kūm	Tammu nghkawng	......	Mugupyè
Le-hsai	......	......	Mugu ăcho kü-a
Mūk-kōng	Mu tang	Mao	Mă kwa
Mūk-tap	......	......	Tīmălo
Pā	Kani	Ni	Mü sā
Mūk-hsai	Mawng, yo-gī	Chut	Mü kü
Myōn	......	......	Nyi mwā
Mūk-hsai	......	......	Nyi mamo
Gök lon	Kohawng, mik pa	Ti-hke	Law-cha nā-yi
Pa	Katawng	Tung tao	Cha-ke, wa-jü
Lunkōng	......	......	Wā-lü
Kik nai	......	......	Pă di
Kūm	......	......	Nyi ămā
Sūk	......	......	Cho vü
......	......	......	Cho jo
Sūm	......	......	Yā to
......	......	......	Twe kyun
Pyu nakemo	......	......	Sü
Yu pak	......	......	Ko lā
Hsai	......	......	Cho la
Saw, yö	......	......	Chon ha
Yap mo	......	......	Yemya kwa
Yap pyu	......	......	......
Hpyu kuk hse	......	......	Ne ti-ā
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	Chin-yi

English.	Chingpaw or Kachin.	Asi or Szi.	Lechi or Lashi.
Morning	......	A-kang	......
Noon	......	......	......
Evening	......	......	......
Round	Lōm tōm, kūm	Ling ling mo	......
Flat	Hpa, pā-pa	Pyit pyet mo	......
Hollow	Pūnkrōng, kuai	A-hte ma-he a-baw	......
Strong	Gya, ninggūm kabā	Wumbaw, kung	......
Weak	Ning gūmchā, 'mgya	Wum a baw	......
Spear	Ri, 'mpri	Lăm	Lam
Sword	Lao intu, 'mtū	Shăm	Sham
Bow	Lepraw, 'mdao	La hpaw	Lai
Hatchet	Ning wang, unwa	We tsōn	......
Needle	Sa-myit, sum-myit	Ăp	......
Pot	Diba, di	Ao	......
Boat	Lè, li	La-ī	......
Cord	Shing-ri, sum-ri	Pung chwe	......
Village	Mareng	Wa	Wo
House	'Mta	Yum	Yawn
Roof	'Mta galup, nōm kōng.	Yum hkum	......
Chair	Ching nyang	Yāng ku	......
Table	Pōng kūm, kūm pyen	Kun hkao	......
Box	Se dek	Taw	......
Basket	Karān, shing nwai, meng.	Lān	......
Bag	Ting san, 'mpyen	Htōng	Htōng
Fishing-net	Baik, sum kōn	Kun	......
Snare	Prim, krōn	......	......
Picture	Sumla	Bya law	......
Statue, image	Sumla	......	......
To carve	Wagōn	Byu law	......
Song	Ning chūn ma ian	Chi ting	......
Dance	Ka-ī, ka-ai	Kaw	......
Medicine	Si	Sara	......
Poison	Ko-wa, si palā	Myaw nwe lichaw	......
Toy	Ka-gyan, sum la	......	......
Game	Shan, shai-yi	......	......
Riddle	A-pūng hkai	......	......
Today	......	Ka-nyi	......
Tomorrow	......	Nam ma	......
Yesterday	......	......	......
To stand	Bot, sāp	Yap	Yap
To walk	Tamhsa, bai-wa	......	......
To run	Prōngwa, kā-ai	Tin myap	......
To sleep	Yūp	Hteyup	Yūp
To eat	Shā	Tsaw	Tsaw
To strike	Ka-kyet, a-dūp	Nu	......
To see	Mū, mū-hsa	Ngam	Wut sawng
To make	Kalaw	Kut	Ku-a
To sit	Tūng, dūng	Tsōng	Tsong
To die	Sī, si hsa	Shī (bō)	She
To call	Shī-kā, sha-kā	Wut, nyaw	Ye-yawt
To throw	Ka bai	Htu pyam	......
To drop	Hkrūt-rai, ka-rat	Chaw pyam	Kyaw

Maru.	Pwun or Hpōn.	Ngachang or Ho Hsa.	Lisaw or Yawyin.
......	......	......	Mö-tā-jă-lā, Mō sā-do-lā
......	......	......	Tīmă logwā
......	......	......	Mö sā gwè
Lāng lāng	A-loyö	......	Lu lu
Pè	......	......	Pya pya
Hkōng	......	......	Īku
Ngām	......	......	Sha
Hsūn	......	......	Ma shā
Len	Le	Hlam	Lan tan, yeto-che
Hsen	Im-hta	Hampi	Ā-tā
La	Le	Kang	Myan pü, kya
Wo hsūn	......	......	Ā-cho
Ngek	......	......	......
Ōk	......	......	Nīm-be
La	Lawng	......	Tsu li
Toi	......	......	Chisa
Wo	Hka-wa, hkawk-wa	O	Si-szü, cha
Yam	Ain	In	Hin
Mo mūk	Mu	Mao	Hin pyi-ă
Ao hkao	......	......	Patöng
Hpun	......	......	Tso tsü
Pan	......	......	Kwe tsu
Mūng hko	......	......	Tā-law
Htāng	Kayang	Tsek	Lè-sha
Kūm	......	......	Sa-u wā
Ngo toi	......	......	Wa-she
Hsat	......	......	Cho bya tha
......	......	......	Fu lă
......	......	......	Yīkwa bolă
Wik ke	......	......	Mu gwă-gwā
Hko wa	......	......	Kwa chē
Hsik	......	......	Ru-pi-ă
Kōn hsik	......	......	Nā-chü
Pet lo	......	......	Kă-nyă-do
......	......	......	Ka-nya
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Ye hsaw	Tso, gik	Yap	Hè lā
Hpūng wa	......	......	Shĭ pa jĕ
Wā rā	Tsū lī	......	Tō jĕ
Yap saw	Ai	E	Yi tā
Hsaw	Tsa	Kyaw	Zā
Pe ya	......	......	Chü (ga-le)
Ngū	Myo	Mang	Mu (ga-le)
Kai	Lap, lao	Hkot	Yā, sha
Sawng wa	Htanp	Ni, nawk	Ngi tā
Hsik wa	Shi, shein	Shi	Sho
Yung rö	Go	Hko-e	Hku
Pe ya	......	......	Lo (ga-le)
Kyu wa	Choi	Hkö	Che-wa-u

English.		La-hu, Law'hè or Mu Hsö.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
One	...	Te-ma	Chih	A, ji
Two	...	Nyi-ma	Am	Gaw
Three	...	Hsam-ma, hsè-lè	Sao	Sa
Four	...	Aw-lè	Yi	Si, shi
Five	...	Nga-ma, wa-ma	Nga	Ngu
Six	...	Kaw-ma, ku-ma	Hko	Fu
Seven	...	Hse-ma	Hö	Ts'i
Eight	...	He-ma	He	Pya
Nine	...	Ko-ma	Ko	Chö
Ten	...	Te-ch'i (hsi)	Ts'i	Djo, tsö
Eleven	...	Hsi-ti-ma	......	......
Twelve	...	Hsi-nyi-ma	......	......
Twenty	...	Nyi-hsi, an-sö-ma	Yi-tse, ni-tsen (ta)	......
Twenty-one	...	Nyi-hsi-ti-ma	......	......
Thirty	...	Hse-ch'i, hsam-hsi-ma.	......	......
One hundred	...	Te-ha, te-hi-ya	Ch'ih-pa	A-pĕ, i-pe
One thousand	...	Te-to, te-hing	Ch'in-tao	A-shi
Ten thousand	...	Te-hsa, te-wa	Ch'ih-mö	A-ngaw
I	...	Nga, ngwa	Ngaw	Ngaw
We	...	Nyi	Ngaw-chü-po	......
Thou	...	Nwa, naw	Nyi	Naw
You	...	Nwa	......	......
He	...	Iu-wa, pa	U-law, Yu-law	Paw
They	...	Nö-hu	......	......
Of me	...	Ngwa	......	......
Of you	...	Nwa	......	......
Above	...	Nywa	......	......
Below	...	Swa	......	......
Far	...	Ā-yao, wü-a	Tsa-baw	Dwe
Near	...	Ne-ya, pa-ti	Chin	Tse
Alone	...	Te-so, te-gai	......	......
Inside	...	Na-wa	......	......
Outside	...	Ho-paw, o-bao	......	......
Before	...	Ho-pa, su-pa	......	......
Behind	...	Ka-nya-hse	......	......
North	...	Kö-si-hsö, nōn-băw	......	......
South	...	Aw-pe-hsö, mōn-băw	......	......
East	...	Ma-hsa-to-hkö, ōmen taw baw.	......	......
West	...	Ma-hsa-ko-hkö, mani-kai-băw.	......	......
Good	...	Hka, d'a pè	Nan, naw	Ts'io-lō
Better	...	A-kö-kha, d'a pè tè	......	......
Best	...	Hsu-hsim-hsi-h k a, hsu kè d'a.	......	......
Bad	...	Hkö-wa, ma-d'a	......	......
Worse	...	A-kö hkö-wa	......	......
Worst	...	Hsaw-hsim-hsi-wa	......	......
High	...	Mua, amumaka	......	......
Low	...	Ö-ö	......	......

Mahe.	Lisu.	Mosso, Musu, or Nachi.	Lanten Yao.
Chih	Te	De (kö)	A
Nyi	Ngi	Ni (kö)	I
Sum	Sin, sao	Su (kö)	Pö
Yi	Li	Lö (kö)	Pie, piei
Nga	Wan	Ngoa (kö)	Ö, pia
Hku	Ch'o	Choa (kö)	Tia, kio
Sö	Shö-shi	Sin (kö)	Tiö, i-ēt
He	He	Hö (kö)	Ngi
Kwe	Kwa, ku	Ngö (kö)	Dö
Tse	Tsö	Tse (kö)	Sap, sop
......	......	Tse-de (kö)	Sop-a, sap-iat
......	......	......	Sap-niei
......	Gui-tsö	Ni-tse (kö)	Ni-sop, sap-go
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Hti-ha	Tien-hin	Di-chi (kö)	A-pe, te
Hti-cha	Tie-tse	Di-tu	A-pi-ne
(No word)	......	......	......
......	Ngoa, Ngu	Nö	Ya
......	......	......	A pu-jö
......	Nö	Nga	Mei, mu-i
......	......	......	A pu-jö
......	Ya-wa, a	Wo	Nan
......	......	......	A pu-jö
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
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......	......	......	......
Mö	......	......	......
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......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......

English.		Lahu, Law'hè or Mu Hsö.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
False	...	Kö-a, he-pua	......	......
True	...	Ngaw	......	......
Pretty	...	Pi-ya	......	......
Ugly	...	Nyi-shi-ya	......	......
Thin	...	Ni-lo	Wa	Paw
Fat	...	I-hsö, chüa	......	......
Thick	...	Tua, hpim-myu	Htu	Gö
Clean	...	Ma-so, kan-pua	......	......
Cheap	...	Ī-htu ni-ya	......	......
Dear	...	Ī-htu nya, faw hka	......	......
Poor	...	Chaw-ha	......	......
Rich	...	Chaw-paw	......	......
Old	...	Chaw-maw	Mu, yi	Gu, na
Young	...	An-nè	......	......
Tall	...	Ō-a, mö-a	On	Ka
Little	...	Ma-ö	U	Bi
Small	...	I-ti-yè	U, a-hpyi	Se
Big	...	U-a	Ghõ	Daw
Tight	...	Kaw-a	Chin	Che
Wide	...	Kè-a, gö-a	......	Hkwa
Close	...	Htaw	......	......
Painful	...	Nā	......	......
Pleasant	...	Ha-lè, ha-ka	......	......
Red	...	Nyi-pè	Um-te	Che, hoang
Yellow	...	Shi-pè	Shih-gaw	Luh
Green	...	Năw-pè	......	......
Blue	...	Åw-pü	Lü	Na
Black	...	Åw-nä	Nye	Hõ
White	...	Åw-hpu	Ve	Peh, pö
Hand	...	La pu	Nepa, le	Sui-pa
Foot	...	Kü pu	Gö-pe	Ko-to-pe-ne
Nose	...	Na-hkaw	Na-hkaw	Hpyi-fu-te
Eye	...	Mè-shi	Myet-sao, me-sö	Ngwe-su, we po
Mouth	...	Mawk-kaw	Hka-hpyi	Chi-ge
Tooth	...	Ch'i	Sui	Che-pa
Ear	...	Na paw	Na-hpu, na-pa	Nyaw-taw
Hair	...	Sö kè maw	U-ts'ua	Hte-ma
Head	...	A tōp-kō	Udi, o du	Hte-paw
Tongue	...	Ha-tè	La	Che-hpyi
Belly	...	Ho-pe	Hi-mado	Fu-hkaw
Arm	...	Lăi-naw	Let	Shõ
Leg	...	Kö waw	Hke, hko	Kaw
Skin	...	O-gö-ku	......	......
Bone	...	Ok-kam ku	......	......
Blood	...	Hsö	......	......
Stone	...	Hap-pü	Ka law	Chaw-hke
Iron	...	Hso, shü	Fu	Hte
Gold	...	Shi	Shõ	Kyi
Silver	...	P'fu	Fö	Nyi
Copper	...	Kö, kôn-ni	Gö	Hwe, to
Lead	...	Gü-law	......	......
Tin	...	Hso p'fu ma	......	......

Mahe	Lisu.	Mosso, Musu, or Nachi.	Lanten Yao.
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Pa	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Htu	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Nyi	......	......	......
Hō	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Ne	Si	He	Bwü ti
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Ni-chi	Pye	Bwü-meng
Na	Ne-ne, nien	Na	Bwü kya
Pa	Pō	Tai	Bwü
......	Le-pe	La	Pō
......	Chi-pe	Kü	Sa-ō, tao
Na-pyu	Na-kü	Ni-ma	Pü song
Ma-naw	Mya-sō	Mien	Ma-ya, moi
Me-bawn	Ka-be, ka-pe	Me-ta	Gye-te, yēt
Shaw	......	......	......
Na-bu	Na-po	Ai-dz	Mo-nom
Che-hku	......	......	......
U-hto	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
A-la	......	......	......
A-hkō	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Ha-law	Mo-tsō, a-dzō	Lō-pa	Yao-ha
Sum	Di-me, hü	Shwo	Ya
Hpu-shu	Shō, shi	Ha	Sam, som
Hpu-tzō	Pü	Hun	Nyan
Chō	Gyi	Ai	Tong, tō te
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......

English.	Lahu, Law'hè, or Mu Hsö.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
Brass ...	Kö-shi	......	......
Sulphur ...	Mă	......	......
Earth ...	Myi-na-ma, mi-gö	Mi-di	Ye-pe-htöng, gyi-pe-ten.
Salt ...	A-lè	......	Pi
Sugar ...	A-lè-mya	......	......
Father ...	A-pa	A-te	A-te, a-hye
Mother ...	Ai, e, a-me	A-ma	A-maw
Brother, elder ...	A-viang	Kaw	A-kaw
Brother, younger ...	Nyi-pa	Nyi-za	Hte
Sister, elder ...	Wi-ma	A-tsi	A-tsi
Sister, younger ...	Nü-ma	Yu-ma	Nyu-hte
Man ...	Haw-hka	Tsu, tsu-pao	Nyi-hke, tso-nyi
Woman ...	Yami (n), zami	Zeme tsa	Nyu-nyi
Wife ...	O-mim-ma	Ma	Waw-nyi
Husband ...	Aw-paw (maw)	Nyen	Paw-nyi
Child ...	Yaü-yè, e	......	Sö-tzö-nyu
Son ...	Aw kapai	Za	Tsö
Daughter ...	Yami (n)	Ze-me	A-nyaw, niotze-ho
Father-in-law ...	A-pu	......	......
Mother-in-law ...	A-pi	......	......
Uncle ...	Aw-nyè, up-pa	......	......
Aunt ...	Nga	......	......
Nephew ...	Aw-hoi yè pa	......	......
Niece ...	Aw-hoi yami (n)	......	......
Cultivator (upland)...	He te	......	......
Cultivator (lowland)	Timitē	......	......
Herdsman ...	......	......	......
Hunter ...	Hka	......	......
God ...	Ö sha, fu	......	We
Devil (spirit) ...	Paya-èng, ne	......	......
Sun ...	Mö lawkaw, müi-mi	An-ts'a, an-ni	Nyi-hpyi
Moon ...	Ha pa	Ha-pa, sha-pa-mu	Wa-hpyi, mi-ngua
Star ...	Mö kö	Hkö, kyi-hto	Sien
Fire ...	Ami	A-taw	Hwe (Chinese)
Water ...	Yika	Ghö	Su, shui (Chinese)
Horse ...	Müan, maw	Am	Me, me-te
Bullock ...	Nu	......	Yo-te
Cow ...	Nu-ma	An	Ngö
Bull ...	Nu-hpa	......	......
Dog ...	Kö, hpü	A-hkö, a-naw	Hkwa
Cat ...	Mè-nyi	A-nyi	A-ni
Fowl ...	Kö-ga	Ai	Ki, ki-tö
Hen ...	Ga-ma	......	......
Cock ...	Ga-hpa	......	......
Duck ...	A-pè	......	......
Bird ...	Ngă	A-nya	Tsaw-dzö
Mule ...	Lăw	Law-tzö (Chinese)	Law-tzö
Elephant ...	Hăw	......	......
Buffalo ...	Onka, awka	Van	Shui-ngö
Fish ...	Ngā	An	Ngu
Deer ...	Kö-hsö, hsö	......	Ma-lö
Goat ...	La	A-chö	Yaw

Mahe.	Lisu.	Mosso, Musu, or Nachi.	Lanten Yao.
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Myi-ch'a	Men-ne, ha-mi	Tue	Ni
......	Tsa-bo	Tsai	......
......	......	......	......
......	A-ba	A-pa	Fa
......	A-ma	A-ma	Gyi-ne, yo
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Cho-yan	Tsü-bum, tsü-za	Zü-chü	Man-tön atamōn
......	Zamo, zamü	Mi-chu	Man-za
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Zaneza, za	Zwe	Atasei
......	......	......	......
......	Ami	Mizuzu	Atasa-kyen, sa
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Kü-ni	Pü-la	Gôn, fuipe
......	......	......	......
A-ts'a	Mü-tsa	Ni-me	Mo-noi, mö-hoi
Pa-ha	A-ba	He-me	La-a
A-ku	......	......	......
A-tsa	A-to	Mi	Tao, to
A-ts'o	I-gwia, a-dia	Gye	Wom, woma
A-maw	Am, aman	Joa	Ma
......	A-ngi	Na-gö	Wong, ngong
Nu-ne	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
A-hkö	A-na	Ku	Klö
A-ni	......	......	......
A-ha	A-ya	A	Tai
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	Apa
Ha-dzö	......	......	......
......	......	......	Law
......	......	......	......
La-hpu	An-ngwe	Chi-gö	Wom-bö
Na hte	......	......	......
......	Tse	Chō-a ...	Kum-dai
A-ts'ö	......	......	......

English.	Lahu, Law'hè, or Mu Hsö.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
Sheep ...	Yaw, ă-chi	......	A-hio-nyi
Flea ...	Pu hè	......	......
Milk ...	Num chu ö	......	......
Bamboo ...	Wa-mö	......	......
Turban ...	U-mi	La-ba	She-chin-haw
Hat ...	U-hsö	Na-hkaw	Tö-ma-tö
Coat ...	Apu, apo	Hpu	Yi-hkaw
Trousers ...	Ha taw	La	Kwa-yo
Petticoat ...	Htè-du	......	......
Shoes ...	Kön-no	Hke-ne	Nge-tsi
Ear-rings ...	Pe hu	......	......
Rice (unhusked) ...	Cha hsi, hsa-hsi	Chi-se	Sö
Rice (husked) ...	Hsak hka	Sa-hkao	Me
Rice (cooked) ...	Aw	Tza	He-jö
Opium ...	Fing	......	......
Grass ...	Zö	Shö	Ts'aw
Tree ...	Hsü-chè	So-dzö	Sö-dzö
Leaf ...	Hsü-pa	So-hpye	Djö-she
Wood ...	Hsaw, yai	......	Dzö
Cold ...	Kă(t)-ā	Am-kya	Kö, kan
Warm ...	Hwa, tsa	Hwe, u	U
Ice ...	Ang-ngö	......	......
Snow ...	Mo	......	......
Rain ...	Mö-ye	......	Vo-shi-go
Wind ...	Mö haw	Im-hpyu	Pyi-sö
Thunder ...	Mö taw	......	......
Lightning ...	Matipwè	......	......
Sky ...	Mö naw (ma)	Im-di	Chi-tsen, he
Cloud ...	Mo	......	......
Day ...	Nyi	Yin-si	Nyi-ɬö, a-nyi
Night ...	Mö-pö, möha, muha	Yimi-si	Yi-aw hö, hö
Light ...	Matila	......	......
Dark ...	Mö vaw	......	
River ...	O-hka, ika	Lu-ke	Kö-kon, chaw-chaw
Hill ...	Hkaw, aw-hkaw	Ku-djö	Nge-taw, so
Valley ...	Law-hko	......	......
Insect ...	Hpö	......	......
Heart ...	Nyima hsi	......	......
Chief (ruler) ...	Chaw maw	......	......
Freeman ...	......	......	......
Slave ...	Hka	......	......
Witness ...	......	......	......
Law ...	......	......	......
Punishment ...	O-chi tsö	......	......
Crime ...	Yă	......	......
Soul (spirit) ...	Ne	......	......
Dream ...	Hzö mă	......	......
Vision ...	Hzö mo	......	......
Sacrifice ...	......	......	......
Penance ...	......	......	......
Kindness ...	Nyimata	......	......

Mahe.	Lisu.	Mosso, Musu, or Nachi.	Lanten Yao.
......	At-che	Yŏ	Yaw-me, yŏng
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
A-shŏ	......	......	......
Che-hpu	Za-pŏ, che-pŏ	Chŏ-a	Mai
A-haw	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
A-pu	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Si-ko, si-dzŏ	Sŏ	Yang
......	Gya	Ch'e	Song
......	Tsa	Tsŏ	Ngi-ne
......	......	......	......
......	......	Mbe	......
......	Me-ha, ma-ha	Hŏ	Pon-bŏ-lo
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Aw-sa	Men	Gŏn
......	......	......	......
Naw	Tŏ-nyi, ngyè	Di-ngi	A-noi, gui-ne
In-ch'i	Sa-kwa, sin-kwa	Mŏ-kŏ	Dom
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	I-ma, i-maza	Lo-ke	To
Ka-dju	She-ko, kote	Ndiü	Tim, kēm
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	Wang-ti	Hka	Ho-dao
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	Ta-zaw	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......

English.	Lahu, Law'hè or Mu Hsō.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
Morning ...	Mō hsaw na teyang	......	......
Noon ...	Mō ha teyang	......	......
Evening ...	Nyolawk-kaw teyang	......	......
Round ...	Vaw-ve	......	......
Flat ...	Hpe da	......	......
Hollow ...	Hko lè	......	......
Strong ...	H-ea	......	......
Weak ...	Nga ma chaw	......	......
Spear ...	Kye	Nai-hto	Mō-hka
Sword ...	A-htaw	A-hta	Yi-ta-dzō
Bow ...	Hka	Kong	Kaw-hpe
Hatchet ...	Che-che	......	......
Needle ...	Wŏ	......	......
Pot ...	Muk-ku	......	......
Boat ...	Hā	Law	......
Cord ...	Mă	......	......
Village ...	Hka	......	A-yō
House ...	Yè	Hin	Haw-ke
Roof ...	Ye bè	Shō	Mo-ts'ao
Chair ...	Kaw-gyaw	......	......
Table ...	Pō law	......	......
Box ...	Ta ko	......	......
Basket ...	Kapilu	......	......
Bag ...	Michaw	......	La-sha
Fishing-net ...	Gō	......	......
Snare ...	Pè	......	......
Picture ...	Htaw	......	......
Statue, image ...	......	......	......
To carve ...	Hao	......	......
Song ...	Taw-te	......	......
Dance ...	Kai (naw=pipes)	......	......
Medicine ...	Nat-hsō	......	......
Poison ...	Kawng	......	......
Toy ...	......	......	......
Game ...	......	......	......
Riddle ...	......	......	......
Today ...	......	......	......
Tomorrow ...	......	......	......
Yesterday ...	......	......	......
To stand ...	Hpawng ta	Hen	Djō
To walk ...	Poi	......	......
To run ...	Ngō	......	......
To sleep ...	Zō mo kai	......	......
To eat ...	Ch'a	Tza	Yō
To strike ...	Daw	......	......
To see ...	Maw	Mu	Mu
To make ...	Te	......	Tso
To sit ...	Mō da	Nyi-li	Kō
To die ...	She	Hu-hkō	Si
To call ...	Ku	Li	Ö
To throw ...	Ba ha	......	......
To drop ...	Tse la	Tsi-tsi	Htu

Mahe.	Lisu.	Mosso, Musu, or Nachi.	Lanten Yao.
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Kawng	......	......	......
Na-che	A-ta	Jü-te	Gyö
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	Lö	......
......	......	......	......
Ch'u-hpu	......	......	......
La-haw	Hie, hi	Gyi	Piao
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
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......	......	......	......
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......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Tsa	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
A	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Sö	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......

English.	Chingpaw.	Szi.	Lashi.
To place ...	Latōn tōn-ta	Hto (Daw)	Taw
To lift ...	Ka-aw, lada	Ku	......
To pull ...	Dūn, sam	Lăng	......
To smoke ...	Wanlu, malūtlu	Nya shu	......
To love ...	Sawai, ra	Aw	......
To hate ...	'Mdōng, tin-ra	A-aw	......
To go ...	Sā-wā	E	Ye
To get up ...	Rawt	Taw	To
To come ...	Hsahsa	Le	Law
To lie down ...	Kaleng	Le taw	......
To beat ...	Yayāt	Nu	......

English.	Lahu.	Mênghwa Lolo.	Ming ch'iang.
To place ...	Htè da	En	Djaw
To lift ...	Hsi hka	......	......
To pull ...	Gaw hka	......	......
To smoke ...	Fi-taw, shu-taw	......	......
To love ...	Ha da	......	......
To hate ...	Machaw	......	......
To go ...	Kai	Yi, ju	Nge
To get up ...	......	Htaw	Peh-hkō
To come ...	La	Li, lai	Nge-ō
To lie down ...	Hè ta	......	......
To beat ...	......	......	......

English.	Chingpaw.	Szi.	Maru.
The men are coming	La-sha ni hsahsa	Le-hpu le bō	Pyuli ya ko
The women are going	Num-sha sāwā hsai	Mime e bō	Mege lo wa ko
He has gone ...	Shi hsa wā māt	......	Yōng lo wa
She will come ...	Shi wā (hsā) na	Heyu le kara	Yōn li ne ke
They should have come.	Shi teng-tu hsa na rai, *or* shan-te dū ram sai.	......	... ..
Go ...	Sā wā sit	......	Ye ya
Let them go ...	Shi teng hsa wūga	......	Hto pam pik lo ke
A good woman ...	Nūm-sha kā-gya	......	Mege kai ra
A bad man ..	Lasha 'm kā-gya	......	Yao kai ma rai
Mischievous animals	Rai chaten, *or* shang-ka sup-pa-rai.	......	......
Ten head of cattle ...	Nga tum su shi	......	Nu chaung ta hse
What do you call this?	'Mdai nai ka ning ngu sha ming.	He mă-wu im htā	Pe ra yung ra
What is your name?	Nā ming ka ning ngu i.	Nang ming he baka kaw.	Ni mang pe ka
How old is this horse?	'Mdai kūm rāng ka de ting la i	Kum myang kum yaw tsan.	Myōn hsik tao ka myo seng wa.
I do not know ...	Ngai 'm cheng	A se	Ngo ma pā
How far is it to S—?	S—kade sān rai i	S—ku hō we la	S—kā hpa po
It is a journey of one day.	La ni sān, *or* sha-ni sing-dū lūp sa i.	.. ...	Tan ne kō

Maru.	Hpōn.	Ngachang.	Lisaw.
To wa	Hta, htao	Htaw	Hta kü-kü
Tao wa	......	......	Hlai (ga-le)
Lūn wa	......	......	Jhō (ga-le)
Sik hsao	......	......	Chü
Ngoi ra	......	......	Shü zā
Ma nūk ngū	......	......	Ni jo (ga-le)
Lo	La, la-le	Law, so	Jā, gye
Htaw	......	Htaw	Tu
Li	Wo, gan-haw	Law	La
Hson saw	......	......	Yi tā
Pe yā	Imti-lō	......	Dō (ga-le)

Mahe.	Lisu.	Musu.	Lanten Yao.
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
Li	......	......	......
Htu	......	......	......
Lai	......	......	......
......	......	......	......
......	......	......	......

Hpōn.	Lisaw.	Lahu.	—
......	Lăcho la dao	Haw cha hka chaw	......
......	Zămō je dao	Yamin chaw kai	......
......	Yā jao	Kai bo	......
......	Yā lā mo	Ha lao	......
......	Ya la hè hka	......	......
......	Ja	Kai	......
......	Yā lā je kă jā	......	......
......	Hkā shü zamō	Yam n da	......
......	Ma hka shü lă cho	Chaw cha	......
......	Yin chō byago jō thā	......	......
......	Ă-nyi chī mā	Nu (ng) ta chi kè	......
Hintu ta ma hōn	Tīmā a-shā bā	Sia to ma kwe	......
......	Nu mō ăli mō ā	Noa tı mè le	......
......	Amo tīmą hă myā ko jwa.	Müan kan nyi kaw gai.	......
......	Ngwā ma sō	Ma hsi	......
S—ta su we ma	S—mugu ha gō jwa	S—ka fu choi	......
......	Ta-nyi akō gō-a	Te nyi a-kaw	......

Dialects of Zho or Chin.

—	Siyin.	Haka.	Shonshe of Gangaw.	Yawdwin.	Taungtha.	Chinbôk.
One	Hkat	Pa-kat	Mă-kat	Tumat	P'hkat	Tumat
Two	Ni	Pa-hnit	Mă-hni	Hni	P'nīp	Hni
Three	Tôm, htum	Pa-tūm	Mă-tōn	Tum	P'htūm	Htum
Four	Li	Pa-li	Mă-li	Pyi	P'li	Hpi
Five	Ngā	Pa-ngā	Mă-ngā	Hma	P'nga	Hma
Six	Lok, luk	Pa-rūk	Mă-rūk	Kroak	P'ru	Hkrūk
Seven	Sali	Pa-seri	Mă-seri	Khri	P'sari	Serr
Eight	Lie(t)	Pa-ryat	Mă-rit	Khret	P'rīp	Shīt
Nine	Kwo	Pa-kwā	Mă-ko	Ko	P'kwa	Ko
Ten	Sôm, hkan-hkat	Pa-rà	Mă-rā	Hrar	P'hrā	Hsrār
Eleven	Sôm la hkat	Hlè-kat	Mă-hlè-kat	Hrar-lè-at	P'hrahkat	Sh'leik at
Twelve	Sôm la ni	Hlè-hnit	Mă-hlè-nyi	Hrar-lè-hni	P'hra nīp	Sh'leik hni
Twenty	Hkan-ni, sôm-ni, kul.	Fan-kul *or* kwe	Mă-kul	Ma-kôn	Rui nīp	Um ku
Twenty-one	Kul la hkat	Fan-kwe-kat	Ma-kul ma-kat	Makôn-lè-at	Rui nīp p'hkat	Um k'leikat
Thirty	Sôm tôm	Sawm-tūm	Sawm-tōn	Tumgyip	Rui tūm	Htum chīp
One hundred	Ya hkat	Za-kat	Ya-kat	Pra	Tayā	Hpya
One thousand	Tūl hkat	Taung-kat	Taung-kat	Pra hrar	Ta taung	Hpyap shrar
Ten thousand	...	...	Taung-rā	Pra pra	Ta thaung	Hpyap hpya
I	Kēmā	Kema	Kemā	Kamawt	Kye	Che
We	Komā	Kema kan	Kemā lai	Hli	Kye-bu	Kye-mi
Thou	Nōmā, Nangmā	Nangmā	Nangmā	Hīn	No	Nan
You	Namā	Nangmā nā	Nangmā	Hin	Nin	Nan
He	Amā	Ammā	Ammā	A-hmut	Ako	Ani
They	Amāte	Ang mā	Amma lai	A-hmut	Ako bu	Animi
Of me	} No equivalent					
Of you						
Above	...	...	Apā	Hkan	A-taw	Hkam
Below	Nue, nueya	...	Ative	Hka	A-hwe	Ka
Far	Hkulā	A-hlāt	A-htat	A-ksa	A-hrur	Chôk

Near	Kōngā	A-nai	A-ngai	Ungsit	Anitha	Ayôk
Alone	Be	...	Pa-hat-laung	Tumat	P'hkat the	Tumat
Inside	Sungā	A-sūn	A-sun-ā	Ung lon	Akwa wan	Krōm
Outside	Puā	A-leng	...	...	...	...
Before	Maiyā, amai-lām	Hmai-lè	K'hmai	Paw-hei-pa	Lam-ma	Ma
Behind	Anung-lām	Hnu-lè	K'hnu	Ka-hmwet-ka	Hu	Ngu-ya
East	Nī swo	...	...	Sa-byi	...	Hkōn-hni-lu *or* law-na-tung.
South	Htang	...	...	Hkaw	...	Hkōk-kōng-tüng
North	Sā	...	...	Hi	...	Twi-kōng-tüng
West	Nītum nalām	...	...	Ayup pyè	...	Hkōk-hni-ya *or* v'lu-nak-tüng.
Good	Hpā	Atā	Ata-ko	Abe-an	A-shin	Nīk
Better	Hpa-sang, zaw	Atā-byik	Ata-ōn	Ada abe-an	Hta g'shin	Ak-vai-nīk
Best	Hpa bil	Atā-sin-sin	Ata-byik	Ada abe-an	A-shin hre	Ak-nīk-pyi
Bad	U, shie	Atā-lo	Ata-lo	Ambe-an, muni	Shippa	Niet
Worse	U-zaw, u-sang	Atā-lo-byik	Ashè-ôn	...	Tha g'shippa	Ak-vai-niet
Worst	Shie-bil, shie-yo	Atā-lo-byik	Ashè-byik	...	Shippa hre	Ak-niet-pyi
High	Sāng	Ā-sang	Ā-sang	Uk su	A-kan	Āk-htun
Low	Niem	Nyūm	A-nin	Anyin hta	A-nyin wām	Āk-nēm
False	...	...	N'pa laing	Kūp hmyi	A-līṃ	Ka-bakt
True	Atā, atak	Tā-tè	Ta-ti	Uk krā	Ate-wam	Bakt
Pretty	Amial hpa	Amwè atā	A-daw	Akrum	A-shin	Kyo-ôpt
Ugly	Amial shie	Amwè ătsiar	A-mwè-shè	Kanik si	A-shinum	Shekt
Thin	...	A-pūn, a-pām	A-rā	Akyon	A-krin	Krüng
Fat	Tao	A-kīm, a-daw-ko	A-daw-ko	...	A-pto	Hpu-ūks
Thick	Htu	A-tsā	A-tsā	Uk sha	A-sa	Sha-ūks
Clean	Shieng	K'tôl	A-daw	Krum-bo-bo	Ashin	Nīk
Cheap	...	...	Aman-naw	Uk dar	A-pla	Ku-kwi-uks
Dear	...	...	Aman-ru	Um um	A-sa	Hur-uks
Poor	Yong, zong	...	Ā-pān	Ā-hum	A-saungri	Prak
Rich	Hao, sum ne	Asaw atūm	Ā-ngai	Pa-zaung	A-bwe	Akbaw tasi bwiks
Old	We	Ali	Ā-htāt	Un-gwai	Akan-nām	Shir-raks
Young	Patang	A-fā	Ā-mai	Un-grai	A-te	A-khnaw
Tall	Sāng	A-sang	Ā-sao	Uk-sa	A-kaung	Ang-sho-we
Little	No, tom	Klom tè	Ā-htōm	Uk-sa-hta	Th'nip-tha	Ak-toi-sa
Big	Pī, lien	Annān	Ā-hkai	Ā-tum	A-bu	Āk-tūm
Tight	Ngat	...	Ā-set	Ung-sit	Paw-law	I-yang-sak
Wide	...	A-kao	Ā-kao	Uk-yan	A-ya	Ang-shawam

Dialects of Zho or Chin—continued.

—	Siyin.	Haka.	Shonshe of Gangaw.	Yawdwin.	Taungtha.	Chinbôk.
Close	Kungā	...	Ă-nai	Ma-hru	A-nai	Um-hpik
Painful	Na, nasa	A-fāk	A-năt	Ka-htik-ki	A-aung	Nak
Pleasant	...	...	Āta-kaw	Um-hnuk hpak-si	Pyaw	Nīk
Red	San	A-shen	A-san	Uk-shin	A-shīm	A-sen
Yellow	Īn	A-eng	A-hkaing	Ung-ai	Awa	Ar kai
Green	Eng	A-hrin	A-sēn	A'hkri	A-sīn	Angkrism
Blue	Eng	A-pol	A-bya	A'hkri	A-bya	Angkrism
Black	Wum	A-nak	A-mè	Ā-lè	A-ni	A-ye
White	Kān, kang	A-rang	Ă-rāng	A-pawk	A-naw	A-bawk
Hand	Hkut	Kūt	...	Kūt	Kut	Kut
Foot	Piang	Kè	A	...	...	...
Nose	Nā	Ā-ngar	Ā-nga	Hā	Hraw	Hnga
Eye	Mitang, mit	Myit	Myit	Myi-er	Mi	Mek-awi
Mouth	Kām	Kar	Kar	Ma-raung	Ka	Um-rong
Tooth	Hā	Hā	Hā	Hā	Ha	Ha
Ear	Bil	...	Hnā	Hak-wai	Na	Hnga-hpun
Hair	Sam	Sūm, shūm	Sūm	Lū	Sam	Luk-swi
Head	Lu-tang	Lū	Lū	Hka-luk-kwai	Lu	Lup-pun
Tongue	Lei	...	Laik	Kum lai	Le	Um-ti
Belly	Ngil, awm	Paw	Paw	Kūp-pwe	Ăm	Pwe
Arm	Bān, hkut	Kūt	Kūt-tan	Ka-kūt	Pan	Kut
Leg	Piang	Kè	Pai	Ka hklawk	Kwo	Hko
Skin	Awun htām	Tzū-ā	...	...	A-wun	Wun
Bone	A-ngū	...	A-rū	Uk-wun	A-ru	Ru
Blood	A-shi	Hti	Hti	Shi	Shi	Sir
Stone	Suōng, shuōng	Lūng	Lūng	Lôn	Lun-tha	Lun
Iron	Chi, hki	Tīr	Tīr	Ma-shi	Shi	Am-ser
Gold	Hkam (Shan)	Shwi	Shwi	Hrwi	Shwe	Swi
Silver	Ngūn (Shan)	Nwe	Paw	Ngwi	Hrun	Ngwi
Copper	Hā-san	...	Tīr-haing	Hkrè-shin	Kre	Kre-sin

Lead	Ngien tang	Kwen	Kwen	Wè-dôn	Hke	Hke
Tin	Hā kan	San-pyū	Kwen-rang	Ma-shi-bauk	...	...
Sulphur	...	...	Kan	Kan	Kan	Kan
Earth	Lei	Vo-lè	Laik-pi	Kum-tit	Sh'ti	Hkōm-mye-et
Salt	Chi, shi	Si-te	Hti-tè	Ma-shī	Hto	M'shi
Sugar	Chi htōm	Tanlin rāng	Thagya (Burmese)	...	Tagya	...
Father	Pā	Pā	Ā-pā	Pa-o	Pa	Pa
Mother	Nū	Ă-nū	K'nū	Nu-waing	I	Ngu
Brother (elder)	Ū, ūl	Ă-ū	K'ū	Kapè	N'ba	Kap hpwe
Brother (younger)	Nā-ū	...	...	Kanā	Napa	K'na
Sister (elder)	Ū-nū	Ă-farr	Ă-farr	Kapè-nu	Thit	Kappe
Sister (younger)	Na ūnū	...	...	Paik-tha	...	...
Man	Pasall	Pā	Mi	Pami	Hkan	Chan
Woman	Nū-me	Nū	S'nū	Nomi	Nura	Ngu-mi
Wife	Jī, yī	...	N'pi	Kūk hkaru	U	Chu
Husband	Pasall	Var	Wā-pā	Kūt-se	Wa	K'si
Child	Tapa, naosing no	Nak-sir	Huk-tè	A-mo-tha	Atè	Ang-haw-za
Son	Ta tapa	Fa	Ā-pwa	Ka-tha	Tha	Kazat-pami
Daughter	Tanu, tanulien	Fă-nū	Fū-nū	No-mi-sa	Tha-mi	Kazat-ngumi
Father-in-law	...	...	Ā-pū	Pu-hkaw	...	Apōng
Mother-in-law	...	...	K'pi nū	Pyi-hkaw	...	...
Uncle	Pano, puno	Ă-pā-u, a-pā-naw	Pū pū	Puk-tum	Palin, pu bu	Bak-tum, pup-hko
Aunt	Nī	...	Ni ni	Nuk-tum	Ī lin, Thin-nu	Mīk-tum, kam-hko
Nephew	Tu pa	Ă-tū	Ā-tū	...	Lwi	K'tu
Niece	Tu nu	Ă-tū-nū	Ā-tū-nū	...	Lwi	K'tu ngu-mi
Cultivator (hill)	Hto	...	...	...	...	...
Cultivator (plain).	Lo	...	Lai-tōm	Raik si	Hku-bi-hkan	U-krang nik
Cowherd	Hon-pi	Rūn	...	...	...	...
Hunter	...	Mi-lyen	Mi-lyen	Dek-shai	Môk so	Prakseit
God	...	Pyar	K'yaing	Hku	Payā	Ku
Devil (spirit)	Dwai	Ko-yin	T'seik	Hkaw-rum	Che	Umcha
Sun	Nī	Ni	Ni	Hkaw ni	...	...
Moon	Thā	Klā-pā	Htă-pā	Hkā	Hka	Cha
Star	Ashī	Ā-fī	Ā-fī	I-shī	Ā-chi	Ēk'serr
Fire	Me, mi	Mè	Ā-hnaung	Hraing-si	A-hrim	Shran it s'ni
Water	Tui	Ti	Ti	Tuī	Tui	Tui
Horse	Shīpū	Rang	Rang	Hlè	Se	Se

Dialects of Zho or Chin—continued.

—	Siyin.	Haka.	Shonshe of Gangaw.	Yawdwin.	Taungtha.	Chinbôk.
Cow	Hkui, hkui-pui	Zaw-pi	Law	Puk nu	Sōm nu	Pan-nu
Bull	Hkui tal	...	Htā-tōm	Hkan-do	Sōm sat	Se pat
Dog	Wi	Oui	Oui	Wi	U-ur	U-wi
Cat	Ngiao	Si-yaw	Mi-auk	Myīn	Mīn	Mīn
Hen	Ā-pui, ā-pi	Arr-nū	Arr-nū	Ī-nū	At-nū	Ai
Cock	Ā-lui	Arr-hli	Arr-hli-pa	Ī-hrwi	At-hrwi	Ai-hlur
Bird	Wuchiem	Var	P'wa	Hkā	Wa	Hka
Mule	Shī-hpū	Lā	Lā	...	La	...
Elephant	Sāi	Wi	Wi	Mwi	Wi	M'bwi
Buffalo	Loai	...	Shiar	Nā	Na	M'nga
Fish	Ngāsā	Ngā	Nga	Nga	Nga	Nga
Deer	Sak-chi (barking)	Shā	Shā	...	Thamin	Kyi-ran
Goat	Kiel	Mĕhè	...	Mai	Mè	Mè
Sheep	...	...	...	...	...	...
Flea	Wīli	...	Oui-hli	Ung-si	U-wi-hri	U-yan-chi
Milk	Hkui noai	Ngū	Saw-nauk	Sûp	Pwe	Sūk
Bamboo	Ngo, ngwo	Rwa	Iu	Raw	Rwa	Rao
Turban	Diel, puin	Ū-paung	U-paung	Gaung-baung (Burmese).	Lu-kre	...
Hat	Lū-hkū	Lū-sin, lū-kū	...	Hkut-mauk	...	...
Coat	...	...	...	Mūk-sū	Eng-gyi	Thu
Trousers	...	...	...	Muk-hki	...	...
Petticoat	Ni	...	Nga-pai	...	Ni-na	Hni
Shoes	...	Kè-dān	Panat (Burmese)	...	...	...
Ear-rings	...	...	Nga-paung	Raik-na-ra	Nadaung	Hnai
Rice (unhusked)	An-tang, an	F'sang	H'wan-tan	Htang	Tha	Hu
Rice (husked)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Opium	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grass	Lopā	Rūm	Rūm	Ma-hraw	Law	Tar
Tree	Ching, kon, thing	...	Ā-kōn	Sin-hin	Sheingôn	Sung-shung

Leaf	Hting-te	Ngā	Ngā	Shin-hā	Shein-ha	Sung-hnā
Wood	Hting, ching	Tin-shā	Tin-shā	Pôn-hu	Shein	Sūng
Cold	Koshi, kwoshi	Koi-shik	Shik	Hkauk ship	Shi-rōng	Yōk
Warm	Lum, kwo-ul	Ā-līn	Lôm	A-ū	A-saw	So
Ice	Tui hā	Haw-hrā	...	...	Twigan	...
Snow	...	Haw-hrā	Faw	Re raw	...	...
Rain	Ngoyu	Rwā-pi ă-shūr	Hkwil	Hkauk ap	Hkwa	Hko-āk
Wind	Wi, ve	...	Hti	Hkauk chi	Che	Hko
Thunder	Kia, kiatang	...	H'traik	Hkan-hum	Hku-unthe	Hkôn-hnūmpt
Lightning	Hko-ling	...	Wīn-sai	Hkaing-tup	Hkum-mi-hla	Hko-li-lôkt
Sky	Wān	...	Wăn	Mo-pyi	Wan-ri	Hkan-hko
Cloud	Melum, mekai	...	Wun-kai	Me	Ne	Hkan-hkun-mi
Day	Ni	Tsūn, ngè	Nga-tsuna	Hkawk a-we	Nīm	Hnūp
Night	Yān	Zyān	Yan	Hkak hmut	Chan	Hkun-mun
Light	...	Kwa-seo	Dai	Hkawk-tè	Ā-an	Hnūp
Dark	Kwoying, koyin	Kwa-mwè	Ā-mwè	Kamo	Ā-môn	Hnūpt
River	Ngūn	Ti-var	Twa	Twi nu	Ma	Twi-laung
Hill	Mwel, mōl	Klang	Htran	Hkum-sōm	Môn	Hkuwi
Valley	Kōm lwōm	...	Ā-kwut-pyi	Hmwe	Môn-kra	Hngwai-sa
Insect	...	...	Sin-sin-awk	Makim kūp	Pa-un	Hpruk-ser
Heart	Thin, ching	...	A-tin	Ummrvam	Hnit-lôn (Burmese)	Um-lōng
Chief (ruler)	Topa, mang pa	Boi	U-pa, yauk-boi	Ung-we tha	Prinzo	Su-gyi
Slave	In tiang, sal	Shûl	Sūl	Ak krang	Shin	...
Punishment	Mawpu	Ksoi-ter, saw hkûl	A-hmu a-taung	...	Pe-pi amku	Ma-lao-u-sak
Crime	Ta(t)nā	Yè-twet	Yè-twet	...	...	...
Dream	Mang	...	Ā-min	Kung mung	Min-man	Um-man-shekt
Sacrifice	Ā(t)	Inn k'tsir	A-yair	U-suk	Nipi	...
Morning	Ying, jing	Yin ka	...	...	...	...
Noon	...	Tsūn	...	...	...	...
Evening	...	Zyan-lè	...	...	...	...
Round	Biam	Ā-pūm	Ă-pūm	Upa lum	Ā-plūt	Ākalôn
Flat	Hpan, hpiak	...	U-pa	Upa lep	Hplat	Ā-hpe
Hollow	Kōm	...	Ā-kul	Nga suk chi	Ātangwa	...
Strong	Tha, thata, ngal	A-hāk, Ă-tawng	Ā-hak	Ung rē	Ākran	K'rai
Weak	...	Ā-ngorr	A-thōm	Up prang	Ar-te	Ak-hta-tôn
Spear	Tei	Fè	Fè	Thè	The	Se
Sword	Nām	Nām	Da-lwè (Burmese)	...	Da-lwè	Hta-lwè
Bow	Ngo-hpel	...	Tsai	Li	Li	Li
Hatchet	Hei	Hrè-klūng	Kwin	Hre	Hre	She

Dialects of Zho or Chin—continued.

—	Siyin.	Haka.	Shonshe of Gangaw.	Yawdwin.	Taungtha.	Chinbôk.
Needle	Hpin	...	Tim	Mashim brum	Prum	Umprum
Pot	An-hwinna, bial	...	Bai	Um	Am	Am
Boat	Kuang	Laung	Laung	...	Hle (Burmese)	...
Cord	Hkaw	Hri	Ya-hi	...	Rwi	Rwi
Village	Hkwo	Kwā	Kwa	Nūm	Hkwa	Pi-raw
House	Īn	Inn	Inn	Īm, pyu, rein	Īm	Īm
Roof	...	Di-tsi	Inn l'pu	Myī	A-hrīp	M'pui serr
Chair	...	Htu-nāk	...	...	...	Ngo-na
Table	...	Sa-tyer-nak	...	...	...	E-e-nan
Box	Bōm, kuōng	Kulla-bōk-bo	...	...	...	...
Basket	Sōm, bing	Klang-rè	Kōn	Turin	Hkaw	Um tawn
Bag	Ip	Zyal	Yal	Ep	...	Um ya
Fishing-net	Ngien	Shūr	Shūr	Wai-o	Kawn-nwet	Um vai
Snare	...	...	...	Saw	Nwet	Htŏng
Picture	Yo	...	...	...	A-rūp	A-rūp
Image	...	...	...	...	...	...
To carve	...	...	...	...	...	...
Song	Lā	...	Hta	E	Te	Un-swe
Dance	...	K'lām	K'tao	Lum	Ka	Um-lam
Pipe	Yabial, zabial	Kwāk	...	...	...	...
Medicine	Yā	...	Ti-sai	...	Tūt-lum	...
Poison	Ngū	...	...	...	Tūt-aw	Ru-kyaw
Toy	...	...	...	...	...	...
Game	...	...	A-ti	...	...	...
Riddle	...	...	...	...	Pyet-līm	...
Today	Tū-nī	Ngè-hin	...	...	...	...
Tomorrow	Ying-ching	Tai-twin, tai-yin	...	...	...	...
Yesterday	Ye-ni	Ngè-zan	...	...	...	...
To stand	Ding	K'to	K'to	Di lao-ki	Htaw	Un-di-wi
To walk	Wa, vā	K'kè-in k'ra	K'kè-in k'ra	Tha sit-wi	San-rum-tha	Kyauk-hkra-sete
To run	Tai	K'kli	K'fun	Taung si	Thwōn	Tawng

To sleep	Lum, mu(t)	K'aik	K'aik	Ka-ip, ī-nak	Īp	Īp
To eat	Ne, nia	K'è	...	Ka-e, e-nak	Thū	Īk
To strike	Tum, tong vā(t)	...	K'ret, k'den	Ka-hta hkai	Vūp	H'tat
To see	Mu, in	K'mū, k'lūng	K'kmū	Ka-ku-ksi, ka-taing-hka.	Hu	K'ngut
To make	Wa, wat	K'ti	K'tun awk	Ka-pyit, hkai	Bi	Pyi-o
To sit	To	K'htū	K'tu	Kangauk hkai	Nwawn	Ngo
To die	Thi, shi	...	K'ăsi	Shè hkai	A-shi	Suk-sni
To call	Sām	K'ao	K'ao	Wa-en, ku-we	Hku-hki	Htum-law
To throw	Diang, waw	K'hlūn	K'wa, hktun	Ka-nin we-hkai	Rwoi	Voi
To drop	Htaw	...	K'ta	Kum-sa yai	Hku	Um-shun
To place	Kwei, kwe, hput	...	K'shè-awk	Ni-yai, ka tak	Hta	Tal
To lift	Hpōng, twai	...	K'tsoi	Ka hkraing	Thaung	Cha
To pull	Kai	K'hnu	K'hnu	Ka kaik	Sông	Ki
To smoke	Tuop	...	K'yawnawk	Ka-awk hkai	Ao	Ao
To love	I	K'dū	K'dawt	Kanin kwet man-si.	A-da-pat	Kaw-nex
To hate	Īn san	K'hwet	K'hwūt	Kanin saung ngaik-si.	A-hu-dan	K'ren
To go	Pai	K'kûl	K'shè	Thet pyi	The-ep	Sete
To get up	Hto	K'to	...	...	...	...
To beat	Vā(t), sat	K'vel	K'rel	Ka-tak hka	Vup	Ma-vi-i
To lie down	Lōm	...	K'aik shu shu	Kang yaing si	Yawng	Nyôn
To come	Hōm pai	K'ra, k'hūn	Lai-wa	Law-pyi	Kong hki	Lao-u
To ride	Ā-tung-to	K'sit	...	...	...	...
To fly	...	K'yū-ān	...	...	...	..
The men are coming.	Mihin te hōm pai hi.	...	Mi lai wă ū	Shi kūm pyi	Hkan akōn	Chan lauk
The women are coming.	Numete hompai hi.	...	S'nū shè tsa	Nu-mi thet pyi ki	Mura a-thīp	Ngumi seit
He has gone	Ama kapai yo hi	Ătū ă-kul	Amma shè tsā	Thet pyi ki	Ako thīp thaing	Ani seit hko ut s'ni
She will come	Ama hom pai tu hi.	Amma k'hun lai	Amma nu-hi wa shè tsa.	Ka lawk kè	Ako kôn ni ri	Ani lawk hki
Go	Pai	V'kūl	Shè	Thit	Thīp-yap	Se-to
Let them go	...	...	Shè no-tsa	Thit pa u thar	Thīp so yap	Sete-so
A good woman	Nume hpa	Nu-ta	S'nu hi atako	Lami tumat kaum shi.	Nura a-shin	Ngumi nīk
A bad man	Mihin shīe, hkan shie.	Mi-ta-lo	Mi shè	Krang shi tumat	Hkan shippa	Chan ak nīt

Dialects of Zho or Chin—concluded.

—	Siyin.	Haka.	Shonshe or Gangaw.	Yawdwin.	Taungtha.	Chinbôk.
Ten head of cattle.	...	...	Zao ra	...	Sôm kwi hra	Sepat shrar yan pi
What do you call this?	Mia shie abang nachi yim.	Hi-hi yè-da shi	A-hmā hiyè kai shi	Ī-yapo yan na-hkōn.	Hema ta-burr hkuyè.	Shina i-yan n'preit s'yan.
What is your name?	Namīn akwo yim	...	Nang ma min hota shè.	Nanut nanin ū yan	Nur amein ta burr yè.	Ngan min anuyan
How old is this horse?	...	...	Hi myin hi akom yè yauk kai tsā.	Akum i ku-awp siyan.	He myin-sa myit t'ōm.	She num-se kun a-i-iksu lauk syan
I do not know	...	...	Kemă k'ngā lo	Kè ka ka nuīt	K'ngan-um	Che ku k'hmat
How far is it to S—?	S—hkwo min bang yīm.	S—ye sander ă-hlat	Yai san sā hlat	Ī swè hang sak siyan.	Mittaw a-hru-yè	I-rut chok s'yan
It is a journey of one day.	...	...	Ngè kāt ken	Hmut ūt tun	Nin hkat a hru	Hnump ut lam

Kadu.

Air ...	Halaung	Water ...	Wè
Ant ...	Pun-sên	I ...	Nga
Arrow ...	Talêt	Thou ...	Nank
Bird ...	U-se-sa	He, she, it ...	K'yin, bin-nâ-nû
Blood ...	Sê	We ...	Ali-suda
Boat ...	Wali	Ye ...	Hani
Bone ...	Mak-ku	They ...	Anda
Buffalo ...	Kyê	Mine ...	Alisuda
Cat ...	Han-si	Thine ...	Hani
Cow ...	Môk	His ...	Amî-shî-da
Crow ...	U-hâ	Ours ...	Ali-suda
Day ...	Ya-â	Yours ...	Hani
Dog ...	Kyi	Theirs ...	Andauk
Ear ...	Ka-nâ	One ...	Ta-nat
Earth ...	Ka	Two ...	Krin-tet
Egg ...	U-di	Three ...	Sum-tet
Elephant ...	Akyî	Four ...	Pî-tet
Eye ...	Mêt-tu	Five ...	Nga-tet
Father ...	Âwa	Six ...	Kôk-tet
Fire ...	Wan	Seven ...	'Set-tet
Fowl ...	U	Eight ...	P'et-tet
Fish ...	Long-nga	Nine ...	Kau-tet
Flower ...	Ba-pâ	Ten ...	Shim-nû
Foot ...	Ta-paut	Twenty ...	Son-nû
Goat ...	Gapê	Thirty ...	San-ship
Hair ...	Halông-hû	Forty ...	Shi-ship
Hand ...	Tapaung	Fifty ...	Hâ-ship
Head ...	Halang	One hundred ...	Pauk-nû
Hog ...	Wag	Eat ...	Yôk-mat
Horn ...	Yôngâ	Drink ...	U-wawn-mat
Horse ...	Sabu	Sleep ...	Ek-ma
House ...	Kyin	Wake ...	Mi-li-ma
Iron ...	Sin	Laugh ...	Ni-yôk-ma
Leaf ...	P'un-tap	Weep ...	Hapma
Light ...	Wan-yâ-ma	Be silent ...	Yâ-p'yi-shî nim
Man ...	Ta-mî-sat	Speak ...	Tû-ta b'auk
Monkey ...	Kwê	Come ...	Li
Moon ...	Sa dâ	Go ...	Nang
Mother ...	Amè	Stand up ...	'Sap-nim
Mountain ...	Kayâ	Sit down ...	T'ôn-nim
Mosquito ...	Pa'sit	Move, walk ...	Taraknang, lamta-yang
Name ...	Nanmè		
Night ...	Nat-kyet	Run ...	Ka-mat
Oil ...	Salaw	Give to me ...	Nga-yan î
Plantain ...	Salâ-shi	Give to any ...	Hî-yan î-yan
River ...	Myit	Take from me ...	Nga-het lang
Road ...	Lam	Take from any ...	Hi-het lang
Salt ...	Sum	Strike ...	Tan-nang
Skin ...	Sale	Kill ...	Wan-shî-yang
Sky ...	Hamet	Bring ...	Lai
Snake ...	Ka-p'u	Take away ...	La-nang
Star ...	U-nû-shi	Lift up, raise, bear, carry.	Nga-an
Stone ...	Lông-kû-shi		
Sun ...	Samêt	Hear ...	Tet-pu-ma
Tiger ...	Ka'sâ	Understand ...	Nga-min-shâ-ha-ma
Tooth ...	Swâ		
Tree ...	P'un-grun	Tell, relate ...	Hè-yang
Village ...	T'ên	Red ...	Ha Ma

Kadu—concluded.

Green ...	'Sin-pyî-pyî-ngama	Square ...	Lè-daung
Long ...	Saut-ma	Flat ...	Palat-k'ara
Short ...	Tun-na	Level ...	Nyî-tama
Tall man ...	Matamisa saut-ma	Fat ..	Tôm-ma
Short man ...	Matamisa tun-na	Thin ...	Asina
Small ...	Asina	Weary (be) ...	Naung-ma
Great ...	Tôm-ma	Thirsty (be) ...	Wē nga-ta-mat
Round ...	Waing-waing nga-ma.	Hungry (be) ...	Yôk-k'aw-na

Akha or Kaw Vocabulary.

One ...	Ti	Better ...	Akyaw ta mu sé
Two ...	Ngi	Best ...	Akyaw ta mu sé
Three ...	Hsong	Bad ...	Ma mu, *or* hai
Four ...	Ë, or Ö	Worse ...	Ni ma mu sé
Five ...	Nga	Worst ...	Ni ma mu sé
Six ...	Ko	High ...	Ye maw ko
Seven ...	Hsi	Short ...	Ye maw ma ko
Eight ...	Yé	True ...	Ye taw
Nine ...	Gwe	False ...	Ye ngo
Ten ...	Hsé	Thin (persons) ...	Yu dō
Eleven ...	Hsé-ti	Thin (things) ...	Ye ba
Twenty ...	Ngi-hsé	Fat ...	Ye hsu
Twenty-one ...	Ngi-hsé-ti	Thick ...	Ye tu
Thirty ...	Hsong-hsé	Pretty ...	Ye mu
A hundred ...	Ti ya	Ugly ...	Mow mu, *or* yaw hai.
Two hundred ...	Ngi-ya		
A thousand ...	Ti ba, *or* hse ya	Clear (water) ...	I nè nè
Ten thousand ...	Mün, *or* hse ba	Thick (water) ...	Hsu
A hundred thousand	Ti hsé	Cheap ...	I hsu-tek
A million ...	Ti lām	Dear ...	Yu ma byu
I ...	...	To stand ...	Yaw
We ...	...	To run ...	Yu yaw
Thou ...	...	To sleep ...	Yu yaw, or u-wu
You ...	...	To eat ...	Haw hsa
He ...	...	To drink ...	Taw
They ...	...	To beat ...	Ti yaw
My house ...	Nga yung	To see ...	Yok ka
Thy house ...	Nga yung ma	To make ...	A-hu
His house ...	A hsaw ka yung	To go ...	I-yaw
Above ...	Kota paw	To come ...	Lai yaw
Below ...	Ko-o-paw	To sit ...	Saw gaw
Far ...	Yu mo ka	To lie down ...	Hsep pya yu
Near ...	Yu mo ma ka	To die ...	Hsi mè
Alone ...	Tegaté	To call ...	Ka ku
Inside ...	Yu nakwe	To throw ...	Ti ka le
In front of ...	Ni pa paw	To drop ...	Ka ka
Behind ...	Nakaw	To place ...	Yu tao
North ...	Kota paw	To lift ...	Kota yu
South ...	Ko-o-paw	To pull ...	Shi ko la
East ...	Nama tola paw	To smoke ...	Ya kaw daw
West ...	Nama gai paw	To love ...	Aw kaw saw
Good ...	Yé-mu	To hate ...	Sa da ma

Akha or Kaw Vocabulary—continued.

Rich ...	Yo-kwe-a-s a w n g-kwe-su-swoi-i-la.	Ice ...	......
		Snow ...	Hsu (kannya)
Poor ...	I-sa-i-taw	Rain ...	Ye, *or* u-yé-yé
Old ...	Hsa maw	Wind ...	Yi le baw
Young ...	Ye nun ta ru	To thunder ...	U hse hse ya
Big ...	Ye hu	To lighten ...	Myaw
Small ...	Ye hsa	Sky ...	Um
Tight ...	Taw te-u	Day ...	U be da la
Narrow ...	Ye su	Night ...	U kyi kyi
Wide ...	Ye hu	To be light ...	Ba la mya
Painful ...	Hsaw ngao	To be dark ...	Ma maw
Red ...	Ye né	Cloud ...	U tum
Yellow ...	Ye hsu	River ...	Ya hse
Green ...	Ye nyu	Stream ...	Gaw le
Blue ...	Ye na	Hill ...	Ga da
Black ...	Ye na	Valley ...	Ka lawng
White ...	Ye pyu	Plain ...	Ya hsa
Brown ...	...	Insect ...	A-ho
Grey ...	Ye pü	Heart ...	Nu ma
Hand ...	A-la	Chief ...	Hsu kwa
Foot ...	A-kö	Slave ...	A-kye lawka, *or* ya ka.
Nose ...	Na-mè		
Eye ...	Ne nö	Witness ...	Hsăk ka
Mouth ...	Ka mè	Law ...	Zawng ko
Tooth ...	Hsö	Punishment ...	Yu-o-le-sao
Ear ...	Na baw	Crime ...	...
Hair (of the head) ...	O du sakaw	Soul ...	...
Moustache ...	Me mang	Spirit ...	Pi shu ne, *or* nè
Beard ...	Me tawng	To dream ...	Ma mao
Head ...	O du	Kindness ...	A-hsa gao (?)
Tongue ...	Me lá	To be treacherous ...	Ye ma ye mu (?)
Fish ...	Nga sa	Hour ...	...
Flea ...	Ku shé	Round ...	Yu lawng.
Sambhur ...	Ke hsé	Flat ...	Ye hsa, *or* ye daw
Barking deer ...	Hsi ha	Hollow ...	Ka bawn daw
Goat ...	Hsi mé	Strong (persons) ...	Ga yu ka kao
Sheep ...	Yaw	Strong (things) ...	Ye kawng
Milk ...	A-hsö	Weak ...	Ye nawng
Bamboo ...	Ya pu	Belly ...	Ma
Turban ...	Odzŏng	Arm ...	Ladu
Hat ...	Oko	Leg ...	Aku ma gaw
Shan hat ...	La hö	Thigh ...	Sa pya
Jacket ...	Pa kawng	Skin ...	Sa ko
Trousers ...	Ye ti	Bone ...	Sa ywe
Petticoat ...	Pi di	Blood ...	Hsi
Shoe ...	Hse ngaw	Rock ...	Ka-lo
Ear-ring ...	Na yo	Iron ...	Hsum
Rice ...	Hsè pyu	Tin ...	Hsum ba
Paddy ...	Hse kum	Gold ...	Hsu
Opium ...	Ya ye	Silver ...	Tu
Grass ...	Ya ga	Copper ...	Kö
Tree ...	Takaw bai yaw	Brass ...	Ko-hsu
Leaf ...	A-pa	Sulphur ...	Bu ya hsu
Wood (timber) ...	A-baw te bya	Earth ...	Mi hsa
Forest ...	Du se yaw	Salt ...	Sa dö
Cold ...	Yu ka kai-a	Sugar ...	Sa dö kume la
Hot ...	Yu hsa hsai-a	Father ...	A-da
Warm (persons) ...	Ye lum	Mother ...	A-ma

Akha on Kaw Vocabulary—concluded.

Brother (elder) ...	A-yu	Needle ...	A-gaw
Brother (younger) ...	A-nyi	Pot ...	I-lawng
Sister (elder) ...	To ma	Boat ...	Law
Sister (younger) ...	A-nyi	Cord ...	A-sa
Man ...	Ka hse ya	Village ...	Pu
Woman ...	Ya mi ya	Roof ...	U gyi
Wife ...	Nga mi ya	Sword ...	Me kyè
Husband ...	Nga ka hso ya	Chair ...	Na mawng
Child ...	Lagu la	Table ...	Ta bya
Son ...	Nga li	Box ...	Ba kŏ
Daughter ...	Nga bu	Basket ...	Karo, *or* kaba
Father-in-law ...	Nga saw maw	Bag ...	Pi tawng
Mother-in-law ...	Nga mi la ma	Net ...	La
Cultivator ...	Ya tu tu	Snare ...	Ya kaw
Shepherd ...	......	Picture ...	A má
God ...	Ta paw ma *or* a pü.	Carving ...	......
		Song ...	A gyu gö
Sun ...	Nam ma	To dance ...	La tu gaw
Moon ...	Ba la	To play ...	Ni diu
Star ...	A-gö	Medicine ...	Ya kaw
Fire ...	Mi za	Poison ...	Za do
Water ...	I-su	They are coming ...	Naw aga ne late
House ...	Yung	Come here ...	La yaw
Horse ...	Mawng	They will go ...	I ma
Bull ...	Maw pa	They have arrived...	La ku mè
Cow ...	Maw ma	What is your name?	Apa lwe le
Dog ...	A-kü	Three men ...	Hsong ya
Cat ...	A-mi	Five horses ...	Mawng nga maw
Hen ...	Ya ma	Four houses ...	Ê yum
Cock ...	Ya pü	Two spears ...	......
Duck ...	A-gu	Three swords ...	Me kyè hsong kong
Mule ...	Taw la	Six villages ...	Ko pu
Elephant ...	Yi ma	How far is it from here?	Hu ganiyu hu pa i-kö.
Buffalo ...	Ai nyo		
Spear ...	Taw yaw	How old is this horse?	......
Bow ...	......		
Cross-bow ...	Ka	I know ...	Nga si ma
Hatchet ...	Ma kye du, *or* bi ha	I do not know ...	Ma si

Vocabulary of Akö Tribe, Kēngtūng State.

One ...	Tö	Thirty ...	Hé-sö
Two ...	Ö (very short)	A hundred ...	Piyá
Three ...	Hé	Two hundred ...	Ngiyá
Four ...	Li	A thousand ...	Ti sĕng
Five ...	Nga	Ten thousand ...	Ti mün
Six ...	Ko	A hundred thousand	Ti sen
Seven ...	Hsi	A million ...	Ti lān
Eight ...	É	I ...	Nga
Nine ...	Gwi	We ...	Nga
Ten ...	Sö	Thou ...	Naw
Eleven ...	Sö-tö	You ...	Naw
Twenty ...	Öng-sö	He ...	Naw
Twenty-one ...	Öng-sö-tö	They ...	Nga

Vocabulary of Akö Tribe, Kĕngtŭng State—continued.

My house ...	I-kaw	Poor ...	Ye-hsi
Thy house ...	Naw-n-i-kaw	Old ...	Yi-maw
His house ...	Naw-n-i-kaw	Young ...	Mi-si
Above ...	Put tá	Big ...	Yaw-ma
Below ...	Pu	Small ...	Mi-si-silio
Far ...	Uyá	Tight ...	A-té
Near ...	Azé	Narrow ...	Ha-té
Alone ...	Tü gá	Wide ...	Hu-ma
Inside ...	La kẃü	Painful ...	Na-né
In front of ...	La ńgi	Red ...	A-nö
Behind ...	Ha náw	Yellow ...	A-hö
North ...	Put tá	Green ...	A-niu
South ...	Pu	Blue ...	A-na
East ...	Bo do	Black ...	A-na
West ...	Lagá	White ...	A-pu
Good ...	Mö	Brown ...	...
Better ...	Mwe mö né	Grey ...	A-pu
Best ...	Mwe mö né	Hand ...	A-lá
Bad ...	Ma mö	Foot ...	A-kyi
Worse ...	Moi lai	Nose ...	Na-baw
Worst ...	Moi lai	Eye ...	Mi-nu
High ...	Hu má	Mouth ...	Mi-taw
Short ...	La ni	Tooth ...	A-haw
True ...	A-dáw	Ear ...	Na-ko
False ...	A-gó	Hair (of the head) ...	Sa-kö
Thin (persons) ...	A-gwé	Moustache ...	Mé-mö
Thin (things) ...	A-bá	Beard ...	Mé-dö
Fat ...	A-tu	Head ...	A-hu
Thick ...	A-tu	Tongue ...	Mi-la
Pretty ...	A-mö	Fish ...	Tu-kyi
Ugly ...	A-gwi	Flea ...	Ku-hé
Clear (water) ...	U-gö	Sambhur ...	Hsé
Thick (water) ...	U-lö	Barking-deer ...	Hsia
Cheap ...	A-the-yá	Goat ...	Hs'mé
Dear ...	A-pu-ka	Sheep ...	...
To stand ...	Tu paw	Milk ...	A-kyi
To run ...	Tswé	Bamboo ...	U-baw
To sleep ...	I-te	Turban ...	Udzu
To eat ...	Za	Hat ...	Ud-gywü
To drink ...	Taw	Shan hat ...	Kwi-ya
To beat ...	Tö	Jacket ...	Pé-kaw
To see ...	Mö	Trousers ...	Ti-saw
To make ...	U-né	Petticoat ...	La-gá
To go ...	É	Shoe ...	S'naw
To come ...	La	Ear-ring ...	Na-yó
To sit ...	Zaw	Rice ...	U-hsé
To lie down ...	Lé té	Paddy ...	Go-hu
To die ...	Si	Opium ...	Ya-ye
To call ...	Hu	Grass ...	Mu-gá
To throw ...	Tö	Tree ...	A-baw
To drop ...	Gai	Leaf ...	A-pa
To place ...	U-ta	Wood (timber) ...	A-tu
To lift ...	Ba-li	Forest ...	Ha-tswé, *or* ha-tö
To pull ...	Hö	Cold ...	A-tü (very short)
To smoke ...	Daw	Hot ...	A-báw
To love ...	Mu-né	Warm (persons) ...	A-lü
To hate ...	Ni-ma-pé	Ice ...	...
Rich ...	Hu-mö	Snow ...	Se-bé

Vocabulary of Akö Tribe, Kēngtūng State—continued.

Rain ...	Maw	Sister (younger) ...	Sa-bö
Wind ...	Li-nü	Man ...	Ya-yo
To thunder ...	Zo-du	Woman ...	Ya-mē
To lighten ...	A-mé	Wife ...	Ka-má
Sky ...	Ta-go-si	Husband ...	U-gyi
Day ...	Ung-gáw	Child ...	Ya-nü
Night ...	Ung-ki	Son ...	Ya-yu
To be light ...	Ŏn-za	Daughter ...	Ya-mi
To be dark ...	A-na	Father-in-law ...	Se-maw
Cloud ...	A-pu	Mother-in-law ...	Se-maw
River ...	Ga-láw	Cultivator { Lowland fields.	Te-at-su
Stream ...	Loi-ya		
Hill ...	Yeddá	Cultivator { Hill fields.	Ya-kawn
Valley ...	Yeddá-ku-kyi		
Plain ...	Ga-ná	Shepherd ...	Hsa-mé-su
Insect ...	Mi-haw	God ...	Api-mi-yé
Heart ...	Nu-ma	Sun ...	Ung-gáw
Chief ...	Yokká	Moon ...	Ba-lá
Slave ...	Yek-ká	Star ...	A-gyi
Witness ...	Hsaw-ké	Fire ...	Mi-za
Law ...	Aw	Water ...	A-hsu
Punishment ...	Gi	House ...	I-kaw
Crime ...	Mi-hsapí	Horse ...	Me-pá
Soul ...	Si	Bull ...	La-si
Spirit ...	Né	Cow ...	Yaw-ma
To dream ...	Ma	Dog ...	Kö
Kindness ...	Go-ha	Cat ...	Aw-mi
To be treacherous ...	Sa-dáw	Hen ...	Ya-mi
Hour ...	...	Cock ...	Ya-pü
Round ...	A-lö	Duck ...	Gi-gyi
Flat ...	A-bá	Mule ...	Taw-la
Hollow ...	Ka-báw	Elephant ...	Ya-má
Strong (persons) ...	Ga-báw	Buffalo ...	Bu-ná
Strong (things) ...	A-gá	Spear ...	U-kaw
Weak ...	A-nú	Bow ...	...
Belly ...	Mu-má	Cross-bow ...	Hu-na
Arm ...	La-nú	Hatchet ...	Hed-zaw
Leg ...	Ki-dú	Needle ...	Gu-gyé
Thigh ...	A-pá	Pot ...	U-law
Skin ...	Hak-ko	Boat ...	Law
Bone ...	Ha-ü (very short)	Cord ...	Nu-hsa
Blood ...	A-hsi	Village ...	Zo-gu
Rock ...	Lo-ma	Roof ...	Gwyi
Iron ...	Hé	Sword ...	Taw-má
Tin ...	Hé-apú	Chair ...	Gi-bá
Gold ...	Hü	Table ...	Li-pá
Silver ...	Pu	Box ...	Tong
Copper ...	Gi	Basket ...	Ka-law *or* { Loi ma (large)
Brass ...	Gi-ngö		{ Loi ya (small)
Sulphur ...	Sa-hö		
Earth ...	Miza		
Salt ...	Satu	Bag ...	Pa-táw
Sugar ...	Sagyi	Net ...	Kudzu
Father ...	A-bú	Snare ...	Hkün
Mother ...	A-má	Picture ...	Maw-kwü
Brother (elder) ...	Ai-i	Carving ...	To-fo-ma
Brother (younger) ...	Sa-bö	Song ...	Se-gö
Sister (elder) ...	A-su	To dance ...	Bo-lu-nyü

Vocabulary of Akö Tribe, Kĕngtūng State—concluded.

To play { As children ...	{ Taw-pu	Five horses ..	Mepá-nga-maw
To play { Gamble.	{ Pai-tü	Four houses ...	I-kaw-li-twi
Medicine ...	Sagá	Two spears ...	U-kaw-ö-kyi
Poison ...	Do	Three swords ...	Tawmá-hé-kyi
They are coming ...	Hega-li-ga	Six villages ...	Zogú-ko-ku
Come here ...	Ya-lö	How far is it from here?	Kadé-u-ngé
They will go ...	Adzu-lé-né	How old is this horse?	Mepá-kaw-la-ako-ka le-ku-né.
They have arrived ...	Adzu-ku-liau-aw		
What is your name?	Nawma-ami-kau	I know ...	Nga hö
Three men ...	Hé-ga	I do not know ...	Ma hö

Vocabulary of Muhsö Tribe, known as Lahuna, Kĕngtūng State.

One ...	Ti ma	North ...	Aw na paw
Two ...	Ngi ma	South ...	Aw kü paw
Three ...	Sé lé	East ...	Man-i-taw-paw
Four ...	Aw lé	West ...	Man-i-ké-paw
Five ...	Nga ma	Good ...	Da
Six ...	Kaw ma (short)	Better ...	} Da té té
Seven ...	Hsö ma	Best ...	} Da té té
Eight ...	Hi ma	Bad ...	Taw yé, *or* ma da
Nine ...	Kaw ma (long)	Worse ...	} Ma da té
Ten ...	Ti hsi	Worst ...	} Ma da té
Eleven ...	Ti hsi tima	High ...	Kam maw maw, *or* mwa.
Twenty ...	Ngi hsi		
Twenty-one ...	Ngi hsi ti ma	Short ...	Né lé
Thirty ...	Sé hsi	True ...	Si wi da té té
A hundred ...	Ti ha	False ...	Ma da ma se
Two hundred ...	Ngi ha	Thin (persons) ..	Saw gu *or* go wa
A thousand ...	Ti heng	Thin (things) ...	Pa
Ten thousand ...	Ti mün	Fat ...	Saw tu
A hundred thousand	Ti hsen	Thick ...	Tu, *or* twa
A million ...	Ti lān	Pretty ...	Si ve da
I ...	Nga	Ugly ...	Si ve ma da
We ...	Nga	Clear (water) ...	Ché
Thou ...	Naw	Thick (water) ...	Ti
You ...	Naw	Cheap ...	Aw paw ma ö
He ...	Naw } Doubtful; they appear to use words signifying "other."	Dear ...	Aw paw ö
		To stand ...	Hu ta vé
		To run ...	Gö kai
		To sleep ...	Aw ta vé
		To eat ...	Aw sa
They ...	Naw }	To drink ...	[Ika] daw
My house ...	Nga yé	To beat ...	Daw
Thy house ...	Naw yé	To see ...	Nga maw
His house ...	Naw yé, *or* uti yé	To make ...	Te lo
Above ...	Mu pe	To go ...	Kai wuh, *or* kai lo
Below ...	Mi cha	To come ...	La lo
Far ...	Wü ya	To sit ...	Mö ta lo
Near ...	La pa sé, *or* ma wü	To lie down ...	Ngé ta lo
Alone ..	Tiga	To die ...	Se po
Inside ...	Nu ti yé, *or* a-kaw	To call ...	Nga ku
In front of ...	O ti yé, *or* o-paw	To throw ...	Ba ka
Behind ...	Kaw naw paw	To drop ...	Che pu la

Vocabulary of Muhsö Tribe, known as Lahuna, Kēngtūng State—contd.

To place ...	Ute tu lo
To lift ...	Ngai yu lao, *or* che vi a lo.
To pull ...	Nga daw vi, *or* yu vye ha lo.
To smoke ...	Su kudáw
To love ...	A vi a nyi
To hate ...	Ngi kaw ma saw
Rich ...	Pu saw
Poor ...	Saw lu sa kwi, *or* naw law ti hsi ma saw.
Old ...	Saw maw
Young ...	A-nè [*children* A-pyi].
Big ...	Ö ya
Small ...	A né
Tight ...	Ti-a
Narrow ...	Ti-a, *or* kaw da
Wide ...	Fé-a
Painful ...	Na
Red ...	Ni bé
Yellow ...	Hsi bé
Green ...	Naw bé
Blue ...	Naw bé
Black ...	Na dawng
White ...	Pu bé
Brown ...	...
Grey ...	Pü bé
Hand ...	La hsé
Foot ...	Ku hsé
Nose ...	Na kaw
Eye ...	Mé hsi
Mouth ...	Maw kaw
Tooth ...	Hsi
Ear ...	Na paw
Hair (of the head) ...	Zu che
Moustache ...	Pat zü
Beard ...	Pa pi
Head ...	A to ko
Tongue ...	Ha té
Fish ...	Nga
Flea ...	I hsi yé
Sambhur ...	Kuzü
Barking deer ...	Sa be ko-i
Goat ...	A pyé
Sheep ...	Yaw
Milk ...	Hsu-ö
Bamboo ...	H su (very short)
Turban ...	O ni
Hat ...	Ut zaw
Shan hat ...	Lang haw
Jacket ...	A pu
Trousers ...	Ha
Petticoat ...	Te du
Shoe ...	Ku nu
Ear-ring ...	Na paw pe
Rice ...	Za ka

Paddy ...	Za hsi
Opium ...	Ya fin
Grass ...	Maw
Tree ...	Hsu hsé
Leaf ...	Aw pa
Wood (timber) ...	Hsaw hé
Forest ...	He paw kaw
Cold ...	Ka-a
Hot ...	Hwa
Warm (persons) ...	Le-a
Ice ...	...
Snow ...	Ma ye *or* a-ngō
Rain ...	Ma ye
Wind ...	Ma haw
To thunder ...	Maw taw
To lighten ...	Maw na
Sky ...	Maw pe
Day ...	Maw la kaw
Night ...	Maw pu
To be light ...	Maw paw lao
To be dark ...	Mu pu o
Cloud ...	Mo
River ...	Ika law
Stream ...	Ika law ka-yé
Hill ...	Ga dá
Valley ... Plain ...	} Aw toi, *or* taw wa
Insect ...	Sa vi
Heart ...	Ni ma hsi
Chief ...	Ka hsé
Slave ...	Aw hse
Witness ...	Naga yu pi
Law ...	Aw hi hsaw
Punishment ...	La hsaw za tai
Crime ...	Naw hsu yai-e
Soul ...	Hsaw ha, *or* hse paw ma saw.
Spirit ...	Nē
To dream ...	Yu ma
Kindness ...	Naw he nga da
To be treacherous ...	Ma da-o
Hour ...	...
Round ...	Le-a
Flat ...	Se-ba
Hollow ...	Aw-ko
Strong (persons) ...	Hsi pa hé, *or* ka yé
Strong (things) ...	Hé-a
Weak ...	Nu-a
Belly ...	U pe
Arm ...	La yaw
Leg ...	Ku yaw
Thigh ...	Pa ku
Skin ...	Aw gō
Bone ...	Am gō
Blood ...	Hsuh
Rock ...	Ha pu ku
Iron ...	So
Tin ...	So pu

Vocabulary of Muhsö Tribe, known as Lahuna, Kēngtūng State—concld.

Gold	Hsi	Buffalo	Awga
Silver	Pu	Spear	Gé
Copper	Kō	Bow	...
Brass	Kō hsi	Cross-bow	Hka (very short)
Sulphur	Kān, *or* māt	Hatchet	A taw, *or* hsi hse
Earth	Mi gō, *or* gyé	Needle	Wu
Salt	A lé	Pot	Mo ku
Sugar	A lé mé	Boat	Haw
Father	A pa	Cord	A ta ché
Mother	A mé	Village	Ka
Brother (elder)	A vyi	Roof	Yi bé
Brother (younger)	Aw nyi	Sword	A taw
Sister (elder)	Nga vyi	Chair	Mi kaw
Sister (younger)	Nga vyi-e	Table	Teng
Man	Haw ka	Box	Ta kaw we
Woman	Ya mi ké	Basket	Kaw law, *or* pe ko
Wife	Aw mi ma	Bag	Mi saw
Husband	Aw pa	Net	Gō
Child	Ngai ya	Snare	Wa taw
Son	Ngai ya pa	Picture	Saw ha teng
Daughter	Ngai ya mi	Carving	Sa hui
Father-in-law	Aw pao o-mi	Song	Ka mu
Mother-in-law	Aw mi-a	To dance	Pwé te
Cultivator { Lowland fields	Timi te	To play	Ka yu da
		Medicine	Su
Cultivator { Hill fields	He te	Poison	Ya bō
Shepherd	A che	They are coming	Naw lo la lo
God	U hsa	Come here	So lao
Sun	Maw nyi	They will go	Naw kai
Moon	Ha pa	They have arrived	Naw ga lao
Star	Maw kō	What is your name?	Aw hsi a tu ma me
Fire	A mi	Three men	Sé ga
Water	I ka	Five horses	Maw nga ché
House	Yé	Four houses	Aw yé
Horse	Maw	Two spears	Gé ngi kaw
Bull	Nu pa	Three swords	Ataw sé ta
Cow	Nu ma	Six villages	Kaw ka
Dog	Pü	How far is it from here?	Oka kai wü na ma wü na, *or* su ka u ka kai, *or* ka fu so-e.
Cat	Mi mi		
Hen	Ra ma		
Cock	Ra pu		
Duck	A pé	How old is this horse?	Maw ka nyi kaw ye
Mule	Law	I know	Nga hsi-a
Elephant	Haw	I do not know	Ma hsi

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Kwi by the Shans (they call themselves Lahu Hsi).

One	Ti ma	Eight	Hi ma
Two	Ngi ma	Nine	Kaw lé
Three	Sé lé	Ten	Ti hsi
Four	Aw lé	Eleven	Ti hsi ti ma
Five	Nga ma	Twenty	Ti sao
Six	Kaw ma (short)	Twenty-one	Ti sao ti ma
Seven	Hsö ma	Thirty	Sé hsi

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Kwi by the Shans (they call themselves Lahu Hsi)—continued.

A hundred ...	Ti hoi
Two hundred ...	Ngi hoi
A thousand ...	Ti pan
Ten thousand ...	Ti mün
A hundred thousand	Ti hsen
A million ...	Ti lān
I ... We ...	Nga
Thou ... You ... He ... They ...	Naw
My house ...	Nga yé
Thy house ...	Naw yé
His house ...	Naw yé, or uviti yé.
Above ...	Na lo
Below ...	Ma lo
Far ...	Wi-a
Near ...	Aw pa
Alone ...	Tiga
Inside ...	Ka lo gai
In front of ...	O lo
Behind ...	Kaw tan aw
North ...	Na lo
South ...	Ma lo
East ...	Man I taw wa
West ...	Man I ké wa
Good ...	Da
Better ... Best ...	Saw ye da
Bad ...	Sa
Worse ... Worst ...	Saw ye hai
High ...	Maw
Short ...	Né-a
True ...	Saw
False ...	Kaw wa
Thin (persons) ...	Saw gaw
Thin (things) ...	Pa
Fat ...	Pu-a
Thick ...	Tu-a
Pretty ...	Da
Ugly ...	Ma da
Clear (water) ...	Kō
Thick (water) ...	Lé
Cheap ...	I-a
Dear ...	O poya
To stand ...	Tu ho
To run ...	Se
To sleep ...	Yaw
To eat ...	Hsa
To drink ...	[A ka] daw
To beat ...	Daw
To see ...	Mwa
To make ...	U lu za te
To go ...	Yo
To come ...	Lao
To sit ...	Mü
To lie down ...	I-mi
To die ...	Saw saw
To call ...	Ku
To throw ...	Ba
To drop ...	Se
To place ...	U-da
To lift ...	Si da
To pull ...	Waw
To smoke ...	A hsu hsaw
To love ...	Ta ra
To hate ...	Sang da
Rich ...	Saw hsa
Poor ...	Saw ha
Old ...	Saw maw
Young ...	Ya né
Big ...	Aw lo ma
Small ...	Aw né
Tight ...	Go-a
Narrow ...	Go-a
Wide ...	Gwa
Painful ...	Na
Red ...	O ni
Yellow ...	O hsi
Green ...	O naw
Blue ...	O pi
Black ...	O na
White ...	O yu
Brown ...	...
Grey ...	O pi-a
Hand ...	La gaw
Foot ...	Kyi
Nose ...	Na kaw
Eye ...	Mi hsi
Mouth ...	Maw kaw
Tooth ...	A hsu
Ear ...	Na paw
Hair (of the head) ...	Su ké
Moustache ...	Pa*zaw
Beard ...	Pa kāng
Head ...	A ko
Tongue ...	Ha le
Fish ...	Nga
Flea ...	Pi hsé
Sambhur ...	Sé
Barking deer ...	Su ga né
Goat ...	A hsi
Sheep ...	Yaw
Milk ...	Su-i
Bamboo ...	A wa
Turban ...	U ne
Hat ...	Udzaw
Shan hat ...	La haw
Jacket ...	A pu
Trousers ...	Ha
Petticoat ...	Té

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Kwi by the Shans (they call themselves Lahu Hsi)—continued.

Shoe	Chi nu	Rock	Haw mé
Ear-ring	Na po la	Iron	So
Rice	Sa ka	Tin	So pu
Paddy	Sa hsi	Gold	Hsi
Opium	Ya fin	Silver	Pu
Grass	Maw	Copper	Tawng
Tree	Zaw dé	Brass	Tawng lōng
Leaf	Aw pa	Sulphur	Māt
Wood (timber)	A saw	Earth	Mi gyi
Forest	He pi lo	Salt	A lé
Cold	Ka	Sugar	A lé dza
Hot	Haw	Father	A-pa
Warm (persons)	Le	Mother	A-mé
Ice	...	Brother (elder)	A-vi
Snow	Hsi	Brother (younger)	Aw na
Rain	Maw yé	Sister (elder)	Nga vi ma
Wind	Maw haw	Sister (younger)	A na ma
To thunder	Maw taw	Man	Haw ka
To lighten	Maw pé	Woman	Ya mi
Sky	Maw	Wife	Aw mi ma
Day	Maw kaw	Husband	O paw maw
Night	Maw ka	Child	Ya né
To be light	Ma te lao	Son	Haw ka ya
To be dark	Maw su na	Daughter	Ya mi ya
Cloud	Mwe	Father-in-law	Aw pu
River	Ka ka lo ma	Mother-in-law	Law pi ma
Stream	Ka ka	Cultivator. Lowland fields.	Ti mi te
Hill	Ga da		
Valley	Aw daw	Cultivator. Hill fields.	Ha kaw
Plain	Aw daw	Shepherd	...
Insect	Pi haw	God	Wi hsa
Heart	Ni ma	Sun	Maw ni
Chief	Aw ké	Moon	Ha pa
Slave	Su sé	Star	Maw ki
Witness	...	Fire	A-mi
Law	Aw hi aw kawng	Water	A-ka
Punishment	...	House	Yé
Crime	Tut	Horse	Maw
Soul	Sa se vyé	Bull	Nu pa
Spirit	Ne	Cow	Nu ma
To dream	Yaw ma	Dog	Pi
Kindness	Ta da	Cat	Nam mia
To be treacherous	Pa da	Hen	Ra ma
Hour	...	Cock	Ra paw
Round	Le-a	Duck	A-pé
Flat	Aw pe ne	Mule	Law
Hollow	Aw kaw kaw	Elephant	Ya ma
Strong (persons)	La vyé	Buffalo	Nu ga
Strong (things)	Hé	Spear	A-gyé
Weak	Nu	Bow	...
Belly	U pé	Cross-bow	Ka
Arm	La-aw	Hatchet	Ki hsaw
Leg	Ki-aw	Needle	A-wu
Thigh	Pa	Pot	Mo ku
Skin	O-gi	Boat	Haw
Bone	Aw-wa	Cord	Za ké
Blood	Saw	Village	Ka

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Kwi by the Shans (they call themselves Lahu Hsi)—concluded.

Roof ...	A-yŏ	Come here ...	To lo lao
Sword ...	A-da	They will go ...	Yo kai che
Chair ...	Mi kaw	They have arrived ...	Ga lao
Table ...	Teng	What is your name?	Ato mé lé
Box ...	Kāng	Three men ...	Saw sé ga
Basket ...	Me ta	Five horses ...	Maw nga ché
Bag ...	La sa	Four houses ...	Aw yé
Net ...	Gŏ	Two spears ...	Gyé ngi ma
Snare ...	Pé	Three swords ...	Da sé tin
Picture ...	Aw hu aw hāng	Six villages ...	Kaw ka
Carving ...	...	How far is it from here?	Saw ye koi hsi le
Song ...	Ka mi	How old is this horse? ...	Maw a-yu koi ma le.
To dance ...	Cheng	I know ...	Nga hsi-a
To play ...	Le ga	I do not know ...	Nga ma hsi
Medicine ...	Na saw		
Poison ...	Taw		
They are coming ...	Su la		

Vocabulary of Lihsaw Tribe, Kēngtūng State.

One ...	Ti ma	Alone ...	Ti leo
Two ...	Ni ma	Inside ...	Taw ta shu
Three ...	Sa ma	In front of ...	Gwa ta shu
Four ...	Li lü	Behind ...	Gai nya shu
Five ...	Ngaw ma	North ...	O pu shu
Six ...	Hso ma	South ...	Kut shu shu
Seven ...	Shü ma	East ...	Sa do ku
Eight ...	He ma	West ...	Mi sa ko ku
Nine ...	Ku ma	Good ...	Ka
Ten ...	Hsi ma	Better ...	A ku ka
Eleven ...	Hsi ti ma	Best ...	Su sum sü ka
Twenty ...	Ni hsi ma	Bad ...	Waw
Twenty-one ...	Ni hsi ti ma	Worse ...	A ku waw
Thirty ...	Saw tzü	Worst ...	Su sum sü waw
A hundred ...	Ti nya	High ...	A mo mo
Two hundred ...	Ni nya	Short ...	É-éh
A thousand ...	Ti tu	True ...	Wo wü
Ten thousand ...	Ti mu	False ...	Mow wo mow wü
A hundred thousand	Ti hsen	Thin (persons) ...	La so chu
A million ...	Ti lān	Thin (things) ...	Ba le
I ...	Ngaw (Doubtful.)	Fat ...	La so swe sü
We ...	Ngwa (Doubtful.)	Thick ...	A tu to
Thou ...	Nu (Doubtful.)	Pretty ...	Bi-a
You ...	Nu (Doubtful.)	Ugly ...	Hi-ya
He ...	Nu (Doubtful.)	Clear (water) ...	Ni ya kŏ
They ...	Ngwa (Doubtful.)	Thick (water) ...	Yi lü
My house ...	Ngaw hi	Cheap ...	I pu nyi
Thy house	Naw aw hi	Dear ...	I pu wa
His house ...	Nu hi	To stand ...	He ga
Above ...	Ha mo mo	To run ...	Ku pa che ya
Below ...	Ē-ērh	To sleep ...	E ta
Far ...	Hu zá	To eat ...	Za
Near ...	Pa te	To drink ...	Nyi ya do

Vocabulary of Lihsaw Tribe, Kēngtūng State—continued.

To beat ...	Du-a	Jacket ...	Wit chu
To see ...	Go maw lo	Trousers ...	Mi tzü
To make ...	Ha hsu hsu yé	Petticoat ...	Yi hu
To go ...	Jē	Shoe ...	Si ni
To come ...	La	Ear-ring ...	Na pu to
To sit ...	Ni ta kō	Rice ...	Za pu
To lie down ...	Yuja kawla	Paddy ...	Za ma su
To die ...	Si kaw leo	Opium ...	Ya pi
To call ...	Ha wá	Grass ...	Mo
To throw ...	Lo	Tree ...	Zidzü
To drop ...	Hsi kaw le	Leaf ...	Zi pya
To place ...	Uzu ku ga	Wood (timber) ...	Zi pu sō
To lift ...	Aw mo mo te gō	Forest ...	Si na
To pull ...	Chü ta la	Cold ...	Gi a
To smoke ...	Ye ku sō	Hot ...	Sa
To love ...	Ta la kaw	Warm (persons) ...	Lu-a
To hate ...	Ngi hsu la gaw	Ice ...	...
Rich ...	Pu do shü do	Snow ...	Nē
Poor ...	So hi so swa	Rain ...	Ma ha li-e
Old ...	So mo	Wind ...	Mi hi yu-eh
Young ...	La gula	To thunder ...	Mi ku pé
Big ...	I da ma	To lighten ...	Mi byé yé
Small ...	I ti na	Sky ...	Mo kwa
Tight ...	Si se ni da	Day ...	Mo lo
Narrow ...	Sa da	Night ...	Sa ko
Wide ...	A shi she	To be light ...	Mi tadzu law
Painful ...	Na	To be dark ...	Nyi mo
Red ...	I shu shu	Cloud ...	Mo ku
Yellow ...	I ni shu	River ...	Lo ku damá
Green ...	I shü shu	Stream ...	Lo kula
Blue ...	I na la	Hill ...	Wa dzü
Black ...	I na la	Valley ...	...
White ...	I pu pu	Plain ...	Wa dé
Brown ...	...	Insect ...	Bi di
Grey ...	I mi tsu	Heart ...	Mi ma
Hand ...	La pá	Chief ...	Haw to
Foot ...	Si pá	Slave ...	Pa shula
Nose ...	Na ko	Witness ...	Sha she
Eye ...	Myé su	Law ...	Te ba
Mouth ...	La ho	Punishment ...	Mo shu shu
Tooth ...	Tzü tzü	Crime ...	Na do
Ear ...	Na po	Soul ...	Shi kaw lo
Hair (of the head) ...	U chō	Spirit ...	Nē
Moustache ...	Mi tsō	To dream ...	Nyi a-ko
Beard ...	Ni tsō pu sō	Kindness ...	Ta la gaw
Head ...	O dō	To be treacherous ...	Lai nyi shi do
Tongue ...	La chō	Hour ...	...
Fish ...	Ngwa	Round ...	Lu lu le
Flea ...	Ka tō	Flat ...	Pip pé ni
Sambhur ...	Se	Hollow ...	I ku do
Barking deer ...	Chō	Strong (persons) ...	Waw nyi
Goat ...	A chō	Strong (things) ...	Fwa
Sheep ...	...	Weak ...	Nu le ga
Milk ...	A chō zu	Belly ...	He chi
Bamboo ...	Tzi dzü	Arm ...	La-vuh
Turban ...	U tō	Leg ...	Su na byi
Hat ...	Na ho	Thigh ...	Bu-o
Shan hat ...	Sop mo	Skin ...	I kudzü.

Vocabulary of Lihsaw Tribe, Kēngtūng State—concluded.

Bone ...	Yu-o-to
Blood ...	I-shuh
Rock ...	Lu di pa
Iron ...	Ho
Tin ...	Ho pu
Gold ...	Shü
Silver ...	Pu
Copper ...	Dzü
Brass ...	Dzü shu shu
Sulphur ...	Ko zo
Earth ...	Chai mü-é
Salt ...	Sa po
Sugar ...	Sa po sé
Father ...	Ba bá
Mother ...	Ma má
Brother (elder) ...	Ko kó
Brother (younger) ...	Nyi-a
Sister (elder) ...	Si-che
Sister (younger) ...	Nyi-ma
Man ...	Su pa la
Woman ...	Za mu la
Wife ...	Za mö
Husband ...	Za gu
Child ...	Za nü
Son ...	Ngaw za
Daughter ...	Ngaw mi
Father-in-law ...	Za ywē
Mother-in-law ...	Za ma
Cultivator. { Lowland fields.	De mi ma so
Cultivator. { Hill fields	San to mi-i-so
Shepherd ...	...
God ...	Wu hsa
Sun ...	Mu hsa
Moon ...	Ha bŏt zü
Star ...	Ku la
Fire ...	A dó
Water ...	Nyi ya
House ...	Hi
Horse ...	A mó
Bull ...	Ai nyi pa
Cow ...	Ai nyi ma
Dog ...	A ná
Cat ...	A nyit zu
Hen ...	A gá ma
Cock ...	A gá pa
Duck ...	...
Mule ...	A mo law dzu
Elephant ...	Ha má
Buffalo ...	A ngá
Spear ...	La pya
Bow ...	...
Cross-bow ...	Sa
Hatchet ...	A so nu
Needle ...	O-o
Pot ...	Nim bé
Boat ...	Su li
Cord ...	Su-a
Village ...	La su tse zu
Roof ...	Shu
Sword ...	A ta
Chair ...	Gu mi
Table ...	Nyi ko
Box ...	Si gu
Basket ...	Taw law
Bag ...	Lé sha
Net ...	Sa wá
Snare ...	Nyai wá
Picture ...	Bo wa
Carving ...	...
Song ...	Mu go gwa
To dance ...	Ka nyá
To play ...	Ka nya
Medicine ...	Na tzü
Poison ...	Do
They are coming ...	Yu wa ni so lo ta wa ja.
Come here ...	Ta la
They will go ...	Yu wa ni so lo yi go
They have arrived ...	Yu wa ni so lo pi law.
What is your name?	Nu min a le myu
Three men ...	Sa lo
Five horses ...	A mo ngaw ma
Four houses ...	Li hi
Two spears ...	La che nyi tzü
Three swords ...	Atá sa tzü
Six villages ...	Hso sai
How far is it from here?	Tagaw ye gu sa yi erh.
How old is this horse?	Amo he mye ko ywa
I know ...	Ngaw su
I do not know ...	Ngaw mow su

NOTE.—The sounds in this dialect are very difficult to represent in English. The vocabulary should be taken down by a Chinese scholar.

Wa Vocabulary, Kēngtūng State.

One ...	Te
Two ...	Á
Three ...	Oi
Four ...	Wun
Five ...	Pawn
Six ...	Lu-a, *or* lu-erh
Seven ...	A-lu-a
Eight ...	Tai

Wa Vocabulary, Kēngtūng State—continued.

Nine ...	Dim
Ten ...	Kau
Eleven ...	Kau ru te
Twenty ...	Nga
Twenty-one ...	Nga ru te
Thirty ...	Ngoi
A hundred ...	Ti ya
Two hundred ...	A ya
A thousand ...	Kau ya, *or* hēng
Ten thousand ...	} As in Shan
A hundred thousand	} As in Shan
A million ...	} As in Shan
I ...	Ao
We ...	Ao
Thou ...	Me
You ...	Me
He ...	Me
They ...	Mom paing (?)
My house ...	Nya ao
Thy house ...	Nya me
His house ...	Nya me
Above ..	Pāng ma
Below ...	Hāk dé
Far ...	Ngai
Near ...	Taw
Alone ...	Hu ta ga yŏng
Inside ...	Ti ting
In front of ...	Ti lut
Behind ...	Kawng ka e
North ...	Ka long e *or* ka de nya.
South ...	Ka se e, *or* ka nge
East ...	Ka le nge
West ...	Ka lek nge
Good ...	Mŏm
Better ...	Mŏm in
Best ...	Mŏm mu ka je
Bad ..	Rai
Worse ...	Ka rai nam in
Worst ...	Ka rai nam ke-i-pi.
High ...	Lŏng
Short ...	Tum
True ...	Mōm pan
False ...	Ka wŏk ka vyek
Thin (persons) ...	Kraw
Thin (things) ...	Ri
Fat ...	Mŏm glwīn
Thick ...	Po num
Pretty ...	Mŏm
Ugly ...	Ang in mŏm
Clear (water) ...	Mŏm paing
Thick (water) ...	Wu
Cheap ...	Kon yit noi
Dear ...	Ting noi
To stand ...	Song na put
To run ...	Rung
To sleep ...	It

To eat ...	Sha-e
To drink ...	Nyu om
To beat ..	Ri rit
To see ...	Yo-e
To make ...	Lun i sung
To go ...	Lun
To come ...	Ing
To sit ...	Yawm-e
To lie down ...	Tawng-i-le
To die ...	Yum
To call ...	Long sung
To throw ...	Kwăt-i-lit
To drop ...	Sawt-i-lit
To place ...	Un-e
To lift ...	Nyāng-i-bun
To pull ...	Oi-e
To smoke ...	Lut-e
To love ...	Rāk-e-po
To hate ...	Āng-e-rāk
Rich ...	We num
Poor ...	Pra nam awn
Old ...	Kut num
Young ...	Kaw nyawm
Big ...	Ma ting num
Small ...	Kun yet
Tight ...	} Kāp-i-it
Narrow ...	} Kāp-i-it
Wide ...	Ma wa
Painful ...	Sao
Red ...	Krāk
Yellow ...	Ngur
Green ...	Ngall
Blue ...	Sawm
Black ...	Lu-ong
White ...	Paing
Brown ...	...
Grey ...	Maw mun
Hand ...	Da-e [āng da-e, *whole arm, including hand*] yin de, *fingers*.
Foot ...	Āng song
Nose ...	Da mwe
Eye ...	Da ngai
Mouth ...	Da lut
Tooth ...	Rāng
Ear ...	Da yauk
Hair (of the head) ...	Hāk kaing
Moustache ...	Hāk la lut
Beard ...	Hāk āng kāp
Head ...	Āng kaing
Tongue ...	Dāk
Fish ...	Ka
Flea ...	Dup
Sambhur ...	Jāk
Barking deer ...	Bwe
Goat ...	Pé
Sheep ...	...

Wa Vocabulary, Kēngtūng State—continued.

Milk	Dwe
Bamboo	La
Turban	Wirr
Hat	Mawk
Shan hat	Ne kaing
Tacket	Ya
Trousers	Kra
Petticoat	Dai
Shoe	Kyep
Ear-ring	Bu re
Rice	Kao
Paddy	Ngu
Opium	Pin
Grass	Rup
Tree	Rawng kao
Leaf	La
Wood (timber)	U me [?]
Forest	Pre
Cold	Gut
Hot	Rawn
Warm (persons)	Ur
Ice	...
Snow	Lāt [?]
Rain	Lé
Wind	Gur
To thunder	Lu shai
To lighten	Plok blak
Sky	Kāng rao
Day	Pun nge
Night	Pun sawm
To be light	Rang pre
To be dark	Awp pre
Cloud	Kut awm
River	Krawng mung
Stream	Öm yet
Hill	M'long
Valley	Klāgh
Plain	Klāgh
Insect	Mawt
Heart	Si kŏm
Chief	Hkun
Slave	Kra
Witness	As in Shan
Law	As in Shan
Punishment	As in Shan
Crime	As in Shan
Soul	Mut se kŏm
Spirit	Pret
To dream	S'mo
Kindness	...
To be treacherous	...
Hour	...
Round	Mŏm pai ling
Flat	Mŏm nyu
Strong (persons)	Mra
Strong (things)	Loi
Weak	Byur
Belly	Tu
Arm	Āng lai
Leg	Bli shŏng
Hollow	Kwe dao
Thigh	Āng wāng
Skin	Hāk
Bone	Āng
Blood	Nām
Rock	Mo
Iron	Rum
Tin	Rum paing
Gold	Tāng lit
Silver	Mur
Copper	Lat
Brass	Lat ngur
Sulphur	Māt
Earth	De
Salt	Kwi
Sugar	Kwi nyom
Father	Gung
Mother	Ma
Brother (elder)	Ek
Brother (younger)	Kaw-e
Sister (elder)	U-e
Sister (younger)	Ba bun kaw-e
Man	Ba mé
Woman	Ba bun
Wife	Bun
Husband	Mé
Child	Kawn e
Son	Ba mé kawn
Daughter	Ba bun kawn
Father-in-law	Gung bun
Mother-in-law	Ma bun
Cultivator (Low-land fields)	Yu kin na
Cultivator (Hill fields)	Yu he mār
Shepherd	...
God	Hpa sao
Sun	Nge
Moon	Kyi
Star	Se mwin
Fire	Ngall
Water	Öm
House	Nya
Horse	M'lŏng
Bull	Moi maing
Cow	Moi wun
Dog	So
Cat	Miau
Hen	Yer wun
Cock	Yer mé
Duck	Āp
Mule	M'lŏng
Elephant	Sāng
Buffalo	Krāk
Spear	Plur
Bow	...

Wa Vocabulary, Kĕngtūng State—concluded.

Cross-bow ...	Âk	To play ...	Ge
Hatchet ...	Da mat	Medicine ...	Da
Needle ...	Nyur	Poison ...	Hsān
Pot ...	Dawng	They are coming ...	Ing lek
Boat ...	Ru	Come here ...	Ing da tin
Cord ...	Mow	They will go ...	Lun i sung
Village ...	Yawng	They have arrived ...	Hwe gye
Roof ...	Blong	What is your name?	Sü ma pi
Sword ...	Waik	Three men ...	Gwe oi gao
Chair ...	A-tan	Five horses ...	L'lŏng pun bo
Table ...	Ben	Four houses ...	Bun nya
Box ...	Kāng	Two spears ...	Plur ā dai
Basket ...	Moē	Three swords ...	Waik oi bla
Bag ...	Ha kawk	Six villages ...	Lu-a yawng
Net ...	Rup	How far is it from here?	Kun ngai lang hé
Snare ...	Mao		
Picture ...	Rop	How old is this horse?	M'lŏng ywa asāk ta hun.
Carving ...	...		
Song ...	A-nyi	I know ...	Yong ao ka me
To dance ..	Si	I do not know ...	Ang yong

Vocabulary of Palaung Tribe, settled in Kĕngtūng State (these people call themselves Darāng).

One ...	Hlē	Far ...	Tong
Two ...	A	Near ...	N'tāt
Three ...	U-we (short)	Alone ...	Wi
Four ...	Pu-on	Inside ...	I-cheng
Five ...	Pün	In front of ...	I-ai
Six ...	Naw	Behind ...	I-pan
Seven ...	Bu	North ...	I-kuwá
Eight ...	N'da	South ...	I-tēk
Nine ...	Lim	East ...	Kadi-lek-sinái
Ten ...	Gö	West ...	Kadi-gut-sinái
Eleven ...	Gö-hlē	Good ...	Mām
Twenty ...	A-gö	Better ...	Mām ka kao
Twenty-one ...	A-gö-hlē	Best ...	Mām kuwi
Thirty ...	U-we-gö	Bad ...	Hai
A hundred ...	U-mē-yawgh	Worse ...	Hai süt
Two hundred ...	A-mē-yawgh	Worst ...	Hai süt
A thousand ...	U-ryeng	High ...	Hsa
Ten thousand ...	Mün	Short ...	Tiam
A hundred thousand	Hsen	True ...	Sau
A million ...	Lān	False ...	Am sau
I ...	O	Thin (persons) ...	(Luwi) kya
We ...	Yē	Thin (things) ...	Rheo
Thou ...	Mai	Fat ...	Glaing
You ...	Bē	Thick ...	Hut
He ...	An	Pretty ..	Chit
They ...	Gē	Ugly ...	Chitsao
My house ...	Kāng o	Clear (water) ..	S'nga
Thy house ...	Kāng mai	Thick (water) ..	S'win
His house ...	Kāng an	Cheap ..	Nawk pareik
Above ...	I-deng	Dear ...	Nawkkōn
Below ...	I-krum	To stand ...	Hsawng

Vocabulary of Palaung Tribe, settled in Kēngtūng State (these people call themselves Darāng)—continued.

To run ...	Ku-blep	Milk ...	Um-pu
To sleep ...	It	Bamboo ...	Rang
To eat ...	Hom	Turban ...	Kamai
To drink ...	Di-eng	Hat ...	Mo-ging
To beat ...	Ma	Shan hat ...	Klup
To see ...	Yŏ	Jacket ...	Sa-tó
To make ...	Raing	Trousers ...	Sa-lá
To go ...	Hao	Petticoat ...	Glāng
To come ...	Ta	Shoe ...	Kyep tin
To sit ...	Koi	Ear-ring ...	Kaset-hyo
To lie down ...	Koiné (*or* Koi-ing)	Rice ...	T'gau
To die ...	Yam	Paddy ...	Ngo
To call ...	De	Opium ...	Yafin
To throw ...	Wun	Grass ...	Pat
To drop ...	Shogh	Tree ...	Dang-hé
To place ...	Un	Leaf ...	Hla-hé
To lift ...	Dugh	Wood (timber) ...	Hé
To pull ...	Dut	Forest ...	Prai
To smoke ...	Nyawt naw	Cold ...	Kat
To love ...	Lai rawk	Hot ...	Mai
To hate ...	Lai yawng	Warm (persons) ...	Si-ywin
Rich ...	(Luwi) kram	Ice ...	...
Poor ...	(Luwi) plān	Snow ...	N'dāp
Old ...	(Luwi) kat	Rain ...	Glai
Young ...	(Luwi) num	Wind ...	Kun
Big ...	(Luwi) tāng	To thunder ...	Ga-nam
Small ...	(Luwi) tiek	To lighten ...	Plam-plep
Tight ...	Kyer	Sky ...	Kāng hau
Narrow ...	Kyer	Day ...	Se-ngái
Wide ...	Wagh	Night ...	Ka-saw
Painful ...	Sau	To be light ...	Wagh
Red ...	Reng	To be dark ...	Ap
Yellow ...	Deng	Cloud ...	Nga-ut
Green ...	Nyen	River ...	Um-bleng
Blue ...	Kawng (?)	Stream ...	Um-bleng-ti-et
Black ...	Wŏng	Hill ...	Nawn (*Mountain*) Katiyang.
White ...	Lui		
Brown ...	...	Valley ...	Da-lè
Grey ...	Mōn	Plain ...	Glang (*or* pāng)
Hand ...	Lai	Insect ...	Pruwin *and* pruoin
Foot ...	Cheng	Heart ...	Nogh
Nose ...	Kong mu	Chief ...	La-hoie [Lahu(t)].
Eye ...	Ngai	Slave ...	Hmai
Mouth ...	Mwé	Witness ...	Hsaksi (kadi)
Tooth ...	Rāng	Law ...	Tara
Ear ...	Heo	Punishment ...	Tām
Hair (of the head) ...	Huk ging	Crime ...	Māp
Moustache ...	La mo	Soul ...	Pa-lóm
Beard ...	Kong kāp	Spirit ...	Ka-nam
Head ...	Ging	To dream ...	It-m'bao
Tongue ...	S'la	Kindness ...	Lai-rŏk
Fish ...	Ga	To be treacherous ...	Pyait hsitsa
Flea ...	S'di-en	Hour ...	...
Sambhur ...	Ya (short)	Round ...	Kalang
Barking deer ...	Bwa	Flat ...	Gli-et
Goat ...	Pé	Hollow ...	Ka-ong
Sheep ...	...	Strong (persons) ...	[Luwi] plōm

Vocabulary of Palaung Tribe, settled in Kĕngtŭng State (these people call themselves Darăng)—concluded.

Strong (things) ...	Plōm	Hen ...	Ma-iyeng
Weak ...	[Luwi] da-hlá	Cock ...	Yen-agŏng
Belly ...	Waik	Duck ...	Pyit
Arm ...	Dai	Mule ...	Ma-lo
Leg ...	Gugh-mu-cheng	Elephant ...	Săng
Thigh ...	Plao	Buffalo ...	Gra
Skin ...	Hu-in	Spear ...	Li-ar
Bone ...	Ka-ăng	Bow ...	...
Blood ...	Năm	Cross-bow ...	A
Rock ...	Mao	Hatchet ...	Mwē
Iron ...	Hing.	Needle ...	Ma-laik
Tin ...	Hing-lui	Pot ...	K'lo
Gold ...	Kriu	Boat ...	Rō
Silver ...	Rŏn	Cord ...	Wăn
Copper ...	M'lawng	Village ...	Rao
Brass ...	M'lawng leng	Roof ...	Yawt
Sulphur ...	Gan-duk	Sword ...	Pu-wat
Earth ...	Ka-dai	Chair ...	...
Salt ...	Sē	Table ...	Pan-tün
Sugar ...	Sē-ngăm	Box ...	Yaduk
Father ...	Guin	Basket ...	Kruik
Mother ...	Ma	Bag ...	Hu
Brother (elder) ...	I-kat	Net ...	Rap
Brother (younger) ...	Wa	Snare ...	Hkōm
Sister (elder) ...	I-kat i-bun	Picture ...	Răng
Sister (younger) ...	Wa i-bun	Carving (of a flower)	Răng bogh
Man ...	I-mai	Song ...	Tawk-ö
Woman ...	I-bun	To dance ..	Ga
Wife ...	I-bun	To play (as children)	Dalao
Husband ...	I-mai	Medicine ...	Sa-nam
Child ...	Gawn	Poison ...	Ngon
Son ...	Gawn i-mai	They are coming ...	Gē-bat-ta
Daughter ...	Gawn i-bun	Come here ...	Ta re-ni
Father-in-law ...	Bō	They will go ...	Gē t'hao
Mother-in-law ...	Gōn	They have arrived ..	Gē ta re-ni
Cultivator (hill fields)	Luwi raing măn	What is your name?	Sēng an-hsū
Shepherd ...	...	Three men ...	Luwi-uwe-i
God ...	Sau hpra	Five horses ...	M'prawng păn
Sun ...	Si-ngái	Four houses ...	Kăng pu-on kăng
Moon ...	Mag-gyen	Two spears ...	Li-ar a bla
Star ...	Si-main	Three swords ...	Put uwe bla
Fire ...	Ngaw	Six villages ...	Naw rao
Water ...	Um	How far is it from here?	Yet-u-di-ni-tong
House ...	Kăng	How old is this horse?	M'prawng-ni-asak-kai-mawng-koi.
Horse ...	M'prawng	I know ...	O nam
Bull ...	Măk (Măk-tăng)	I do not know ...	O tu nam
Cow ...	Ma-măk		
Dog ...	So		
Cat ...	Ang-ngiao		

Vocabulary of En Tribe, Kĕngtŭng State.

One	Tai	Four	Pun
Two	Ra	Five	Pan
Three	Loi	Six	Li-ă

Vocabulary of En Tribe, Kĕngtŭng State—continued.

Seven	A-li-erh
Eight	Pin dai
Nine	Dim
Ten	Ko
Eleven	Numbers above 10 as in Shan.
Twenty	
Twenty-one	
Thirty	
A hundred	
Two hundred	
A thousand	
Ten thousand	
A hundred thousand	
A million	
I	Ao
We	Ao
Thou	A word signifying "others" seems to be used for second and third personal pronouns.
You	
He	
They	
My house	Nya-ao
Thy house	Nya-pē (*or* pi)
His house	Nya-pi (*or* kawt)
Above	Ta lawng
Below	Ta hsé
Far	Ngai
Near	Dé
Alone	Te kau
Inside	Ka nawng
In front of	Ka té
Behind	Ka kré
North	Ta lawng
South	Ta hsé
East	Ka li s'ngai
West	Ka kre s'ngai
Good	Mōm
Better	Mōm krāk krāk
Best	Mōm krāk krāk
Bad	Sau
Worse	Sau krāk krāk
Worst	
High	Laung
Short	Lut
True	Rau
False	Kaw kaw
Thin (persons)	Yawm
Thin (things)	Ri
Fat	Klwing
Thick	Pu
Pretty	Mōm
Ugly	Sau rāng
Clear (water)	(Rōm) sa ngōm
Thick (water)	(Rōm) sa ngu
Cheap	Ek noi
Dear	Ting noi

To stand	Chwŏng
To run	Mu lé
To sleep	It
To eat	Sawm
To drink	Ya (rōm)
To beat	Min
To see	Yau
To make	Yu han
To go	Hu
To come	In
To sit	Nawm
To lie down	Tawng taw
To die	Yum
To call	Ho ni na
To throw	Kwāt
To drop	Krik
To place	Un
To lift	Roi un
To pull	Dung
To smoke	Bao
To love	Rin
To hate	Kwe nu ga
Rich	Pyik pyen pyik kwi
Poor	Pyik tok pyik yāk
Old	Kwāt
Young	Num
Big	U pi tin
Small	Et
Tight	Et
Narrow	Kyit
Wide	Wa
Painful	Sao
Red	Sung grāk
Yellow	Lōng
Green	S'nga
Blue	Lawng (*or* lwŏng)
Black	
White	Paing
Brown	......
Grey	Paing yam ring
Hand	Tai
Foot	Sawng
Nose	Mō
Eye	Ngai
Mouth	Lōt
Tooth	Rāng
Ear	Yŏk
Hair (of the head)	Hak kaing
Moustache	Nōt
Beard	Hak nōt lun
Head	Kaing
Tongue	Lāk
Fish	Ka
Flea	Lep
Sambhur	Hsāk
Barking deer	Po
Goat	Lé
Sheep	......

Vocabulary of En Tribe, Kĕngtūng State—continued.

Milk	Rōm-tū
Bamboo	U-yawng
Turban	Pak kaing
Hat	Māk
Shan hat	Né
Jacket	S'bé
Trousers	K'la
Petticoat	Lai
Shoe	Kyep
Ear-ring	Bu yŏk
Rice	Gao
Paddy	Ngo
Opium	Ya fin
Grass	Rēp
Tree	Num kao
Leaf	La
Wood (timber)	Kao chen
Forest	Lāk
Cold	Si yāt
Hot	Rŏn
Warm (persons)	Su
Ice	......
Snow	Mwē
Rain	Lé
Wind	Kō
To thunder	Rung rung
To lighten	Tu sa
Sky	Tong ma
Day	Num ngai
Night	Num sōm
To be light	Un rāng
To be dark	Vyek
Cloud	Mut om
River	Nam hawng
Stream	Klong et
Hill	Blao
Valley	......
Plain	Peng
Insect	Mwēt
Heart	Sawng bōng
Chief	Kwāt = a village headman.
Slave	Mai
Witness	Hsāk kyi
Law	Rit
Punishment	......
Crime	Wāt
Soul	Lut pōm
Spirit	Hsu
To dream	Maw-a-yao
Kindness	Ri
To be treacherous	......
Hour	......
Round	Mun
Flat	Hpa
Hollow	Laung
Strong (persons)	Reng
Strong (things)	Chen

Weak	Soi
Belly	Tu
Arm	Tai
Leg (lower)	Man pi
Thigh	Wŏng
Skin	Hāk
Bone	Sāng
Blood	Nām
Rock	S'mao
Iron	Lek
Tin	Lek pŏk
Gold	Krē
Silver	Mö
Copper	Tawng
Brass	Tawng lŏng
Sulphur	Māt
Earth	Té
Salt	Gyi
Sugar	Gyi té
Father	Ku win
Mother	Ma
Brother (elder)	U mé
Brother (younger)	Po
Sister (elder)	U wun
Sister (younger)	Po wun
Man	U mé
Woman	I wun
Wife	Mu win
Husband	Mé
Child	Kŏn
Son	Kŏn yŏm mé
Daughter	Kŏn yŏm wun
Father-in-law	Kuwin m'win
Mother-in-law	Ma m'win
Cultivator	Mi sāng { Kŏng, lowland fields. Ma, hill fields.
Shepherd	......
God	Hpa sau
Sun	S'ngai
Moon	Si
Star	Si mwin
Fire	Ngo
Water	Rom
House	Nya
Horse	M'blawng
Bull	Moi maing
Cow	Moi ma
Dog	So
Cat	Mi-a
Hen	Ya ma
Cock	Ya chok
Duck	Té
Mule	M'blawng haw
Elephant	Sāng
Buffalo	Krāk

Vocabulary of En Tribe, Kĕngtŭng State—concluded.

Spear ...	Bya	To play ...	Pa lé
Bow ...	...	Medicine ...	Ta
Cross-bow ...	Āk	Poison ...	Ngon *or* hsān (Shan).
Hatchet ...	Mwé		
Needle ...	Ngyé	They are coming ...	Rao le kao (several persons) u tit in
Pot ...	Aw		
Boat ...	Rö	Come here ...	Un in
Cord ...	Mao	They will go ...	Re chin hu
Village ...	Yaung (*or* yawng)	They have arrived...	Prau yi
Roof ...	I yawn	What is your name?	Sü mi kwa
Sword ...	Waik	Three men ...	Loi kaü (short)
Chair ...	Ngut	Five horses ...	M'blawng pan
Table ...	Lai	Four houses ...	Pun nya
Box ...	Blawng kao	Two spears ...	Bya ra
Basket ...	Sawng	Three swords ...	Waik loi
Bag ...	Tawng	Six villages ...	Li-ă rawng
Net ...	Hé	How far is it from here?	Nam in hun dé he ngai.
Snare ...	Rai		
Picture ...	Rup hāng	How old is this horse?	M'blawng pu āyu mun maw pi.
Carving ...	...		
Song ...	Yau	I know ...	Yawng
To dance ...	Li-a	I do not know ...	Tao yawng

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hsen Hsum, Kĕngtŭng State. (The people call themselves A Mŏk.)

One ...	Mo	Above ...	Nam taw
Two ...	Á	Below ...	Nam ti
Three ...	Wé	Far ...	Ngé
Four ...	Pun	Near	N'ti
Five ...	Hsen	Alone ...	Mo-i
Six ...	Tall	Inside ...	Tung né
Seven ...	N'pwi	In front of ...	Ta nawk
Eight ...	N'ta	Behind ...	Nam kan
Nine ...	N'tum	North ...	Ting rāng to
Ten ...	N'kyu	South ...	Ting rāng ti
Eleven ...	Mo-kyu-le-mo	East ...	Nam wan awk
Twenty ...	Á-kyu	West ...	Nam wan tok
Twenty-one ...	A-kyu-le-mo	Good ...	Yawng
Thirty ...	Wé-kyu	Better ...	Nai yu yawng
A hundred ...	Mo ba hsi	Best ...	Yang te la-i
Two hundred ...	A ba hsi	Bad ...	Ré
A thousand ...	Mo tawng	Worse ...	Ré nai ru re
Ten thousand ...	Mŭn	Worst ...	Ré ton ta la-i
A hundred thousand	Hsen	High ...	Lung
A million ...	Lān	Short ...	Tem
I ...	Aw	True ...	A-ru a-klŏk
We ...	Yi	False ...	Pa-ru pa-klŏk
Thou ...	Mu	Thin (persons) ...	A-kawm
You ...	Mu	Thin (things) ...	Ai-nsyu
He ...	Mu, *or* yu	Fat ...	Akroing
They ...	Mu	Thick ...	Asút
My house ...	Kāng-aw	Pretty ...	En rong
Thy house ...	Kāng mu	Ugly ...	En rong hsăk
His house ...	Kāng yu	Clear (water) ...	[Om] hsé

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hsen Hsum, Kēngtūng State. (The people call themselves A Mŏk.)—continued.

Thick (water) ...	[Om] ŏm	Sambhur ...	Poë
Cheap ...	Nyoi en kut	Barking deer ...	Hsawt
Dear ...	Nyoi en pawng	Goat ...	A-pi
To stand ...	Kyen ut	Sheep ...	...
To run ...	Law	Milk ...	Om twi
To sleep ...	Et nom	Bamboo ...	Krong
To eat ...	Kyé	Turban ...	I-kup
To drink ...	Teng [om]	Hat ...	Hsung mok
To beat ...	Klok en	Shan hat ...	Hsa ri
To see ...	Lŏm	Jacket ...	Ka lop
To make ...	Kyi	Trousers ...	Kan
To go ...	Yang	Petticoat ...	Nga
To come ...	I	Shoe ...	Krep
To sit ...	Ut ti	Ear-ring ...	Lān
To lie down ...	Ut nuk	Rice ...	N'ku
To die ...	Yem	Paddy ...	Sāk
To call ...	Ngēng	Opium ...	Ka yafin
To throw ...	Pé	Grass ...	Nall
To drop ...	Kru	Tree ...	Tām su
To place ...	Vyé	Leaf ...	La ăn
To lift ...	Yaw	Wood (timber) ...	Hsu tăn
To pull ...	Yŏ	Forest ...	Lang pri
To smoke ...	Tawt	Cold ...	Kyet
To love ...	Rāk	Hot ...	Rŏn
To hate ...	Sang	Warm (persons) ...	Om
Rich ...	I ka māng	Ice ...	...
Poor ...	I tok i pla	Snow ...	Om myū
Old ...	I-tan	Rain ...	Ka le
Young ...	Nyawm mŏk	Wind ...	Ka má
Big ...	On	To thunder ...	Pong pa nom
Small ...	Tek	To lighten ...	Pang pa lek
Tight ...	Kāp	Sky ...	Kāng rao
Narrow ...	Kāp kyit	Day ...	Pu ngi
Wide ...	Wa	Night ...	Pu pwe
Painful ...	Hsu	To be light ...	Pai lāt
Red ...	A-kreng	To be dark ...	S'wait
Yellow ...	A-klōng	Cloud ...	Pong pit
Green ...	A-kyu	River ...	Om rawng
Blue ...	A-lang	Stream ...	Om rawng tek
Black ...	A-lang	Hill ...	Gyŏ
White ...	A-paing	Valley ...	...
Brown ...	...	Plain ...	Lang yāng
Grey ...	A-pyi	Insect ...	I-soit
Hand ...	Ti	Heart ...	Hung wi sum
Foot ...	Chung	Chief ...	Tān kām rum
Nose ...	Ka tu	Slave ...	Kawn sa mé-i
Eye ...	Hsu ngé	Witness ...	As in Shan
Mouth ...	En twin	Law ...	As in Shan
Tooth ...	Kaing	Punishment ...	As in Shan
Ear ...	La sok	Crime ...	Yup yāt
Hair (of the head) ...	Suk kung	Soul ...	Hsim-i
Moustache ...	Suk lwin	Spirit ...	Pa kri
Beard ...	Suk kāp	To dream ...	Et nam ka mu
Head ...	Kung	Kindness ...	Rāk pŏ dŏ
Tongue ...	Pāk	To be treacherous ...	...
Fish ...	A blé	Hour ...	...
Flea ...	S'koin	Round ...	Mun

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hsen Hsum, Kĕngtūng State. (The people call themselves A Mŏk.)—concluded.

Flat ...	A tip	Cow ...	Mwe kŏn
Hollow ...	A klong	Dog ...	So
Strong (persons) ...	En kait	Cat ...	A ngya
Strong (things) ...	En kall	Hen ...	Ya kŏn
Weak ...	An mŏk	Cock ...	Ya kuwin
Belly	Ka tú	Duck ...	Kāp
Arm ...	Pak ti	Mule ...	M'lang law
Leg ...	Nyang	Elephant ...	Sāng
Thigh ...	Ka lu	Buffalo ...	Krāk
Skin ...	Ang gu	Spear ...	Wai mawng
Bone ...	Ka-ang	Bow ...	...
Blood ...	Nām	Cross-bow ...	Āk
Rock ...	Kamu	Hatchet ...	Niu
Iron ...	Se ngang	Needle ...	Pai ngi
Tin ...	Se ngang paing	Pot ...	Ka-ŏe
Gold ...	A lang	Boat ...	La-ŏng
Silver ...	Mwi	Cord ...	Pa si
Copper ...	Tawng leng	Village ...	Rum-i
Brass ...	Tawng lŏng	Roof ...	An plang
Sulphur ...	Māt	Sword ...	Wai leo
Earth ...	Ka ti	Chair ...	An kung
Salt ...	Ru	Table ...	...
Sugar ...	Ru nyum	Box ...	Kāng
Father ...	U	Basket ...	Hsawng
Mother ...	Pa	Bag ...	Tong
Brother (elder) ...	Meng kuwin	Net ...	Ari
Brother (younger) ...	Mem kuwin	Snare ...	Hkŏm
Sister (elder) ...	Meng fŏn	Picture ...	Yi rop yi rāng
Sister (younger) ...	Mem fon	Carving ...	...
Man ...	Nyom kuwin	Song ...	Hwit mai nguwin
Woman ...	Nyom fŏn	To dance ...	Fŏn
Wife ...	Fŏn	To play ...	Ang su ba dŏ
Husband ...	Me	Medicine ...	Ka ya
Child ...	Nyawm [tek]	Poison ...	Ngon sān
Son ...	Kawn kuwin	They are coming ...	Ke-a-we-i (several persons) lāt ŏ
Daughter ...	Kawn fŏn	Come here ...	Lāt ka-ŏ
Father-in-law ...	Ta né	They will go ...	Ke-a-we-i sa miu
Mother-in-law ...	Ya né	They have arrived ...	Lāt roit ait
Cultivator { Lowland fields.	I kyi na	What is your name?	Ngyé maw
Cultivator { Upland fields.	I kyi mé	Three men ...	I we i
Shepherd ...	...	Five horses ...	M'lang pa hsen to
God ...	Pa hsaw	Four houses ...	Pun kāng
Sun ...	Pa ngi	Two spears ...	Wai mawng a do
Moon ...	N'kya	Three swords ...	Wai [k]we tung
Star ...	A moin	Six villages ...	Rum tall rum
Fire ...	Ngé	How far is it from here?	Ut nŏ yāng ngé ŏ
Water ...	Om	How old is this horse?	M'lang ayu en pyin pa maw.
House ...	Kāng	I know ...	Aw yu
Horse ...	M'lang	I do not know ...	Aw pa yu
Bull ...	Mwe kuwin		

Vocabulary of Hill Tribe of Mŏng Lwe district, Kĕngtūng State.

These people are Buddhists and have adopted the Shan language and dress. They believe themselves to be Hkamuk by origin, and

the following words are supposed to be Hkamuk. The people are called *Loi*, or *Tai-loi* by the Shans, but differ from the race usually known by this name.

One	} As in Shan.	Pretty	Am
Two		Ugly	Hsŏ
Three		Clear (water)	Sung sang
Four		Thick (water)	Si um
Five		Cheap	Ka na yung
Six		Dear	Ka yung
Seven		To stand	Kun chĕng
Eight		To run	Sa lé
Nine		To sleep	Et
Ten		To eat	Kai
Eleven		To drink	Săng
Twenty		To beat	Bup
Twenty-one		To see	Lawm
Thirty		To make	Hsi
A hundred		To go	Pai [yăng]
Two hundred		To come	Im pu
A thousand		To sit	Tit
Ten thousand		To lie down	Ung kung
A hundred thousand		To die	Yăm
A million		To call	Het
I	Mi	To throw	Teng
We	Aw [*or* É]	To drop	Kli
Thou	Mi	To place	Un pu
You	Mi	To lift	Yok pu
He	Pé	To pull	Hsăk
They	Aw	To smoke	Lut
My house	Kăng aw	To love	Hăk pu tu
Thy house	Kăng mi	To hate	Sang pu ru
His house	Kăng pé	Rich	Tu kamăng
Above	Tung pawng	Poor	Tok hpăn
Below	Tung pün	Old	I tau
Far	É	Young	Tek
Near	Té	Big	Yung
Alone	Om kun	Small	Tek
Inside	Klom ni	Tight	Kap
In front of	Tung toi	Narrow	Kit
Behind	Pla katá	Wide	Wa
North	Tung tawng	Painful	Su
East	Tăng wan awk	Red	Kyeng
South	Tung pün	Yellow	Lŏng
West	Tăng wan tok	Green	Hkeo
Good	Năm	Blue	Kam
Better	Yĕng năm	Black	Lang
Best	Năm lŏ é	Whit	S'kall
Bad	Ngăn	Brown	...
Worse	Yĕng ngăn	Grey	S'pull
Worst	Ngăn lŏ é	Hand	Ti
High	Lung	Foot	Pu tak silu
Short	Ten	Nose	Ka tú
True	Bat hsŏ	Eye	Ngai
False	An pu sawk kawk	Mouth	Moin
Thin (persons)	Kyer	Tooth	Kain
Thin (things)	Lyer	Ear	La sok
Fat	I	Hair (of the head)	Suk ching
Thick	Hsut	Moustache	Suk moin

Vocabulary of Hill Tribe of Möng Lwe district, Kēngtūng State—contd.

Beard ...	Suk kāp	Kindness ...	Tu hâk tu pyeng
Head ...	Ching	To be treacherous ...	...
Tongue ...	Tăk	Hour ...	...
Fish ...	Ka	Round ...	Mun
Flea ...	S'kwen	Flat ...	Tip pyep
Sambhur ...	Pwe	Hollow ...	Hkong
Barking-deer ...	K'sawt	Strong (persons) ...	Pak heng
Goat ...	...	Strong (things) ...	Ken
Sheep ...	...	Weak ...	Met
Milk ...	Om pu	Belly ...	Kutú
Bamboo ...	Kung	Arm ...	Ti
Turban ...	Tu ching	Leg ...	Pu nyang kyé
Hat ...	Wawm	Thigh ...	...
Shan hat ...	Kop	Skin ...	Pong ku
Jacket ...	Ngawk	Bone ...	Ka-ang
Trousers ...	Teo	Blood ...	Se nǎm
Petticoat ...	Nya	Rock ...	Se mó
Shoe ...	Kyep	Iron ...	Ku ngăng
Ear-ring ...	Kyok	Tin ...	Ku ngăng s'pull
Rice ...	Un-ko	Gold ...	Hkam
Paddy ...	Si ngaw	Silver ...	Ka mún
Opium ...	Ya fin	Copper ...	As in Shan.
Grass ...	Luk	Brass ...	As in Shan.
Tree ...	Kung ka hsü	Sulphur ...	Māt
Leaf ...	La	Earth ...	Ka te
Wood (timber) ...	...	Salt ...	Plu
Forest ...	Kawng pwi	Sugar ...	Plu sa nāng
Cold ...	Nyēng	Father ...	U
Hot ...	Pok	Mother ...	Nwé
Warm ...	Um	Brother (elder) ...	Māl
Ice ...	...	Brother (younger) ...	Kyăm
Snow ...	...	Sister (elder) ...	Pi nāng
Rain ...	Sa le	Sister (younger) ...	Kyăm kön
Wind ...	Sa má	Man ...	I kwīn
To thunder ...	Kasa lăk	Woman ...	I kön
To lighten ...	Klük	Wife ...	Kön
Sky ...	Hpa	Husband ...	Kame
Day ...	Kāng wan	Child ...	Kawn
Night ...	Hkün	Son ...	Kawn kwīn
To be light ...	Pai	Daughter ...	Kawn kön
To be dark ...	Phet	Father-in-law ...	U kön
Cloud ...	Öp	Mother-in-law ...	Nwé
River ...	Om hawng	Cultivator ...	Tu kyi ma
Stream ...	Om tek	Shepherd ...	...
Hill ...	Wi	God ...	Pra
Valley ...	...	Sun ...	Nga nyi
Plain ...	...	Moon ...	Kāng kyé
Insect ...	Āng ma	Star ...	Kāng sa min
Heart ...	As in Shan.	Fire ...	Ngall
Chief ...	As in Shan.	Water ...	Om
Slave ...	As in Shan.	House ...	Kāng
Witness ...	As in Shan.	Horse ...	Ma
Law ...	Hit püng	Bull ...	Po kwīn
Punishment ...	As in Shan.	Cow ...	Po kön
Crime ...	As in Shan.	Dog ...	Hsaw
Soul ...	As in Shan.	Cat ...	Miau
Spirit ...	As in Shan.	Hen ...	E kön
To dream ...	Ele kamu	Cock ...	E kwīn

Vocabulary of Hill Tribe of Mōng Lwe district, Kēngtūng State—concld.

Duck	E kăp	Carving	...
Mule	Ma law	Song	Kăp kwam
Elephant	Săng	To dance	Ka [fŏn]
Buffalo	Tăk	To play { as children	Kyeng
Spear	Bawng	To play { to gamble.	Taw lawng
Bow	...	Medicine	Hsau
Crossbow	Āk	Poison	...
Hatchet	Mui	They are coming	...
Needle	Si né	Come here	I
Pot	Ka ăll	They will go	...
Boat	Hö	They have arrived	Kyó lé
Cord	Pi si	What is your name?	Hsü kamu
Village	Kim	Three men	Hsăm kwîn
Roof	La	Five horses	Ma ha to
Sword	Ka mawng	Four houses	Kăng hsi lang
Chair	Ka till	Two spears	Bawng hsawng an
Table	Saw su	Three swords	Kamawng hsam tin
Box	Lim	Six villages	...
Basket	Law	How far is it from here?	...
Bag	Pok		
Net	Kŏp	How old is this horse?	...
Snare	Yawk	I know	Aw ull
Picture	...	I do not know	A ull

Vocabulary of Pyen (or Pyin) Tribe, Kēngtūng, Southern Shan States.

One	Tum lum	My house	Ga yum
Two	Nyi lum	Thy house	Ngăng yum
Three	Hsum lum	His house	Ngăng yum
Four	Han lum	Above	La shu
Five	Shan numerals used for numbers from five upwards.	Below	Aw shu
Six		Far	[Ang] wŏ
Seven		Near	[Ang] lü
Eight		Alone	Tu măng yu
Nine		Inside	Nai
Ten		In front of	Na ka
Eleven		Behind	Tăng kăng
Twenty		North	Ta shu
Twenty-one		South	Aw shu
Thirty		East	Müng nung awk
A hundred		West	Müng nung kla
Two hundred		Good	Myen
A thousand		Better	Myen ya
Ten thousand		Best	Myen hse pün
A hundred thousand		Bad	Hlai
A million		Worse	Hlai ya
I	Ga	Worst	Hlai hse pün
We	Ga	High	Mawng
Thou	Ngăng	Short	Ngum
You	Ngăng	True	Plawng
He	Ngăng	False	Mow plawng
They	Ngăng	Thin (persons)	Yong

Vocabulary of Pyen (or Pyin) Tribe, Kĕngtūng, Southern Shan States—continued.

Thin (things) ...	Hpa	Moustache ...	Man mu
Fat ...	Tum	Beard ...	Man mu
Thick ...	Htu	Head ...	Ang tu
Pretty ...	Myen	Tongue ...	Man hla
Ugly ...	Hlai	Fish ...	Lawng té
Clear (water) ...	Küng	Flea ...	Tang hān
Thick (water) ...	Hlum	Sambhur ...	Sé
Cheap ...	Hu	Barking deer ...	Haw pawng
Dear ...	Hu hö	Goat ...	Plé
To stand ...	Hsung (ngé)	Sheep ...	...
To run ...	Hun nung (ngé)	Milk ...	Nung hsa
To sleep ...	Yu (ngé)	Bamboo ...	Mai
To eat ...	Hsa	Turban ...	Tu pau
To drink ...	Tāng	Hat ...	To sawng
To beat ...	Tü	Shan hat ...	Hsung kaw
To see ...	Myāng	Jacket ...	Krau
To make ...	Teng (ngé)	Trousers ...	Ku tawng
To go ...	E	Petticoat ...	Sin ka
To come ...	La	Shoe ...	Lakō kyep
To sit ...	Lüng	Ear-ring ...	Na plawng
To lie down ...	Lüng ing	Rice ...	Kaw kyin
To die ...	Shi	Paddy ...	Kaw lum
To call ...	Hau	Opium ...	Ya fin
To throw ...	Sān ang	Grass ...	Mokka
To drop ...	Kla ang	Tree ...	Hsing hsüng
To place ...	Nu kyu	Leaf ...	Hsing pa
To lift ...	Yup pi lé	Wood (timber) ...	Hsüng tăn
To pull ...	Kun nang (ngé)	Forest ...	Hsawng kawng
To smoke ...	Ya kon hsu	Cold ...	Kyaw
To love ...	Hlāk	Hot ...	Hlawng
To hate ...	Bü	Warm (persons) ...	Lum
Rich ...	Sāng pang	Ice ...	...
Poor ...	Ang sāng byé	Snow ...	Mwe
Old ...	Ya māng	Rain ...	Bung haw
Young ...	Hsāng la	Wind ...	Hāng mān
Big ...	Hsāng mawng	To thunder ...	Bung kye
Small ...	Iya	To lighten ...	Bung blāp
Tight ...	Teng kāt	Sky ...	Bung
Narrow ...	Teng	Day ...	Bung kawng
Wide ...	Klō	Night ...	Bung kyi
Painful ...	Na	To be light ...	Plen la ba
Red ...	Ngé	To be dark ...	Wün
Yellow ...	Hsō	Cloud ...	Bong bung
Green ...	Keo	River ...	Lāng hawng
Blue ...	Hpāng	Stream ...	Lāng la
Black ...	Hpāng	Hill ...	Ta hsé
White ...	Hpawn	Valley ...	Ang pyeng
Brown ...	...	Plain ...	Pāng sau
Grey ...	Pü	Insect ...	Nāng hsa
Hand ...	La pu	Heart ...	Nüng ba
Foot ...	La kō	Chief ...	Yokka
Nose ...	Na kang	Slave ...	Yet kyen
Eye ...	Byennu	Witness ...	Sāng hsāk kye
Mouth ...	Wan pawng	Law ...	A plawng
Tooth ...	Hsa byē	Punishment ...	Lekau
Ear ...	Na süng	Crime ...	...
Hair (of the head) ...	Hsam küng	Soul ...	Hāng āmn

Vocabulary of Pyen (or Pyin) Tribe, Kĕngtŭng, Southern Shan States—concluded.

Spirit (ghost) ...	Hpi, hpit	Horse ...	A mawng bu
To dream ...	U mye bun	Bull ...	A myāng bu
Kindness ...	Ang hlāk	Cow ...	A myāng ba
To be treacherous ...	Sāng law lé	Dog ...	Hkö
Hour ...	...	Cat ...	A mĕng
Round ...	Mun	Hen ...	Ya ba
Flat ...	Pyep	Cock ...	Ya pa
Hollow ...	Ang hŏn	Duck ...	A kau
Strong (persons) ...	Ang ka	Mule ...	A mawng
Strong (things) ...	Ang kyen	Elephant ...	Yām ba
Weak ...	Ang law	Buffalo ...	Pŏng na
Belly ...	Pawng pawng	Spear ...	Hküng
Arm ...	La lüng	Bow ...	...
Leg ...	Ku bong sa	Cross-bow ...	Sing na
Thigh ...	Bong tu	Hatchet ...	Lān
Skin ...	Ang kaw	Needle ...	Küng kiau
Bone ...	Ang kau	Pot ...	U lawng
Blood ...	Ang shi	Boat ...	Lawng-lawng
Rock ...	La ba	Cord ...	Let tö
Iron ...	Shām	Village ...	Kŏng
Tin ...	Shām ang pŏn	Roof ...	Mong
Gold ...	Hkam	Sword ...	Tāng
Silver ...	Plu	Chair ...	Tawng ku
Copper ...	Tawng ne	Table ...	Hāng pŏn
Brass ...	Tawng shu	Box ...	Kāng
Sulphur ...	Māt	Basket ...	Kwe
Earth ...	Lin ta	Bag ...	Pye lawng
Salt ...	Hsa meng	Net ...	Kaw sing
Sugar ...	Hsa meng kiau	Snare ...	Hok klōng
Father ...	Bōng	Picture ...	Sāng hup
Mother ...	A ba	Carving ...	...
Brother (elder) ...	A ai	Song ...	Kām kāp
Brother (younger) ...	A pé	To dance ...	Yin
Sister (elder) ...	A tsi	To play { as children	Baw
Sister (younger) ...	A paw	To play { gamble ...	Mak teo baw
Man ...	Kapala	Medicine ...	Hsu ka
Woman ...	Kabala	Poison ...	Blattaw
Wife ...	Ka ba	They are coming ...	...
Husband ...	Ang plawng	Come here ...	Nu lau
Child ...	Yak kye	They will go ...	Ka e na
Son ...	Ya plawng	They have arrived ...	Nga kwe ba
Daughter ...	Ya byé	What is your name?	Mang shun meng
Father-in-law ...	Yawk pa	Three men ...	Hsang hsum māng
Mother-in-law ...	Yu ba	Five horses ...	Amawng ha to
Cultivator ...	Teng la	Four houses ...	Yum hsi lang
Shepherd ...	...	Two spears ...	Hküng nyi lum
God ...	Hpa sau	Three swords ...	Tāng hsum tin
Sun ...	Mong nüng	Six villages ...	Hok kŏng
Moon ...	U la	How far is it from here?	Ne kung sa wö la
Star ...	U kö		
Fire ...	Mi taw	How old is this horse	Amawng a ayu alo pun nö.
Water ...	Lāng		
House ...	Yum	I know ...	Ga bé
		I do not know ...	Ga ma bé

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hka-la by the Shans (they call themselves Āng-kú), Möng-yawng district, Kēngtūng State.

One ...		Clear (water) ...	(Om) hsang
Two ...		Thick (water) ...	(Om) sa-um
Three ...		Cheap ...	Tuk té
Four ...		Dear ...	Ka an yung
Five ...		To stand ...	Kung kyeng
Six ...		To run ...	Sa lé
Seven ...		To sleep ...	Et
Eight ...		To eat ...	Kai
Nine ...		To drink ...	Kyāng
Ten ...	As in Shan.	To beat ...	Wup
Eleven ...		To see ...	Lawm
Twenty ...		To make ...	Kyi
Twenty-one ...		To go ...	Lāt
Thirty ...		To come ...	In
A hundred ...		To sit ...	Tit
Two hundred ...		To lie down ...	Tit nung kung
A thousand ...		To die ...	Yăm
Ten thousand ...		To call ...	Het
A hundred thousand		To throw ...	Teng
A million ...		To drop ...	Kli
I ...	Aw	To place ...	Un
We ...	Aw	To lift ...	Sip
Thou ...	Mi	To pull ...	Tŏt
You ...	Té	To smoke ...	Lut
He ...	Pé	To love ...	Hāk pu tu
They ..	Aw	To hate ...	Sang pu tu
My house ...	Kāng aw	Rich ...	I-pa-té
Thy house ...	Kāng mi	Poor ...	Tok
His house ...	Kāng pé	Old ...	Tau té
Above ...	Tung kawng	Young ...	Tek
Below ...	Tung pün	Big ...	Kun yung
Far ...	S'ngai	Small ...	Tek
Near ...	Té	Tight ...	Kāp té
Alone ...	Aw ka ti	Narrow ...	Kyip té
Inside ...	Si ni	Wide ...	Wa
In front of ...	Lāk toi	Painful ...	Su
Behind ...	Teng to ang	Red ...	Cheng
North ...	Teng toi	Yellow ...	Lŏng
South ...	Teng pün	Green ...	Keo
East ...	Teng nai nyi li	Blue ...	Lang
West ...	Teng nai nyi kut	Black ...	Lang
Good ...	Năm	White ...	S'pall
Better ...	Taw năm té	Brown ...	...
Best ...	Năm té lé	Grey ...	Mun
Bad ...	Yăm	Hand ...	Hti
Worse ...	Ho hai	Foot ...	Se lú
Worst ...	Hai té lé	Nose ...	Tok kattú
High ...	Lüng	Eye ...	Ngai
Short ...	Ten	Mouth ...	Moin
True ...	Se	Tooth ...	Kyaing
False ...	Ai se	Ear ...	Chok
Thin (persons) ...	Kiau	Hair (of the head) ...	Hsuk ching
Thin (things) ...	Lé	Moustache ...	Ka hsuk moin
Fat ...	I	Beard ...	Ka hsuk kāp
Thick ...	Ka hsut	Head ...	Ching
Pretty ...	Năm té	Tongue ...	Tāk
Ugly ...	Ai yau	Fish ...	Hka

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hka-la by the Shans (they call themselves Āng-kú), Möng-yawng district, Kĕngtūng State—continued.

Flea	Si kweng	Round	Mun
Sambhur	Pwe	Flat	Pyen
Barking-deer	Ka sáwt	Hollow	Hung
Goat	Pé	Strong (persons)	Ang ku keng
Sheep	...	Strong (things)	Su tan
Milk	Om pu	Weak	Ka su la met
Bamboo	Pi-kisu	Belly	Tu kún
Turban	Tu ching	Arm	Ti
Hat	Wawm	Leg	Salu puyăng kyé
Shan hat	Klop	Thigh	Ka long
Jacket	Ngawk	Skin	Pong ku
Trousers	Teo	Bone	Ka-ang
Petticoat	Nya	Blood	Si-nắm
Shoe	Kyep	Rock	S'mo
Ear-ring	Lăn	Iron	Ka ngang
Rice	N'ko	Tin	Ka ngang s'pull
Paddy	S'ngaw	Gold	Hkam
Opium	Fin	Silver	Ka múll
Grass	Luk	Copper	Tawng leng
Tree	Kung kisu	Brass	Tawng lŏng
Leaf	La kisu	Sulphur	Măt
Wood (timber)	Kung kisu cheng	Earth	Ka té
Forest	Pri [katé]	Salt	Plu
Cold	Ngeng	Sugar	Plu t'ngān
Hot	Puk	Father	U
Warm	Si-um	Mother	Nwe
Ice	...	Brother (elder)	Mull
Snow	Mwe	Brother (younger)	Em
Rain	Si le	Sister (elder)	Mull ikŏn
Wind	Si má	Sister (younger)	Em ikŏn
To thunder	Kusai lak	Man	Ikuwin
To lighten	Klük	Woman	Ikŏn
Sky	...	Wife	Kŏn
Day	Yām leng	Husband	Ikuwin
Night	Yām sum	Child	Kon nyawm
To be light	Hpai	Son	Kon kuwin
To be dark	Eyek lé	Daughter	Kon kŏn
Cloud	Ŏp	Father-in-law	U-kŏn
River	Ŏm-hawng [yung]	Mother-in-law	Nwe-kŏn
Stream	Om-hawng [tek]	Cultivator	I kin kyi ma
Hill	Wi	Shepherd	...
Valley	Tu kong	God	Hpaya in
Plain	Pāng sau	Sun	Yām leng
Insect	Āng ma	Moon	Kăng ché
Heart	Ŏk	Star	Kăng sa mēn
Chief	U-kyim	Fire	Ngall
Slave	Mu-hka-i	Water	Om
Witness	Hsāki yek	House	Kāng
Law	Mu hit mu püng	Horse	Ma
Punishment	Tut, ta	Bull	M'po kuvin
Crime	Tut, ta	Cow	M'po kŏn
Soul	Pu sum	Dog	Saw
Spirit (ghost)	Plit	Cat	Miau
To dream	Kamu lŏm	Hen	I-au kŏn
Kindness	Kru hāk kru preng	Cock	I-au kuwin
To be treacherous	...	Duck	I-au kăp
Hour	...	Mule	Ma law

Vocabulary of Tribe known as Hka-la by the Shans (*they call themselves Āng-kû*), *Möng-yawng district, Kēngtūng State*—concluded.

Elephant ...	Sāng	Song ...	Sāng kāp
Buffalo ...	Kāk	To dance ...	Fŏn
Spear ...	Bawng	To play ..	Lin
Bow ...	...	Medicine ...	Ya
Cross-bow ...	Āk	Poison ...	Hsān bu
Hatchet ...	Mwi	They are coming ...	......
Needle ...	S'né	Come here ...	In
Pot ...	Ka-áll	They will go ...	Im lāt lé
Boat ...	Om puk	They have arrived ...	In im kyé lé
Cord ...	Pu hsi	What is your name?	Sü i-mu
Village ...	Him	Three men ...	Hu hsām to
Roof ...	La	Five horses ...	Ma hā to
Sword ...	Ka mawng	Four houses ...	Kāng hsi lang
Chair ...	Ka tit	Two spears ...	Bawng hsawng tin
Table ...	...	Three swords ...	Ka mawng hsām tin
Box ...	Hit	Six villages ...	Him hōk wān
Basket ...	Klwe	How far is it from here?	Lāt s'ngai
Bag ...	Pōk	How old is this horse?	Ma hau lé
Net ...	Hŏp	I know ...	Aw ull é
Snare ...	Hkün	I do not know ...	A-ull
Picture ...	...		
Carving ...	...		

Vocabulary of Tai-loi.

[Wa, or Wa-küt, *i.e.*, "the Wa who remained" after the conquest of Kēngtūng valley by the Hkön.]

One ...	Ka-ti	They ...	Pe
Two ...	La-al	My house ...	Nya ye (*or* nya-u-ti)
Three ...	La-oi	Thy house ...	Nya mō
Four ...	Pun	His house ...	Nya mō
Five ...	Pan	Above ...	Tam-to
Six ...	As in Shan (*Roi* for 100, *Pān* for 1,000, as in Hkön and Lü).	Below ...	Tam-yum
Seven ...		Far ...	Sa-ngai
Eight ...		Near ...	En-te
Nine ...		Alone ...	Ti-pe
Ten ...		Inside ...	Nai (Hkön and Lü)
Eleven ...		In front of ...	Tam-nā
Twenty ...		Behind ...	Tam-kru
Twenty-one ...		North ...	Tam-to
Thirty ...		South ...	Tam-yum
A hundred ...		East ...	Wan awk } Shan
Two hundred ...		West ...	Wan tōk } Shan
A thousand ...		Good ...	Chāk
Ten thousand ...		Better ...	Cheng-chāk
A hundred thousand		Best ...	Chāk-lu-pe
A million ...		Bad ...	Rai
I ...	U-ti	Worse ...	Cheng-rai
We ...	U	Worst ...	Rai-lu-pe
Thou ...	Mō	High ...	Long
You ...	Pe	Short ...	Tim
He ...	Mō	True ...	Sāk pé

Vocabulary of Tai-loi—continued.

False ...	Un-sāk	Hair (of the head) ...	Huk-ching
Thin (persons) ...	Yawm (Shan)	Moustache ...	Huk-murr
Thin (things) ...	Vil	Beard ...	Huk-murr
Fat ...	Kling	Head ...	Ching
Thick ...	Ka-pull	Tongue ...	L'tāk
Pretty ...	Chāk-té	Fish ...	Ká
Ugly ...	Rup-sa	Flea ...	Tep
Clear (water) ...	S'ngam	Sambhur ...	Hsāk
Thick (water) ...	S'urr	Barking deer ...	Puss
Cheap ...	Et	Goat ...	Pé
Dear ...	Tŏp	Sheep ...	...
To stand ...	Sang	Milk ...	Om-tuss
To run ...	Tal	Bamboo ...	Ko-aw
To sleep ...	It	Turban ...	Perr-ching
To eat ...	Sawm	Hat ...	Mŏk-ching
To drink ...	Nyu	Shan hat ...	Ka-ne
To beat ...	Pu	Jacket ...	Hsa
To see ...	Nyo	Trousers ...	Sa-lá
To make ...	Tus	Petticoat ...	En-tai
To go ...	Hull	Shoe ...	Kyep-chong
To come ...	Ing	Ear-ring ...	Lan-yok
To sit ...	Mawk (mŏk)	Rice ...	En-ko
To lie down ...	Mawk-an-tull	Paddy ...	Ngaw
To die ...	Yum (*or* yim)	Opium ...	Ya-fin
To call ...	Kawk (kŏk)	Grass ...	Rip
To throw ...	Wis	Tree ...	Num-ko
To drop ...	Ā	Leaf ...	La-ko
To place ...	Twe-un	Wood (timber) ...	Num-ko
To lift ...	Twe-un	Forest ...	Pri
To pull ...	Tut	Cold ...	Kat
To smoke ...	Nyu	Hot ...	Hawn
To love ...	Rāk	Warm ...	Sa-urr
To hate ...	R'ngai	Ice ...	...
Rich ...	Kwe	Snow ...	Mwe
Poor ...	Tŏk	Rain ...	Le
Old ...	Tau	Wind ...	Kurr
Young ...	Num	To thunder ...	Pur-sa-pa
Big ...	Tŏp	To lighten ...	Sāng-char
Small ...	Et	Sky ...	Kāng-hau
Tight ...	Kāp	Day ...	Tá-si-nyi
Narrow ...	Kit	Night ...	Ta-som
Wide ...	Tŏp	To be light ...	Ta-sinyi-ing
Painful ...	Su	To be dark ...	Wait-ing
Red ...	Su-krāk	Cloud ...	Mut-paing
Yellow ...	Lŏng	River ...	Om-lass
Green ...	Keo	Stream ...	Om-lass-et (*or* om-klŏng-et).
Blue ...	Lang		
Black ...	Lang	Hill ...	An-kŏng
White ...	Paing	Valley ...	Kyu (?)
Brown ..	...	Plain ...	Ti-mot
Grey ...	Pul	Insect ...	Müt-et
Hand ...	Ti	Heart ...	Ho-sai
Foot ...	Chong	Chief ...	(As in Shan)
Nose ...	Mus	Slave ...	Plāng
Eye ...	Ngai	Witness ...	Hsak-hse (Shan)
Mouth ...	Hoin	Law ...	Hit-kawng
Tooth ...	En-paing	Punishment ...	Tut-tām
Ear ...	Yok	Crime ...	Tut

Vocabulary of Tai-loi—concluded.

Soul	Pōm	House	Nya
Spirit (ghost)	Hpi-hpyit	Horse	N'rāng
To dream	It-l'mo	Bull	Moi-ming
Kindness	Kuss-bo	Cow	Moi-ma
To be treacherous	Lit-māng hsit hsa	Dog	Saw
Hour	...	Cat	Miau
Round	Mun	Hen	Err-ma
Flat	Tep	Cock	Err-chuk
Hollow	Kall-tu	Duck	Kap
Strong (persons)	Kwe-reng	Mule	N'rāng-haw
Strong (things)	Ko-karr	Elephant	K'sang
Weak	S'urr	Buffalo	Krāk
Belly	Wait	Spear	Hawk
Arm	Sawk	Bow	...
Leg	Tawm-chong	Cross-bow	Āk
Thigh	Ma-wāng	Hatchet	Kawn-mwe
Skin	Hāk	Needle	Kall-nye
Bone	Sa-āng	Pot	Kaw-all
Blood	Nām	Boat	Rō
Rock	Sa-mol	Cord	Mo
Iron	Lek	Village	Yung
Tin	Lek-paing	Roof	Mŏng-nya
Gold	Hkam	Sword	Waik
Silver	Ka-mull	Chair	Pāng (?)
Copper	Tawng-leng	Table	Tak-krāk (?)
Brass	Tawng-lōng	Box	Kāng
Sulphur	Māt	Basket	Kwe
Earth	Ka-de	Bag	Tŏng-kŏk
Salt	Kith	Net	Ré
Sugar	Kith-teo	Snare	Hkōm
Father	Paw-u	Picture	Ting-rup-ko
Mother	Mye-u	Carving	Ting-rup-ko
Brother (elder)	Ek-u	Song	Mō-ti-kāp
Brother (younger)	Āng-u	To dance	Mō-ti-sai
Sister (elder)	Té-u	To play (as children)	Pla-ti-ple-po
Sister (younger)	Āng-u	To play (gamble)	Mō-ti-lawng-ti-plé
Man	Ra-me	Medicine	Un-pai
Woman	En-pun	Poison	Hsān
Wife	Ra-mwin	They are coming	Pyi-ta-ing
Husband	Po	Come here	Ing-lŏk-en
Child	Kŏn-nyawm	They will go	Pyi-ta-hull
Son	Kŏn-ru-me	They have arrived	Pyi-ta-hwit
Daughter	Kŏn-en-pun	What is your name?	Muths-kanáw
Father-in-law	Paw-ramwin	Three men	Pyi-ta la-oi
Mother-in-law	Ma-ramwin	Five horses	N'rāng pan to
Cultivator { Lowland fields.	Kŏn-ru-kung	Four houses	Nya pun
		Two spears	Rawk la-al
Cultivator { Hill fields.	Kŏn-ru-marr	Three swords	Waik la-oi
		Six villages	Rok yung
Shepherd ("Man that herds goats").	Mō-ti-wé (pé)		
		How far is it from here?	Twe-hull-pān-min-ting.
God	Hpa-sau	How old is this horse?	N'rāng-aru-pun-pan-ting.
Sun	S'ngi		
Moon	Chi	I know	Uti-yang
Star	Lun	I do not know	Uti-un-yang
Fire	Ngall	One	Tē
Water	Om	Two	A

Vocabulary of Sŏn Tribe, Kĕngtūng State.

Three ...	Oi	To stand ...	Song
Four ...	Wun	To run ...	Rat-(ao)
Five ...	Pu-on	To sleep ...	It (ao)
Six ...	Lu-a	To eat ..	Pra
Seven ...	A-lu-a	To drink ...	Nyu-a (om)
Eight ...	Dai	To beat ...	Lwe
Nine ...	Dim	To see ...	Ya-on
Ten ...	Kau	To make ...	Yu hun
Eleven ...	Kau-ru-tē	To go ...	Lun
Twenty ...	Nga	To come ...	Ing
Twenty-one ...	Nga-ru-tē	To sit ...	Ngawn
Thirty ...	Ngoi	To lie down ...	Ung kung
A hundred ...	Ti ya	To die ...	Yum
Two hundred ...	A ya	To call ...	Kok
A thousand	As in Shan.	To throw ...	Wut
A hundred thousand	As in Shan.	To drop ...	Sut
A million ...	As in Shan.	To place ...	Un
I ...	Au	To lift ...	Yawk hawk
We ...	Au	To pull ...	Rut
Thou ...	Mē	To smoke ...	Lut
You ...	Mē	To love ...	Rāk un
He ...	Mē *or* a-ni	To hate ...	Rai ya un
They ...	Do ru do	Rich ...	Kwe
My house ...	Nya au	Poor ...	Hpān nam
Thy house ...	Nya me	Old ...	Ta kŏt
His house ...	Nya me	Young ...	Kun nyawm
Above ...	Māng mu	Big ...	Ip-i-teng
Below ...	Hāk dé	Small ...	Kun nyawm *or* yet
Far ...	Ngai	Tight ...	Dawt
Near ...	Dé	Narrow ...	Kīt-kāt
Alone ...	Ta kau	Wide ...	Wa
Inside ...	Ka nyawng nya	Painful ...	Sau
In front of ...	Pa māng	Red ...	Krāk
Behind ...	Awng kye	Yellow ...	Ngar
North ...	Hawn nō	Green ...	Nga
South ...	Hawn taü	Blue ...	Sawm
East ...	Ka le ngē	Black ...	Long
West ...	Ket ngē	White ...	Paing
Good ...	Mōm	Brown ...	...
Better ...	Mōm nam	Grey ...	Bao
Best ...	Mōm up pi	Hand ...	Dē
Bad ...	Rai	Foot ...	Sawng
Worse ...	Tun rai	Nose ...	Da mu
Worst ...	Rai up pi	Eye ...	Ma ngai
High ...	Lŏng	Mouth ...	Da lut
Short ...	Tum	Tooth ...	Beng
True ...	Rō se kom	Ear ...	Yauk
False ...	Wŏk se kom	Hair (of the head)...	Hāk gaing
Thin (persons) ...	Koi	Moustache ...	Hāk la lut
Thin (things) ...	Ri	Beard ...	Hāk āng kāp
Fat ...	Klwīn	Head ...	Gaing
Thick ...	Pu	Tongue ...	Dāk
Pretty ...	Mōm	Fish ...	Ka
Ugly ...	Ang mōm	Flea ...	Dup
Clear (water) ...	Mom ba	Sambhur ...	Jāk
Thick (water) ...	[Om] kwīt	Barking deer ...	Buh
Cheap ...	Yet naw	Goat ...	Pé
Dear ...	Ti naw	Sheep ...	...

Vocabulary of Sŏn Tribe, Kēngtūng State—continued.

Milk ...	Om-pu
Bamboo ...	La
Turban ...	Pro
Hat ...	Mawk
Shan hat ...	Ne kēng
Jacket ...	Za
Trousers ...	Kra
Petticoat ...	Dai
Shoe ...	Kyep
Ear-ring ...	A-bu
Rice ...	Kao
Paddy ...	Ngo
Opium ...	Pin
Grass ...	Rip
Tree ...	Rawng kao
Leaf ...	La
Wood (timber) ...	Rawng kao law
Forest ...	Pre
Cold ...	Long
Hot ...	Rawn
Warm (persons) ...	Ur
Ice ...	...
Snow ...	Om sa
Rain ...	Om lé
Wind ...	Gur
To thunder ...	Bung ya
To lighten ...	Plok black
Sky ...	Kāng rao
Day ...	Pun nyé
Night ...	Pun sawm
To be light ...	Rang pre
To be dark ...	Awp
Cloud ...	Kut om
River ...	Kawng klŏng
Stream ...	Om yek
Hill ...	Tur *or* m'long
Valley ...	} Klāgh
Plain ...	} Klāgh
Insect ...	Mwet
Heart ...	Si kom
Chief ...	Pu kŏt
Slave ...	Ka nya
Witness ...	} As in Shan
Law ...	} As in Shan
Punishment ...	} As in Shan
Crime ...	} As in Shan
Soul ...	Wut sa kōm
Spirit ...	Hpi
To dream ...	S'mao
Kindness ...	Rak un
To be treacherous ...	...
Hour ...	...
Round ...	Mu lur
Flat ...	Kaw lip
Hollow ...	Ong kao
Strong (persons) ...	Ma
Strong (things) ...	Law
Weak ...	Byur
Belly ...	Tu
Arm ...	Āng le
Leg ...	Bli saung
Thigh ...	Āng wāng
Skin ...	Hāk
Bone ...	Āng
Blood ...	Nām
Rock ...	Mow
Iron ...	Rum
Tin ...	Rum paing
Gold ...	Kyu we
Silver ...	Mu
Copper ...	Lāt
Brass ...	Lat ngur
Sulphur ...	Kān
Earth ...	Dé
Salt ...	Kyi
Sugar ...	Kyi nyom
Father ...	T'yung
Mother ...	Mwē
Brother (elder) ...	Ek-ao
Brother (younger) ...	Po
Sister (elder) ...	O
Sister (younger) ...	Po
Man ...	Ba mé
Woman ...	Ba bun
Wife ...	Bun ao
Husband ...	Mé
Child ...	Kun nyawm
Son ...	Ba mé
Daughter ...	Ba bun
Father-in-law ...	Nun bun
Mother-in-law ...	Mwē bun
Cultivator { Lowland fields.	Yu na
Cultivator { Hill fields.	Yu mar
God ...	Hpa sao
Sun ...	Nge
Moon ...	Kyi
Star ...	Semwin
Fire ...	Ngo
Water ...	Ōm
House ...	Nya
Horse ...	M'long
Bull ...	Mōk dāng
Cow ...	Mōk ma
Dog ...	So
Cat ...	Miau
Hen ...	Yer ma
Cock ...	Yer mé
Duck ...	Āp
Mule ...	Ma law
Elephant ...	Sāng
Buffalo ...	Krāk
Spear ...	Plur
Bow ...	...
Cross-bow ...	Tut

Vocabulary of Sŏn Tribe, Kēngtūng State—concluded.

Hatchet ...	Mwē *or* tā māt	Medicine ...	Ka yu
Needle ...	Nyur	Poison ...	Ngōn
Pot ...	Dawng	They are coming ...	In ut ka ē
Boat ...	Ru	Come here ...	In kin
Cord ...	Mao	They will go ...	Lun gē
Village ...	Yaung	They have arrived...	Hwē gē
Roof ...	Blong	What is your name?	Su ma nē
Sword ...	Waik	Three men ...	Oi gao
Chair ...	Ka-ut	Five horses ...	M'long pu-on mu
Table ...	Pyen	Four houses ...	Bun nya
Box ...	Kāng	Two spears ...	Plur á de
Basket ...	Yuk lum	Three swords ...	Waik oi bla
Bag ...	Ha kawk	Six villages ...	Lua yaung
Net ...	Rup	How far is it from here?	Kawk-e-ta-ni, ang kuk ngai.
Snare ...	Hkŏm	How old is this horse?	M'long asāk pa hun
Picture ...	Lem hsāt	I know ...	Yong un
Carving ...	...	I do not know ...	Ang yong
Song ...	Sem kraw		
To dance ...	Su we		
To play ...	Ge pow-e		

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